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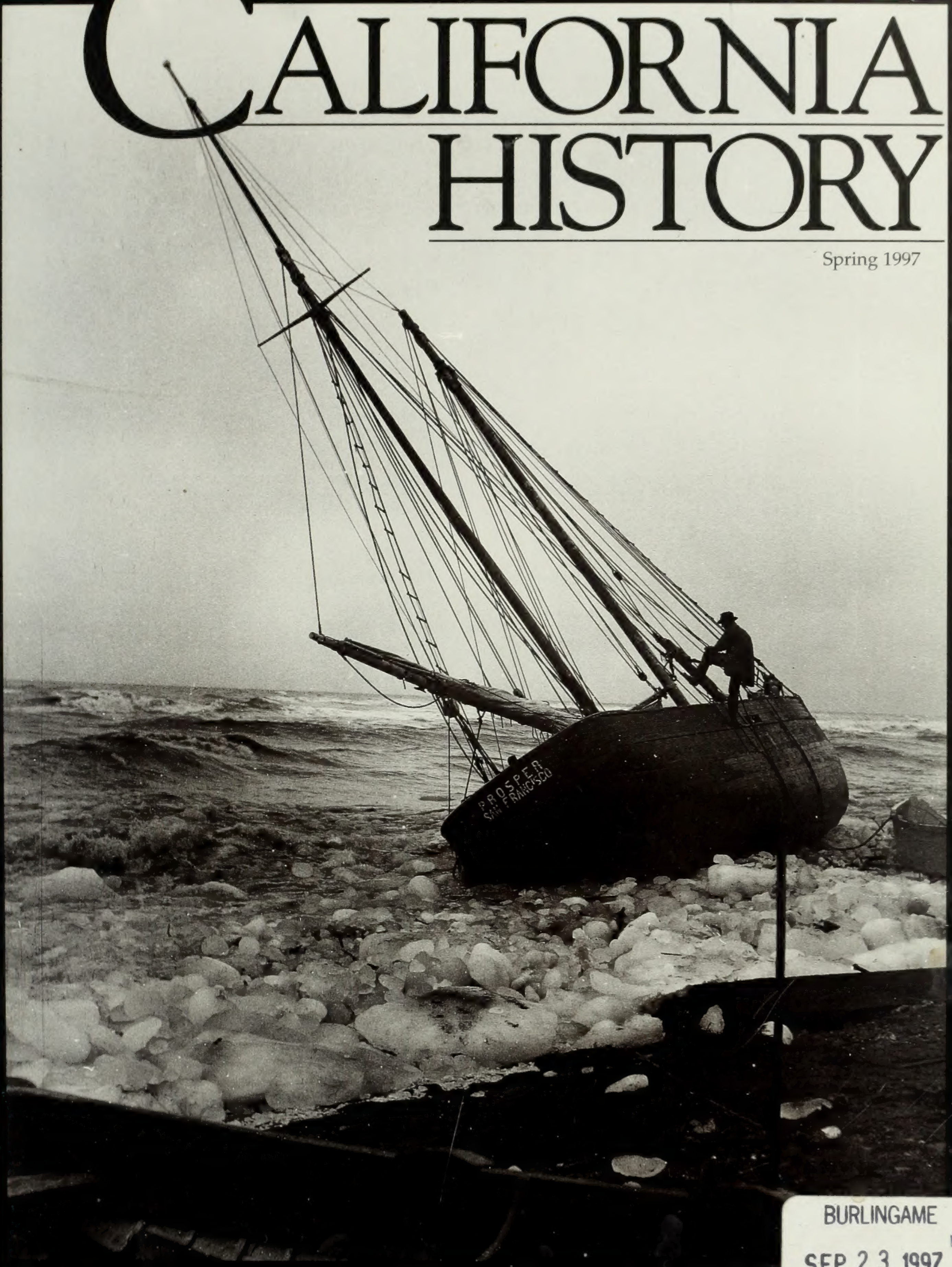
CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Spring 1997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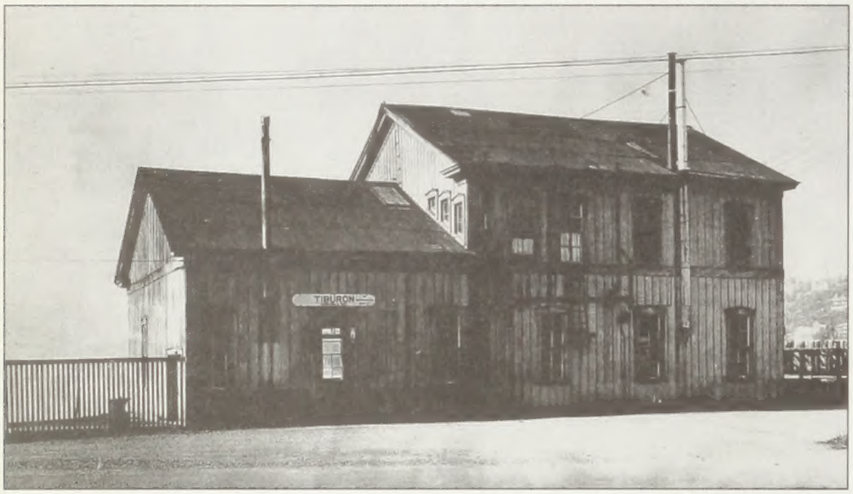
Historic Landmarks–

Tiburon's Historic Railroad Ferry Depot



The Tiburon Railroad-Ferry Depot, 1930. *Courtesy Belvedere-Tiburon Landmarks Society.*

As the trans-bay ferry emerges from San Francisco's fog, passengers often focus on a gray, two-story building on the water's edge as their first glimpse of the town of Tiburon, Marin County. Known locally as "The Donahue Building," this historic landmark is officially the San Francisco and Northern Pacific Railroad Depot.

This stately rail and ferry terminal, which played such a vital role in the history of Tiburon, stands in great contrast to the modern condominiums that form a backdrop. A clapboard and board-and-batten building, it has withstood the ravages of time and nature. Its apparent isolation belies its role as a hub of activity in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The Tiburon Depot was part of the railroad "empire" of the colorful Irish entrepreneur, Peter Donahue. Donahue had worked in Glasgow factories as a child; as a teenager he apprenticed to a machinist in New Jersey. From there he sought his fortune first in Peru and then in gold-rush San Francisco. But he soon realized that his skill as a machinist could be the making of his fortune in California while others were gambling on gold. Donahue's first foundry was established in a tent in the city, but by the 1860s he owned the prosperous Union Iron Works. These works gave him a competitive edge in the bidding on local railroads. He could supply himself with his own machinery.

After his short commuter railroad from San Francisco to its southern suburbs sold for a profit, he shifted his attention north of San Francisco. In 1868 he was president of the San Francisco and North Pacific Railroad and was determined to become the railroad baron of the north bay.

Donahue's rail line came to Tiburon in 1883, and a year later the depot was constructed. It was one of the pivotal points in the complex that moved freight from San Francisco and points south to all northwestern regions. Peter Donahue died in 1885, in his sixties, leaving a thriving railroad. In 1907, the Donahue line and five other railroads merged into the Northwestern Pacific Railroad Company. By 1927 Northwestern Pacific was a total subsidiary of the Southern Pacific Company. In the 1960s, Southern Pacific ended railroad service to Tiburon and the depot became known locally as "The Donahue Building."

When the depot was erected, it was intended to be moved as operations and needs of the railroad changed. Workers moved the building twice within the Tiburon railyard. It sits today on a foundation of 6" by 8" railroad ties placed on thin redwood pads—probably the reason it survived the 1906 and 1989 earthquakes. Around 1900, builders raised the roof to create a second story for offices. A decade later it was remodeled again to provide living quarters for the railroad station agent. In 1940 the building was moved to its present shoreline location.

Southern Pacific deeded the shoreline and the terminal to the town of Tiburon in 1984 with the restriction that the building be used only as a museum. In 1995 it was leased to the Landmarks Society for 99 years for $99 in return for its preservation as a railroad museum. The Tiburon Depot is the only surviving railroad-ferry depot on the West Coast, and one of only two that still exist in the United States. Hoboken, New Jersey, on the Hudson River, claims the other. On April 14, 1996, the Tiburon Railroad-Ferry Depot was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

In 1997, plans are well underway by the Belvedere-Tiburon Landmarks Society to make the structure an exciting, authentic public railroad museum. The first floor will contain a working model of the old Tiburon railroad yard, and upstairs a house museum is planned. Inquiries about the museum can be directed to historian Beverly Bastian, at (415) 435-2251.

E. Hardy Pelham, a free-lance writer, lives in Tiburon.

FRONT COVER: The *Prosper* of San Francisco, beached in Nome, Alaska, in a fierce September 1900 storm. Photograph by Wilfred A. McDaniel. BACK COVER: Wilfred A. McDaniel, posed in his 1906 Sunset, an automobile manufactured in San Jose, which he purchased with Alaska gold money. A photo-essay about the McDaniels in Alaska appears in this issue. *Courtesy Jeff Kunkel.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXVI No. 1

Spring 1997

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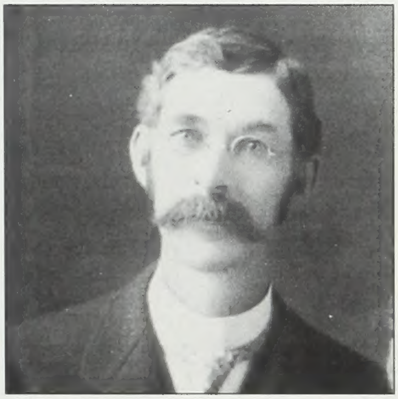

24

44

2 Alaska Gold: Life on the New Frontier, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers
Introduced and edited by Jeff Kunkel

24 Women, Real Estate, and Urban Growth: A Case Study of Two Generations of Women Property Owners in Redlands, California, 1880–1940
by Lee M. A. Simpson

44 A New Perspective on the Dream: Midwestern Images of Southern California in the Post-World War II Decades
by Denise S. Spooner

58 Reviews

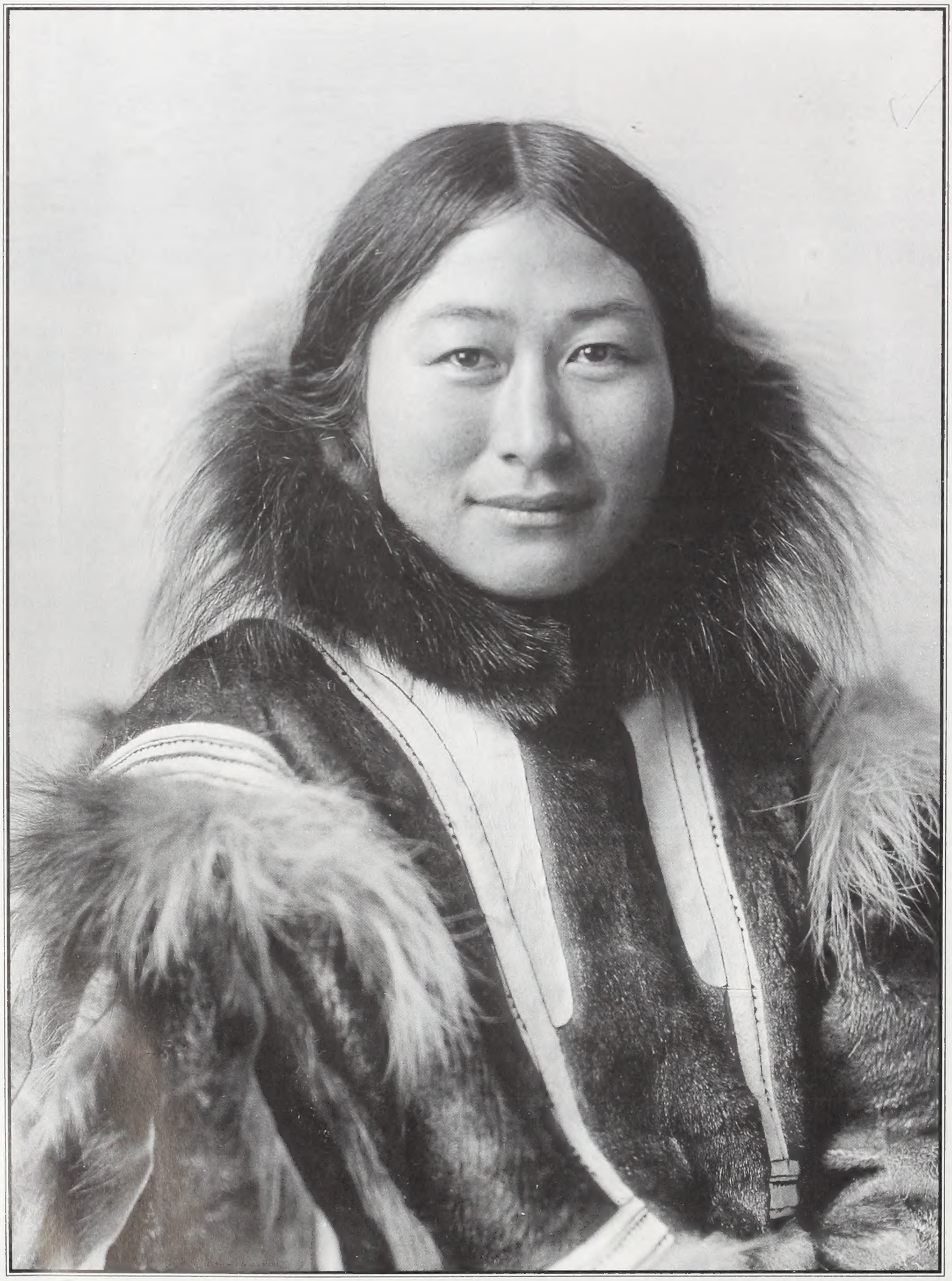
69 California Checklist

72 Notes

76 Donors

California History is published
with the cooperation and support of
California State University, Hayward.

California History (ISSN 0612–2897 LC 75–640289) is published quarterly by the California Historical Society (CHS), 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105. Subscription: Regular annual membership is $40.00. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco, CA and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: send address changes to CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105.



A young Inupiaq woman, captured in a simple and stunning pose by photographer Wilfred McDaniel, during his life in Nome, Alaska, from 1900 to 1905. *Courtesy of the author.*

ALASKA GOLD

Life on the New Frontier, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers

Introduced and Edited by Jeff Kunkel

INTRODUCTION

Wilfred and Edmund McDaniel left their California ranch at the turn of the twentieth century, boarded a steamship in San Francisco, sailed north and west for twenty-five days, staked a mining claim on a desolate Bering Sea beach near Nome, and for six years lived as gold miners on America's new frontier, Alaska. Today, Alaskans are preparing for the centennial of this gold rush, which attracted thousands of prospectors from California and allowed all Californians a chance to reconnect with a vanishing frontier.

The brothers and their sister Lulu were born to Josiah and Amanda McDaniel and raised on their parents' apricot ranch in San Jose. Josiah, a Confederate officer, had come to California from Kentucky shortly after the Civil War. Amanda was a forty-niner, having come west by wagon train from Missouri as an infant. As boys, Will and Ed first mined for gold near their San Jose ranch. Will wrote:

> Ed and I were camping in the Santa Cruz Mountains, hunting and fishing, when we made the acquaintance of Antonio, a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood common in California at the time when the '49ers arrived by ox-teams. Antonio was mining in the streambed, using a small sluice and working the sand and gravel, and he taught me to pan. . . . The yellow flake in my first pan became the germ of a mining career of many years. The chance meeting with Antonio, and the resulting interest in his work, expanded like the proverbial ripple on the pool, after the stone is thrown, taking me to all the mining regions of California and ultimately to the far north, across the Bering Sea to the shores of Asia, where on its desolate wastes I recalled the facts that small beginnings may take us—we know not where.[1]

Before the discovery of gold in the far north, the Alaska frontier drew only a handful of people from the States—whalers, missionaries, salmon fishermen, and reindeer herders. In the 1890s, southeast Alaska began to attract wealthy Americans for hunting, fishing, and sightseeing excursions. In 1896, the discovery of gold along Canada's Klondike River drew thousands of prospectors into southeast Alaska on their way to the Klondike and brought the territory of Alaska to the forefront of America's attention. The McDaniel brothers closely followed the news from the Klondike, but they stayed in California, working on their ranch and at their father's placer mine in Trinity County, California.

Then in 1898, gold was discovered in northwest Alaska near Nome. Will wrote:

Wilfred A. McDaniel
(1874–1954).

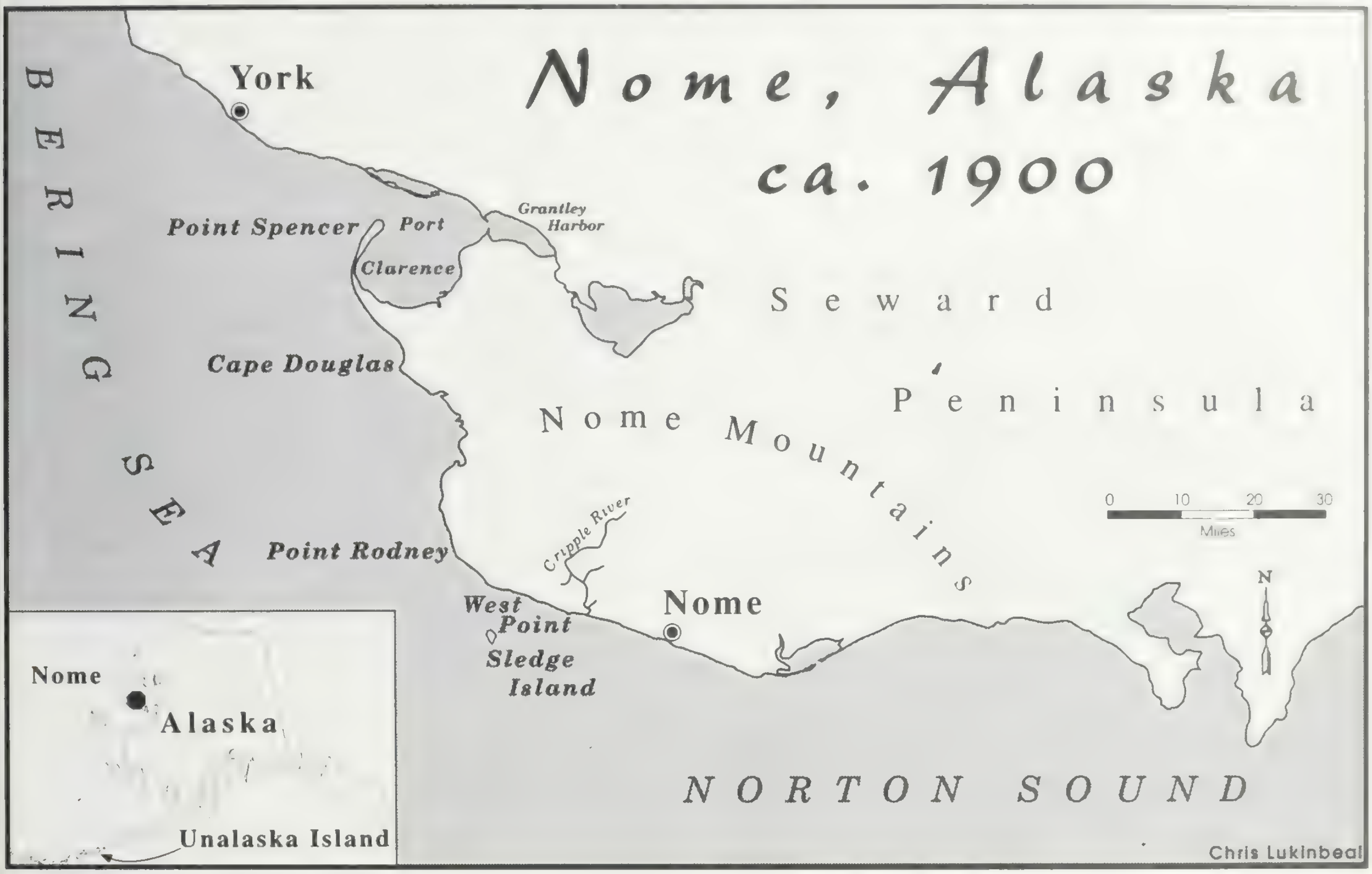
Edmund J. McDaniel
(1872–1951).

> Following close upon the heels of the great Klondike gold-rush, news of gold discoveries in the Cape Nome area of the Seward Peninsula began trickling out to "the States." The great stampede to Nome was on! Gold in the creeks, gold in the beaches. Even the sands of the seashore gleamed with the yellow flakes!

The gold on the beaches had arrived by stream and river erosion, but many miners believed that the bottom of the Bering Sea was covered with gold. "It was a poor miner's dream come true," a local historian concluded, "a land where the gold apparently came in with the tide like driftwood."[2] These miners came to be called "Sourdoughs," because many brought bottles of sourdough starter for their biscuit and bread dough. Ed joined the stampede in 1899; Will in 1900.

Most prospectors boarded steamships in Seattle or San Francisco in May or June and began a three-thousand-mile sea voyage that could last a month and include much hardship—overcrowding, disease, poor food, cold, violence, gales, and ice floes. "We were just packed in the hold like cattle," Will wrote. "Most of the steerage were foreigners and dirty as hogs. When they were seasick they just vomited on the floor. . . . It was only the cold climate that kept down a pestilence." Ships routinely stopped for coal and food in Dutch Harbor, a deep-water harbor on Unalaska Island in the Aleutians. So many ships were damaged or sunk by Bering Sea ice that ship captains had to get permission from their insurers to leave Dutch Harbor and enter the Bering Sea. During his first trip into the Bering Sea, Will wrote that "if a gale should come up while we are in the ice . . . we would go to the bottom as the ice would crush our boat like an egg shell."

From the Nome anchorage, Ed wrote that "we are soon to be dumped off like cattle onto the cold bleak


Nome, Alaska ca. 1900
York
BERING SEA
Point Spencer
Port Clarence
Grantley Harbor
Seward Peninsula
Cape Douglas
Nome Mountains
Cripple River
Point Rodney
West Point
Sledge Island
Nome
0 10 20 30
Miles
N
NORTON SOUND
Nome
Alaska
Unalaska Island
Chris Lukinbeal

coast of Nome." Like most Sourdoughs, the brothers had never experienced anything like the environment of the Seward Peninsula—black and ruby sand beaches covered with snow for nine months a year, permanently frozen earth below a thin layer of soil, a treeless tundra carpeted in summer with wildflowers and berry bushes, barren foothills, fierce storms, and daylight that varied from less than four hours at the winter solstice to more than twenty hours at the summer solstice. As for winter, Will wrote, "Cold is no name for it." Will and Ed hunted for ptarmigan, fished for trout and tomcod, and purchased dried, salted, or canned food from Nome merchants, several of whom they knew from San Jose. The brothers missed their family and friends, church, trees, and fresh fruit. "I wish I had some ripe 'cots," Ed lamented.

Natives, dressed in furs and calico, inhabited tiny villages along the coast. L. H. French, the general manager of the Nome Hydraulic Mining Company, wrote in 1901 that "the natives of the Seward Peninsula, numbering about eight hundred, are Eskimo, or as they call themselves, Innuits," descendants of an ancient people who had crossed a land bridge—now under the Bering Sea—from East Cape, Siberia, to Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska. Will wrote, "Eskimo . . . is the corruption of a Danish word . . . meaning 'those who eat raw flesh.'" The Russians had settled southeast Alaska as early as the 1700s, but they had never settled northwest Alaska. "Prior to the recent discoveries of gold," French wrote, "the only whites on the Seward Peninsula with whom [the natives] came in contact were the few Americans in charge of the several missions and reindeer stations, and a score or so of Swedes and Laps employed as herders."[4]

Jessie A. (Drake) McDaniel
(1870–1947).

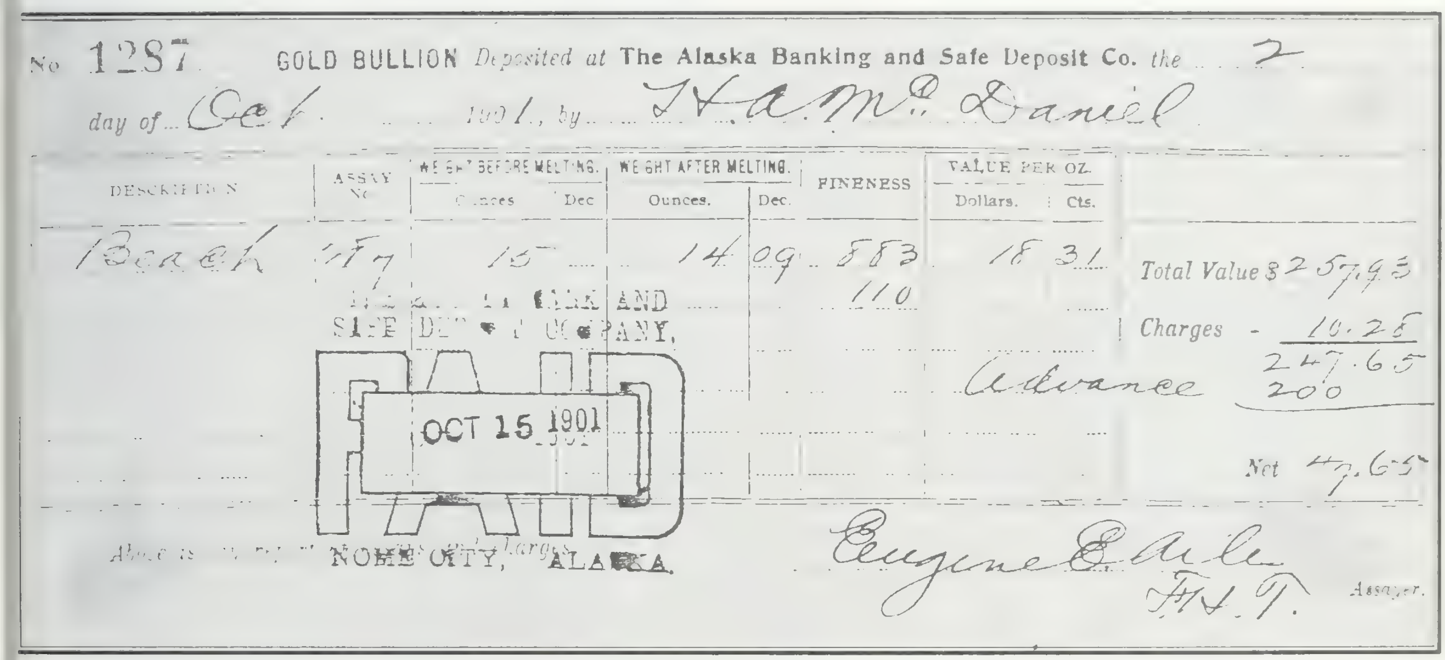
The natives were never interested in gold, but they were interested in the goldseekers for trading and employment. This association brought opportunity and catastrophe. In 1901, Will wrote that "there are a great many Eskimos here this year. They come from as far as the Arctic and from the islands, Diomedes and St. Lawrence. They are trading ivory and mucklucks and drinking all the whiskey they can get." But whole families, even villages, contracted diseases from the newcomers and died of consumption and pneumonia, "before which their constitutions seem to be helpless."[5] George Bird Grinnell, an ethnologist on the Harriman Expedition of 1899, observed:

> White men . . . swarm over the Alaska coast, and are overwhelming the Eskimo. They have taken away their women, and debauched the men with liquor. They have brought them strange new diseases that they never knew before, and in a very short time they will ruin and disperse the wholesome, hearty, merry people we saw. . . .[6]

In 1904, the United States government established a reservation near Nome to assist sick native peoples. Will was initially put off by the Eskimos who lived near his claim because, "they are a shiftless lot and take life easy." But he gradually grew deeply interested in his native neighbors and collected their tools, wrote about their ways, even learned their language.

Nome, created by the Sourdoughs, became Alaska's largest city by 1900. "As late as July, 1899, Nome City was nothing but a city of tents," French wrote. "By the first of August, over fifty buildings had been erected . . . in a very short space of time Front Street was lined with shops, saloons, dance halls, gambling houses, and restaurants. . . . "[7] This was no small feat, since all lumber had to be shipped in or scavenged from shipwrecks. In the summer of 1900, Will estimated that "there are about 20,000 people at Cape Nome and its vicinity," but many of the miners returned to the States each autumn. There was no regular law enforcement. The population of Nome stabilized in 1905 at about 4,500 residents, still its current population, and its residents are half white, half native (Yup' ik, Siberian Yup' ik, and Inupiaq). Today, the entire Seward Peninsula—45,000 square miles—has only 9,000 residents.

Mining was going on all along the beach near Nome when the brothers arrived. "Just imagine 25



No 1287 GOLD BULLION *Deposited at* **The Alaska Banking and Safe Deposit Co.** *the* 2

day of Oct 1901, *by* H. A. McDaniel

DESCRIPTION	ASSAY No	WEIGHT BEFORE MELTING.		WEIGHT AFTER MELTING.		FINENESS	VALUE PER OZ.	
		Ounces	Dec	Ounces.	Dec.		Dollars.	Cts.
Beach	47	15		14	09	583 110	18	31

Total Value $ 257.93

Charges - 10.28

247.65

Advance 200

Net 47.65

ALASKA BANKING AND SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY,

PAID

OCT 15 1901

NOME CITY, ALASKA.

Eugene E. Aile
F.H.T.
Assayer.

A gold receipt issued to the McDaniel brothers in 1901 shows the value of their gold at $18.31 per ounce.

miles of beach covered with tents and people," Will reported. The McDaniel brothers set up their tent on the beach and began mining about eight miles north of Nome. First they rocked beach sand, but soon they received a shipment of supplies from Seattle and began to sluice the sand with a gasoline engine, pump, sluice boxes, and sea water.

Most autumns, the brothers sailed back to California. There Ed married his sweetheart, Jessie Drake, on June 1, 1904. The next day, she accompanied the brothers to Nome, one of the few women among the miners. She cooked, mended clothes, cared for their sled dogs, hunted for wildflowers and tundra berries, and hung curtains and wallpaper in the cabin the brothers built. Will and Ed learned how to mine ancient layers of beach sand covered with frozen tundra. They used a technique known as steam thawing, which allowed them to remain in Alaska and mine throughout the year.

Success eluded most miners. According to L. H. French, "nine-tenths of the men who worked plants on the beach made dismal failures, some of the remainder made expenses, and a few happened to find rich spots and made some money."[8] The McDaniel brothers were among the lucky. On September 16, 1901, Ed wrote to his parents that "we have taken out $3,000 in gold. We have saved up for ourselves, after our expenses, about $1,500." Gold brought about $17.50 a troy ounce. The brothers supplemented their income with boat-building, engine-pump repair, and even dentistry, and their success was followed with great interest back home in California. An article about them appeared in the June 28, 1905, *San Jose Mercury* under the headline, "San Joseans Strike It Rich Near Nome, Alaska."

Despite the shortage of personal success stories, the overall volume of gold produced was remarkable. French wrote that "the Government records show that more gold has been taken out of the Seward Purchase than from any one section on the face of the globe in the same time."[9] For the summer of 1900 alone, French estimated that $7 million in gold was mined. Commercial gold mines still work the Seward Peninsula interior, and a few miners still rock the beach sand each summer.

In the autumn of 1906, in order to be with Jessie's ailing father in San Jose, Jessie and the brothers caught the last boat out of Nome. The three Sourdoughs, flush with success, bought first-class tickets, which gave them private, heated cabins, beds, and dinners of "roast goose and fresh strawberries." Will returned to Alaska alone and bonded the brothers' holdings to a commercial mining company in 1908, but a panic on Wall Street ruined the money market and the deal was never completed. With their gold money, the brothers paid off the mortgage on their parents' ranch in San Jose, began their own families, became self-employed in contracting work, and lived in San Jose the rest of their lives. Jessie died in 1947, Ed in 1951, and Will in 1954.

Several photographers set up studios in gold-rush Nome, but Will McDaniel may have been the only Sourdough who was also an accomplished photographer. He lugged his cumbersome, twenty-pound view camera with him wherever he went and photographed every aspect of his life as a Sourdough—sea travel, mining apparatus, town life, dog sledding, storms and blizzards, landscape, leisure, and his native neighbors.

While Will's photographs show what can't be told, his letters tell what can't be shown. He hand-delivered these letters to steamships about to leave for California. His writing, like his photographs, is simple and beautiful, revealing the details of his life in Alaska as well as the life he left behind in California. Ed did not write as often as Will, but his letters—frank, brief, vivid—often reveal what his brother left unsaid. Now, the brothers' remarkable journey in selections from their own words and images. . . .

This article is adapted from a CHS exhibition
and an accompanying book:

Alaska Gold
Life on the New Frontier,
The Photographs, Letters, and Artifacts of the
McDaniel Brothers

Exhibition at the California Historical Society
September 4, 1997-January 3, 1998

Members' Preview and Booksigning:
September 3, 1997

678 Mission Street, San Francisco

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Alaska Gold
Life on the New Frontier, 1898–1906
Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers
Centennial Edition Book, hardcover

Foreword by Kevin Starr

Edited by Jeff Kunkel

Co-published by the California Historical Society
and Scottwall Associates, available at the exhibit
and fine book stores in September 1997.

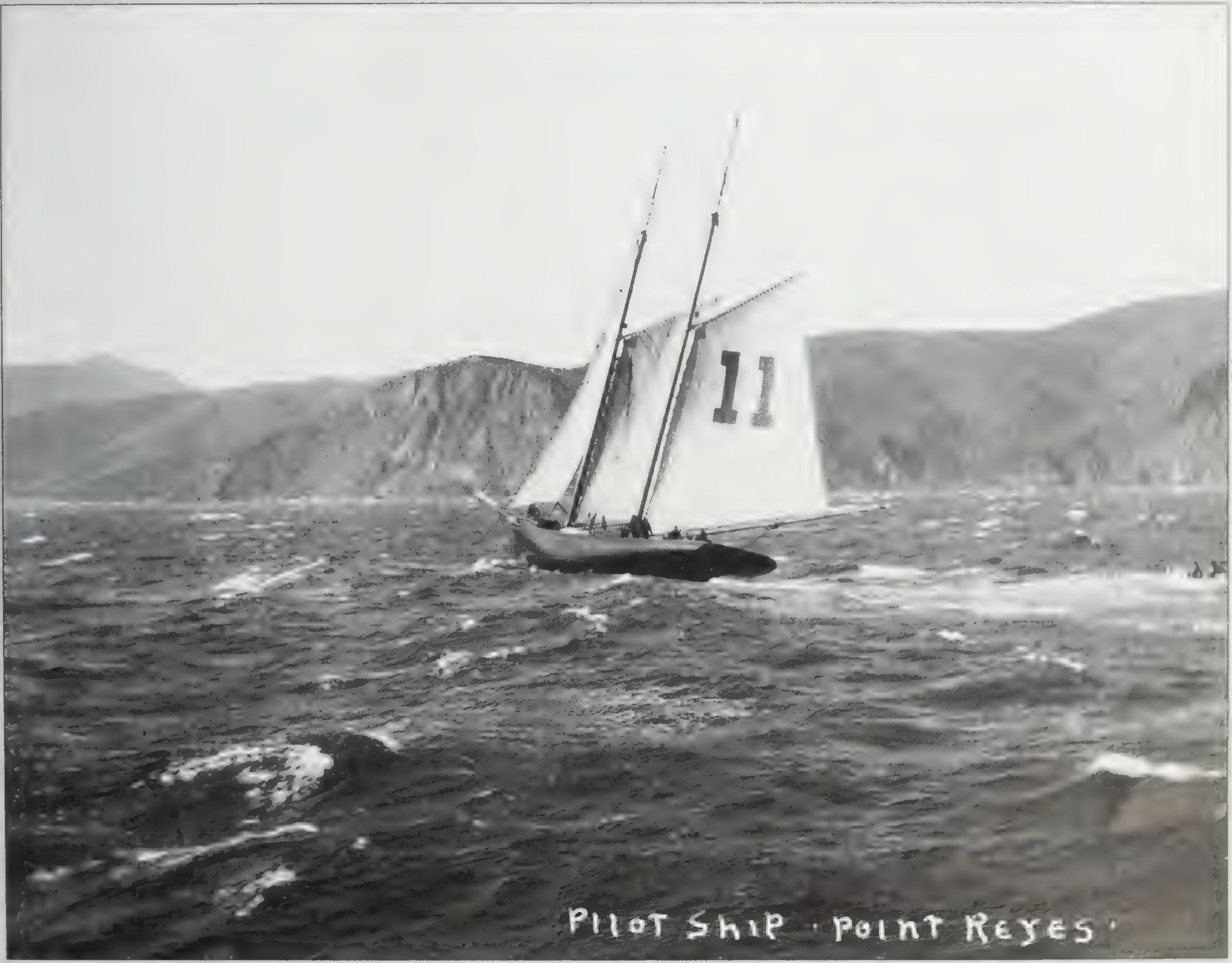
176 pages; 125 photographs
ISBN 0-942087-14-3, $34.95

See notes beginning on page 72.

Jeff Kunkel is a writer and artist living in Oakland. He is guest curator of the upcoming exhibit, Alaska Gold, Life on the New Frontier, *at the California Historical Society. He is editor of* Alaska Gold, *co-published by the California Historical Society and Scottwall Associates, and author of* Warming Fires, *a collection of short stories from Face to Face books. He holds a master of divinity degree from Garrett Evangelical Seminary and is an ordained United Methodist minister.*

LETTERS AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE MCDANIEL BROTHERS

Sea Legs —
"We were packed in the hold like cattle. . ."



"Dropping the pilot." Harbor pilot leaving S. S. *St. Paul* outside the Golden Gate, 1903.

Zealandia, Mid-Ocean, May 28, 1900

. . . We had a great time getting off last Monday. Of all the jams you ever saw, that was the worst. I got on board about 20 minutes before we sailed and I thought I would be smashed flat . . .

—Will

June 9, 1899

There I lay for 4 days and 4 nights, could not eat anything but drank water and sucked limes. I bought 25 cents worth—4 dozen. I just had to take it. Lost about 20 pounds.

—E. J. M.

A storm on the North Pacific, November 1900, photographed from the steamship *Senator.*

Prospectors aboard the steamship *Senator,* 1900.

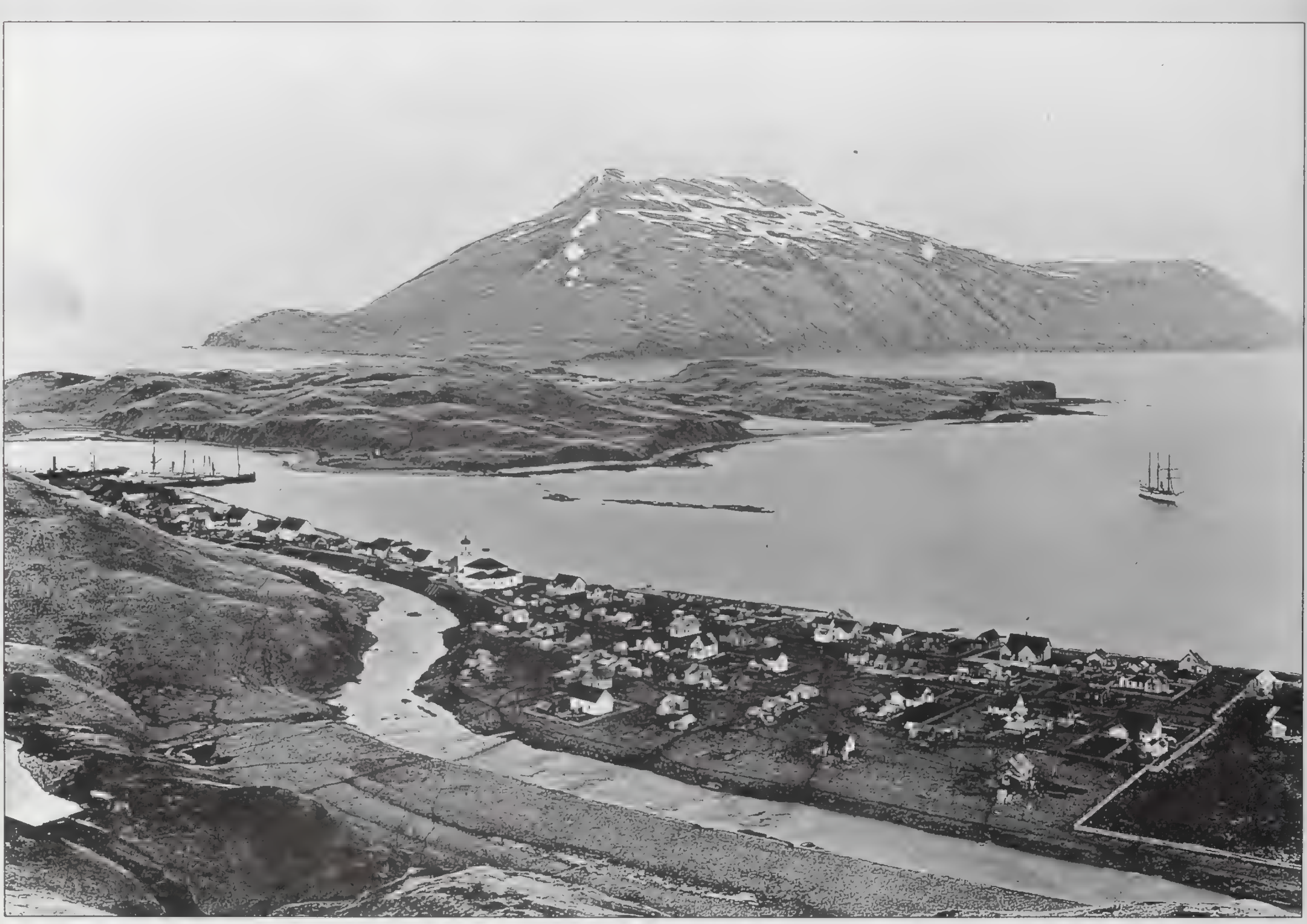
S.S. Zealandia, *Mid-Ocean, May 28, 1900*

. . . I suppose you want to know something of our surroundings. Well, the Z. is a pretty big boat. If you put her on Naglee street, she would lack just 22 feet from reaching our place. She is about 40 feet wide and draws 23 feet of water, very narrow, which makes her a great roller. Now for the steerage. There are about 450 in the hold. All nationalities and classes. We have canvas bunks to sleep on, built 2 feet wide and 3 high, with a narrow passage between. The grub is as follows. Breakfast: Mush—very poor with lumps as big as an egg in it, boiled potatoes and fried meat and belly wash coffee. Dinner: Boiled potatoes. Mush is left out and stew is substituted. Supper: Just read the dinner menu backwards and you have it. As yesterday was Sunday, we had pickles.

I have written this letter while standing on one foot leaning against a bunk, and an old light bobbing over me so don't criticize. —

Wilfred

Dutch Harbor —
"Hurray! Land in Sight!"



Dutch Harbor, Unalaska Island, Alaska, June 6, 1900. Note the Russian Orthodox Church on the land spit.

Dutch Harbor
June 4, 1900

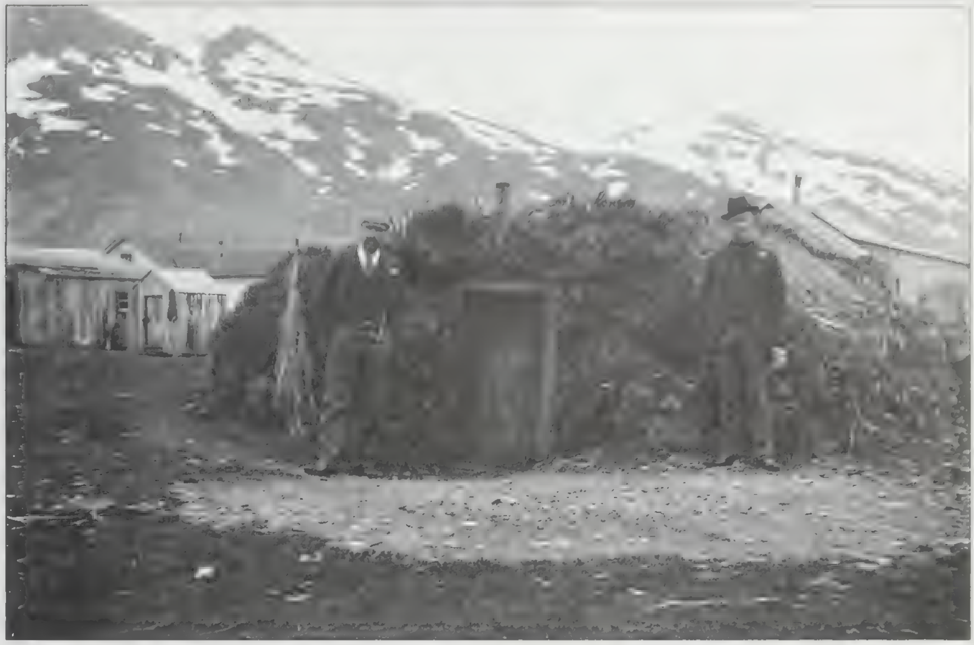
Dear Folks,

. . . The weather has been cloudy and chilly. Everything is white with snow except around the beach. This is a very beautiful harbor, formed by the islands. The water is calm as a pond but is quite deep . . .

We all vow we'll never get caught in the steerage again. The crowd we are forced to be with is a dirty lot. When a fellow is sick and has nothing to listen to but their jabbering, yelling, and profanity, it nearly drives one crazy. I think about half of them are anarchists and socialists . . . One would think from the way they think and talk that they are just going to kill every man they take a notion to.

If you saw the report that we hear is in the states, that the Zealandia is lost, I suppose you have us all dead and buried.

Love to all,
Will

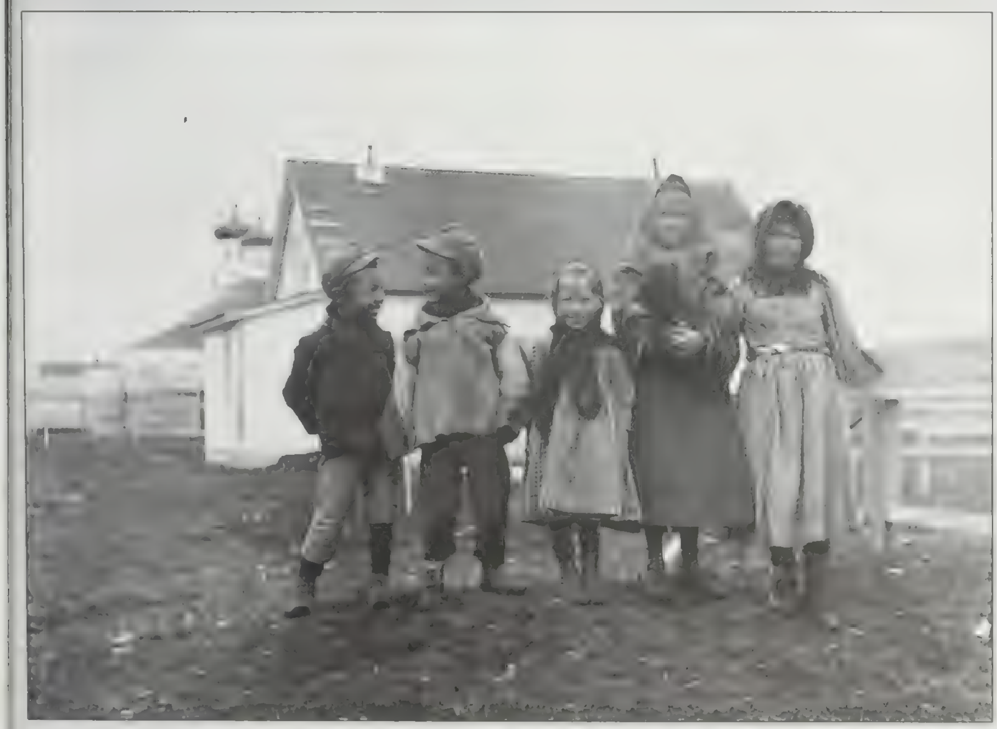


An Aleut house on
Unalaska Island, June 1900.

June 20, 1901

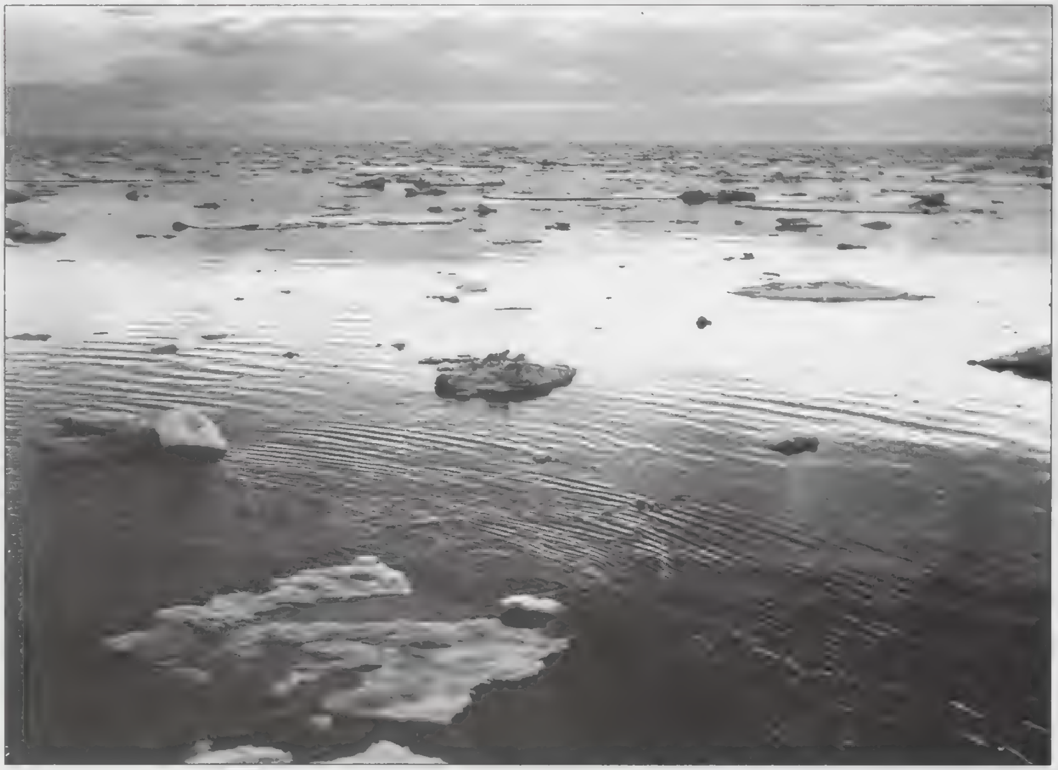
. . . Sunday night all the St. Paul's passengers who did not go to the saloons and gambling places here went down to the Jesse Lee Home to a sacred song service . . . There are about 30 Aleut and Eskimo children at the home. It is an orphans home for these native children.

—Will

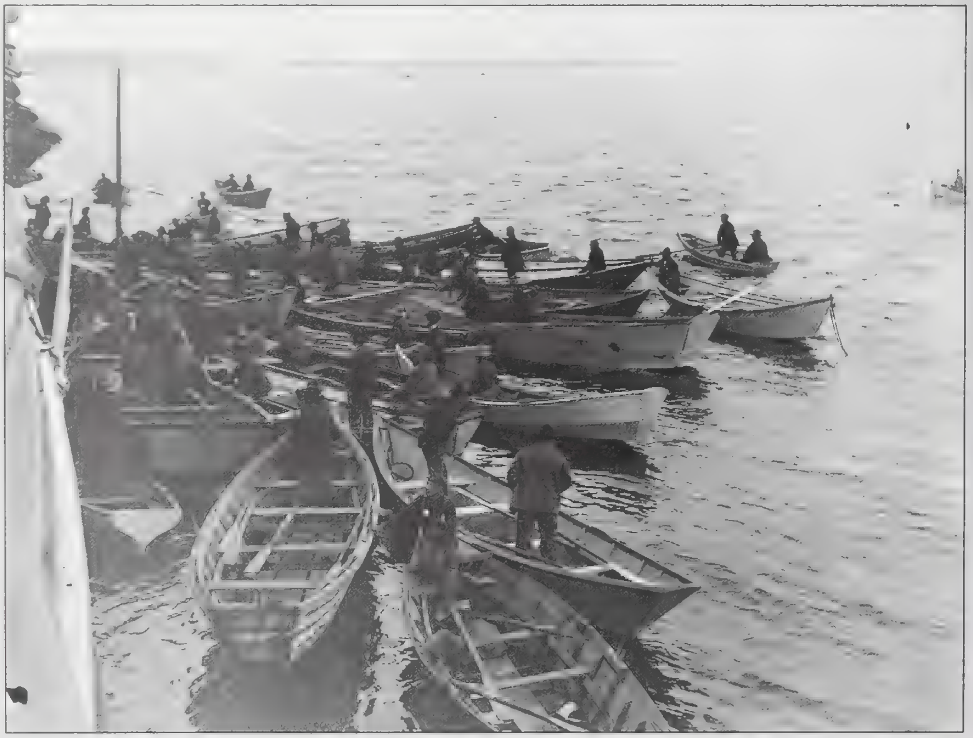


Native children from the
Jessie Lee Home, a Methodist
orphanage in Unalaska.

Through the Ice Floes—
"Four Ships are Frozen in. . . ."



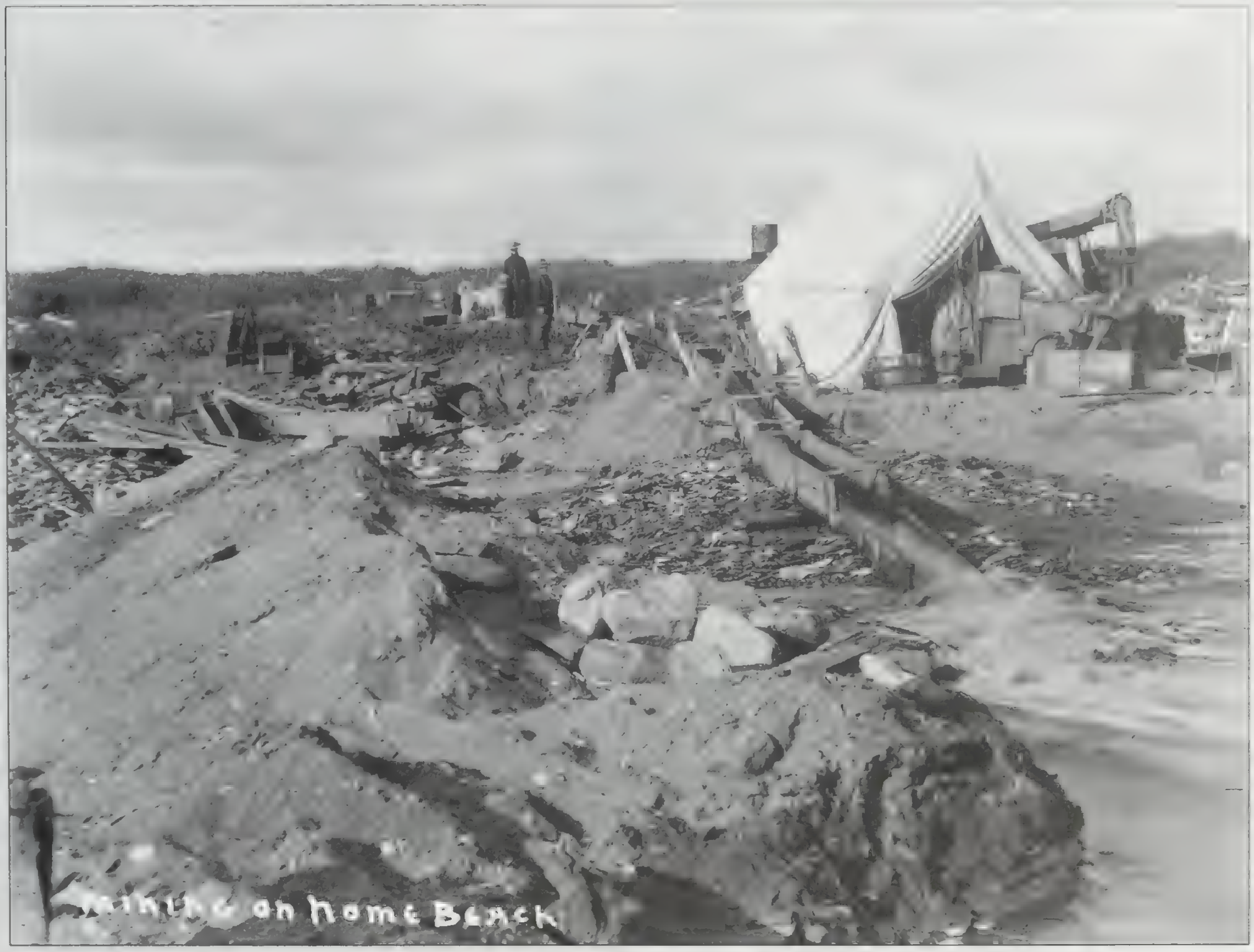
The Bering Sea in June 1900, view from S. S. *Zealandia.*



Nome anchorage, boats unloading *Zealandia* prospectors, June 1900.

> *We are soon to be dumped off like cattle on the cold bleak coast of Nome.*
> *—Ed, June 22, 1901*

Mining—
"I can see gold all through it. . . ."



The brothers' claim, eight miles north of Nome on a Bering Sea beach, 1901.

August 18, 1901
Indian Village, Nome

Dear Folks,

We have spent as far as our books show $1227.92 in cash since the 1st of June. What do you think of that?—all that money we have made ourselves in a short time. You can think what a pleasure it is to handle it even if we can't keep it. We have spent more than that counting the discount on gold dust by selling it at $16 per oz. when it is worth $17.50. We now have $500 lying around the cabin, part in a pair of old shoes, $400 in 3 gold pans, $25 or $30 in an old tea can and the Lord knows where the rest is scattered.

We are well fixed in Alaska, in fact better than most people. We are probably worth $2,000 in Alaska property, that is if we could get a fair price for our belongings. I eat like a pig—1 hour after eating I could eat another big feed.

Well, I must close
E.J.M.

Cape Nome, Alaska
Monday, July 22, 1900

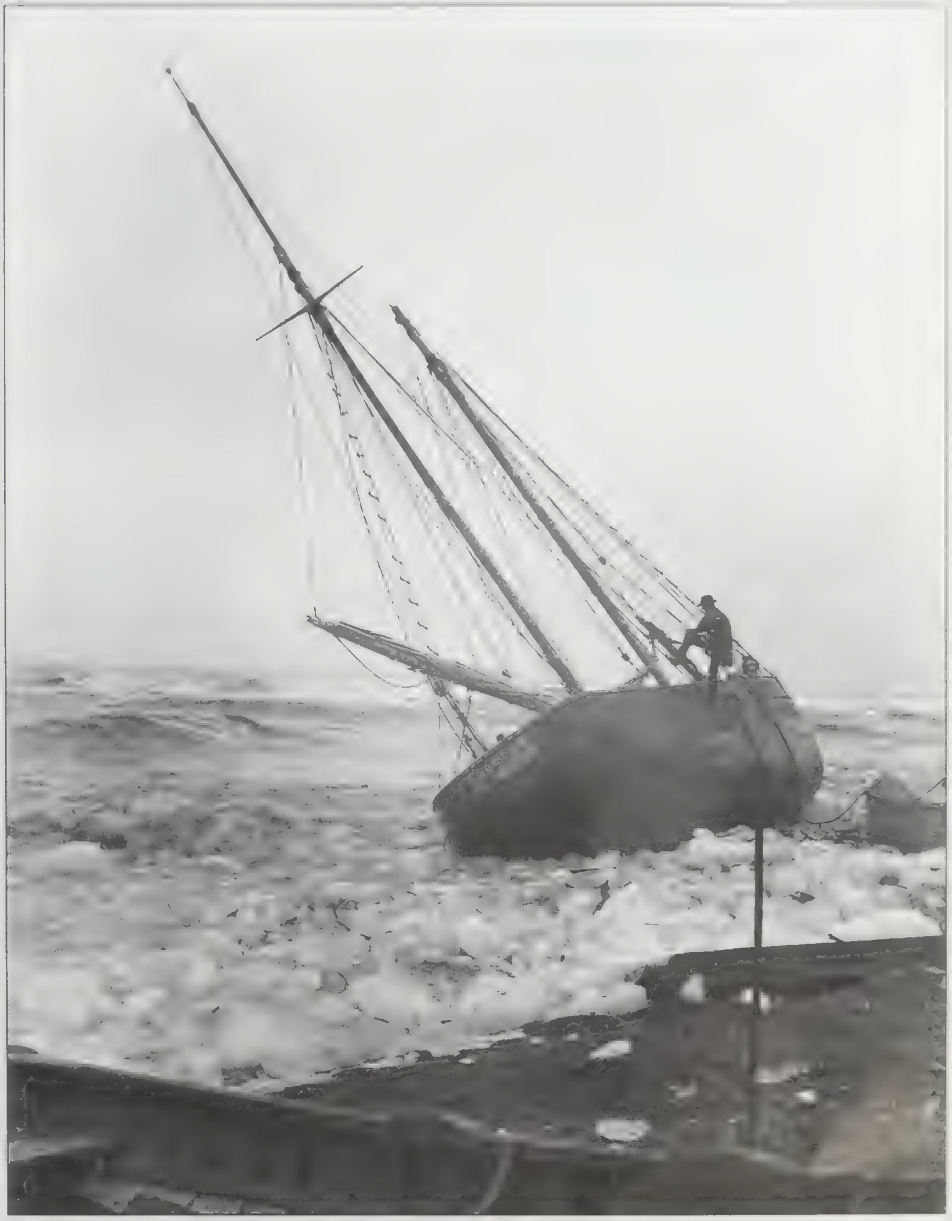
Dear Folks,

Ed and I are both in fine health and doing well. You may hear of the accident before you get this. Rouse lost his life by being tangled in the rope on the gipsy of the engine. Ed and I have been afraid of the thing and have never touched it, but Rouse said he had been in the business for 4 or 5 years and thought he understood it. He and Ed were pulling up the oil barrels from the beach and had all but two up when the rope slipped and began whirling and twisting. The rope got a twist around his leg and drew him over the gipsy and whirled him around three or four times until the momentum of the engine ceased. When we got him out his leg fell off, cut clean off at the knee. Rouse did not know his leg was gone until he saw it and asked, "What's that?"; then he realized what had happened and collapsed. We had him in a cabin and Mr. Tenney, the doctor, Ed and I and two other men were with him when he died. I feel very sorry for his folks. They objected to his coming, too. We were just getting started in good shape and making some money. . . . Now do not worry over us.

Love to all,
Wilfred

Two "shovelers," paid by the day and employed by Will and Ed, 1902.

The Storm—
"The sea was a fright to behold . . ."



The *Prosper* from San Francisco, photographed during the storm of September 9, 1900, was beached and scavenged. All of the buildings on the seaward side of Front Street, Nome's main street, were destroyed in this storm.

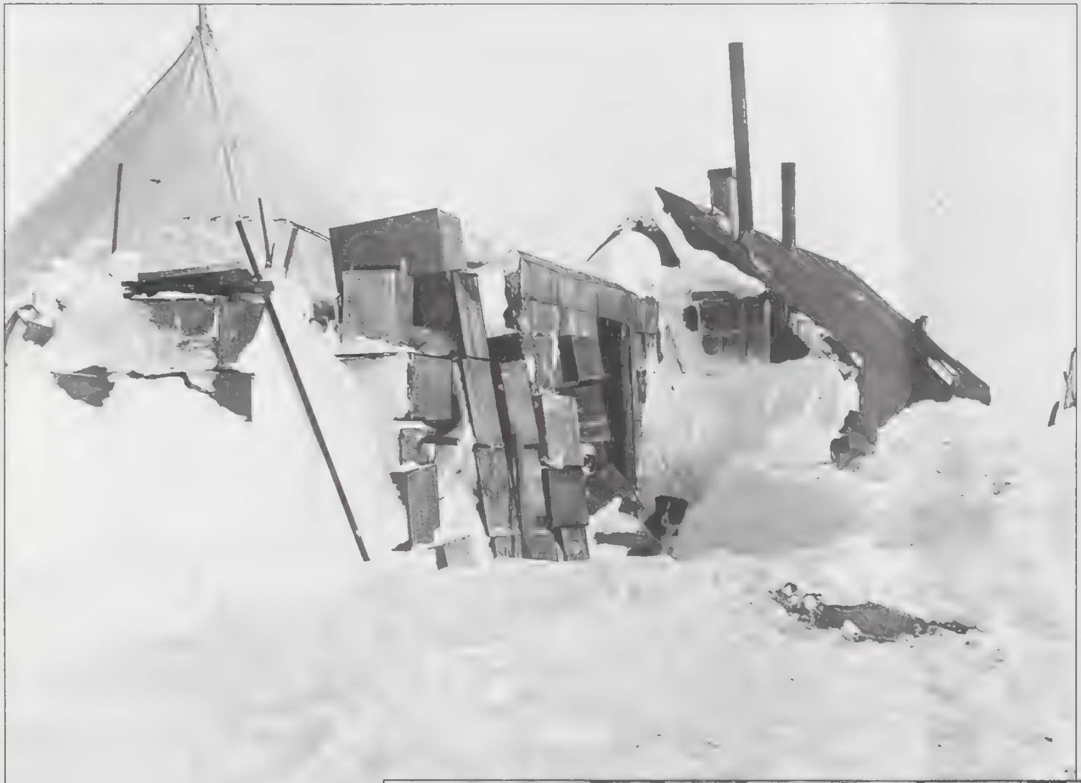
Nome, Alaska
Indian Village, Sept. 10, '00

Dear Folks,

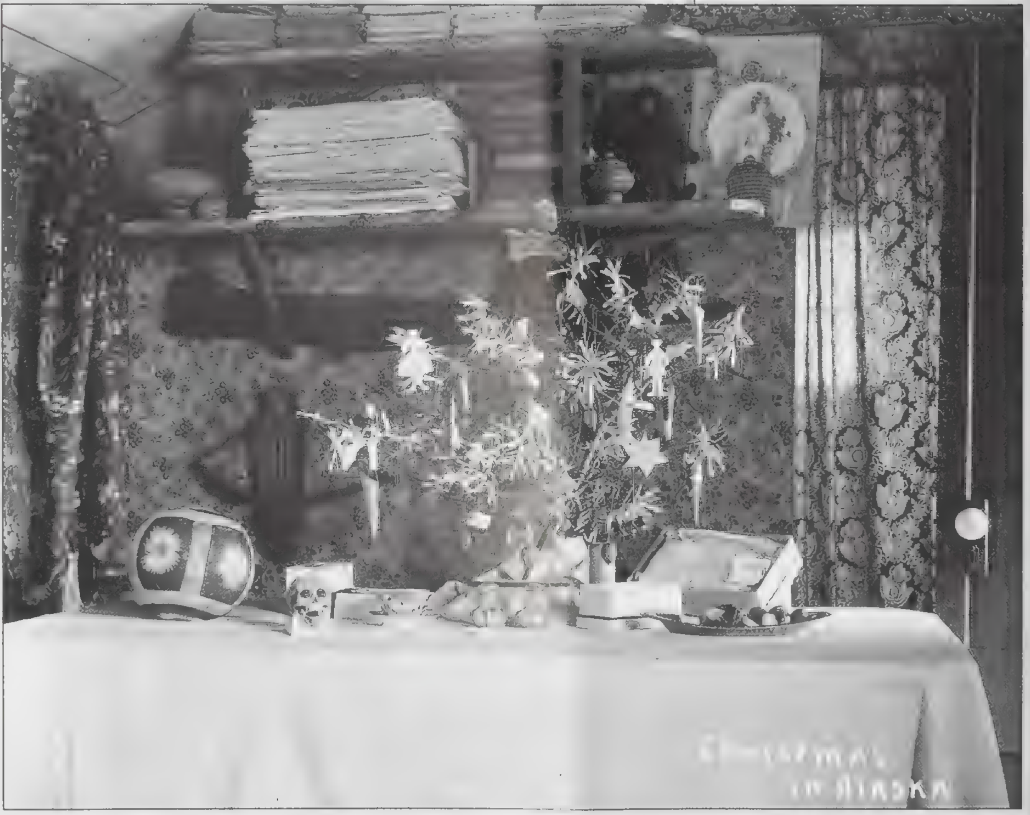
We have had a fearful storm and another one is brewing. All the plants are badly wrecked. Ed and I walked for three miles down the beach and saw engines in all stages of delapidation. Pipes are all broken and twisted and carried away. There are three ships wrecked between us and town. There is a large, fine, three-master near us on the beach. Launches and tugs galore on the beach. The steamers beat it out to sea and hove to, others went out under the lee of Sledge Island, twenty miles out, and rode out the storm. The sea was a fright to behold, boiling and roiling in mountains as far as one can see. Our pump and engine were just high enough to escape damage. We are the luckiest miners on the beach.

Wilfred

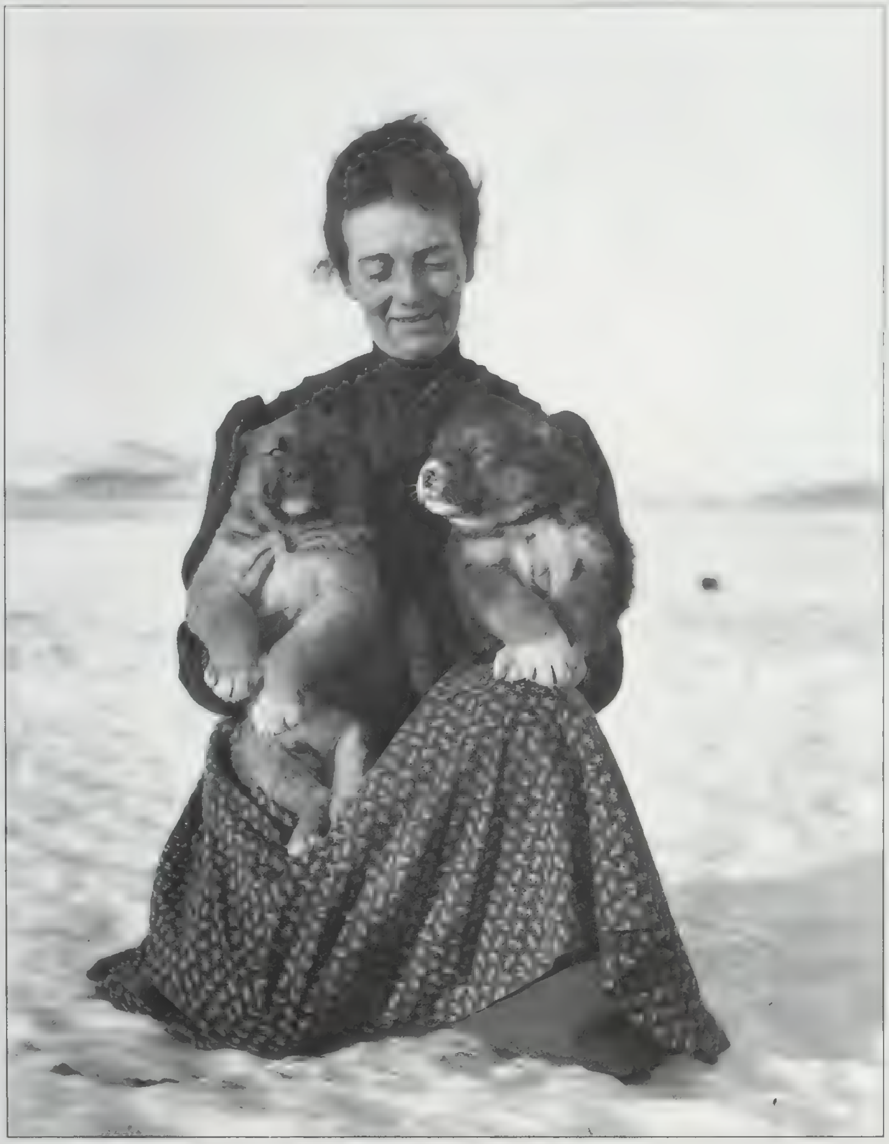
Home—
"Our cabin is the best on the beach. . . ."



Second cabin built by the brothers near Cripple River and nearly obscured by snow, February 4, 1905.



Christmas decorations by Jessie in the cabin, 1905.



Jessie with sled dog pups, Cripple River cabin, 1904.

Cripple River
September 18, 1905

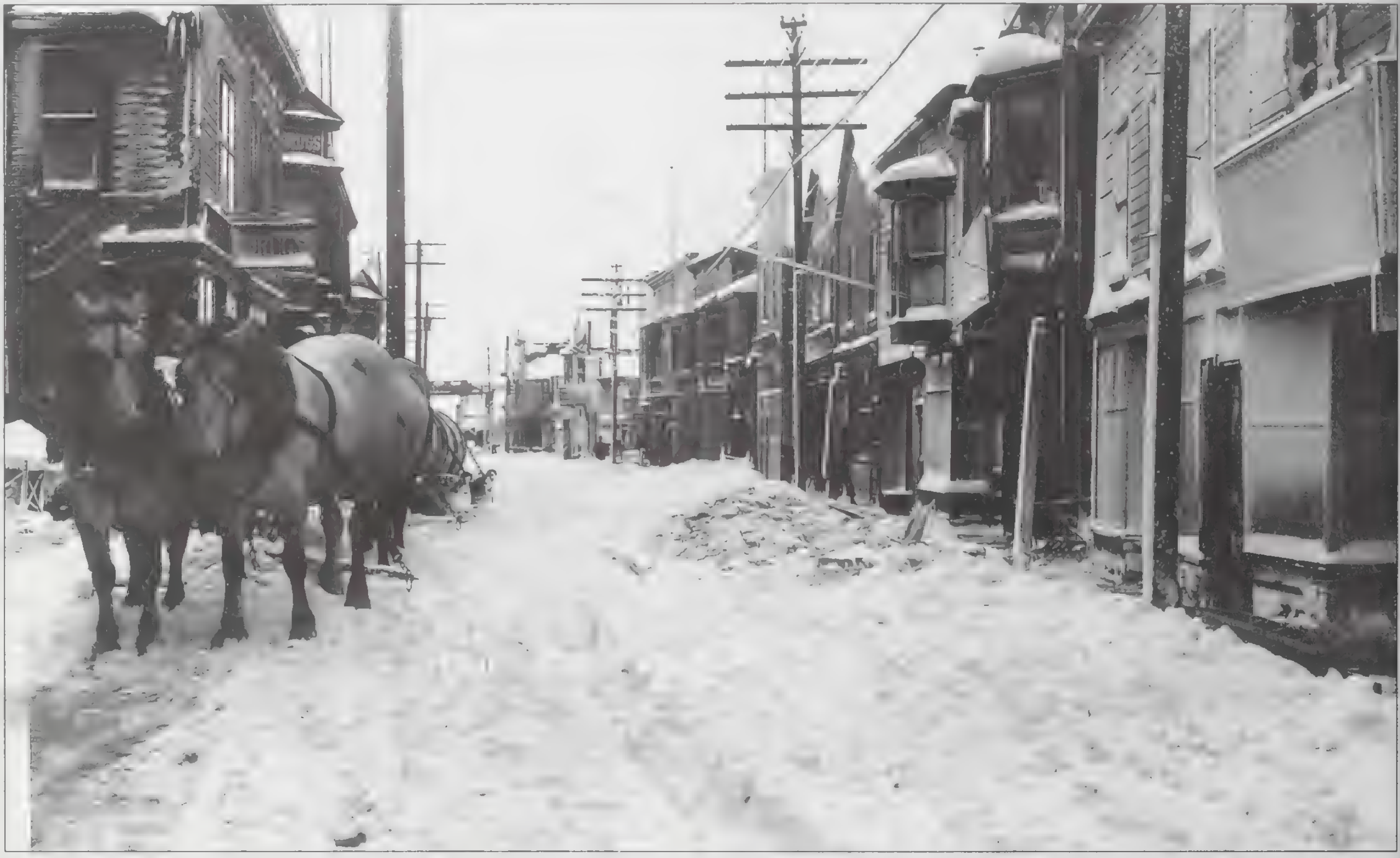
Dear Lulu,

We received our last mail today, only one letter for me . . . I have felt rather neglected this summer by everyone. I put up two jars of blueberries and one of cranberries this morning and tomorrow I will try mossberries. We have been having mossberry pie on Sundays and think them fine. All other berries are gone. Flowers gone, too . . . We have had two snows and it freezes every night. The boys have on their fur caps for the first time this year.

I was in hopes Rev. Herrold would come up this winter. It will be so lonely and we are looking forward to a very fierce winter so I shall be shut up alone most of the time. It is too bad for me out today, and I can stand a great deal, so I am putting in my time writing . . .

Yours lovingly,
Jessie

Nome—
"Read all about the bloody murder. . . ."



Front Street, Nome, winter of 1906.

Nome City
July 2, 1900

Dear Folks,

We moved our camp day before yesterday about 8 miles north of where we first camped. We were getting very crowded. Hardly room to get between the tents. Just imagine 25 miles of beach covered with tents and people. We are now in a fine place. . . .

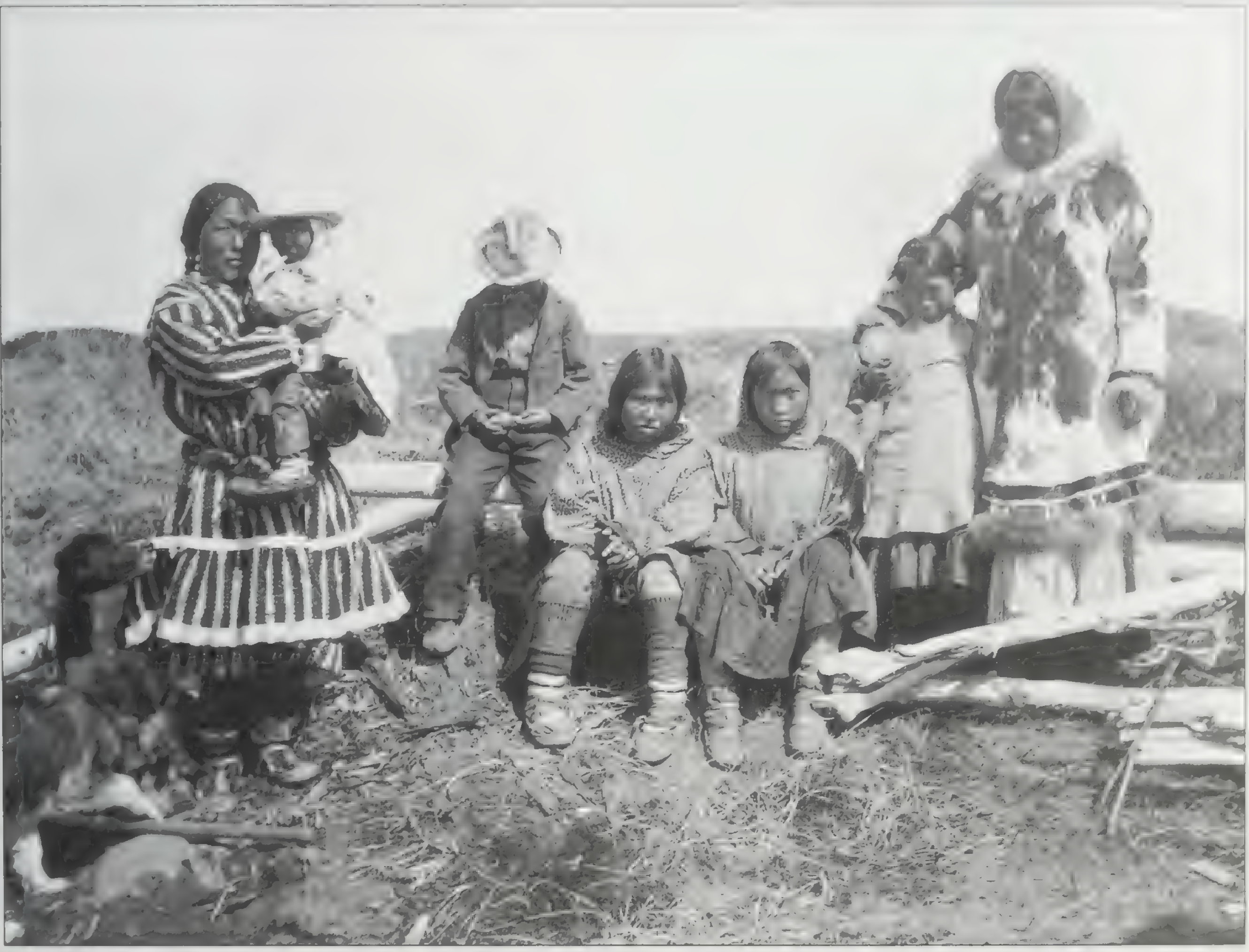
The town of Nome is going to be a pest hole and we are glad to get away from it. The town is all one street which is about 5 miles long. There have been about 5 men shot and killed since we arrived. The town is under military law and the soldiers are doing police duty . . .

We have 2 or 3 papers published here. Newsboys go down the street shouting, "Gold-digger here, all about the bloody murder, only 25 cents." . . . There are lots of lunch counters and restaurants and all sorts of places, but they don't seem to do much business as people won't spend their money until they make some. Milk sells for 50 cents a qt., sugar 5 lbs. for $1.00, spuds 4 to 5 cents a lb., flour $2.50 to $3.50 a sack, bacon 25 cents a lb., beans 10 cents a lb.

We are getting hardened to work now. . . .

Wilfred

Neighbors—
"They are dressed in furs and calico. . . ."

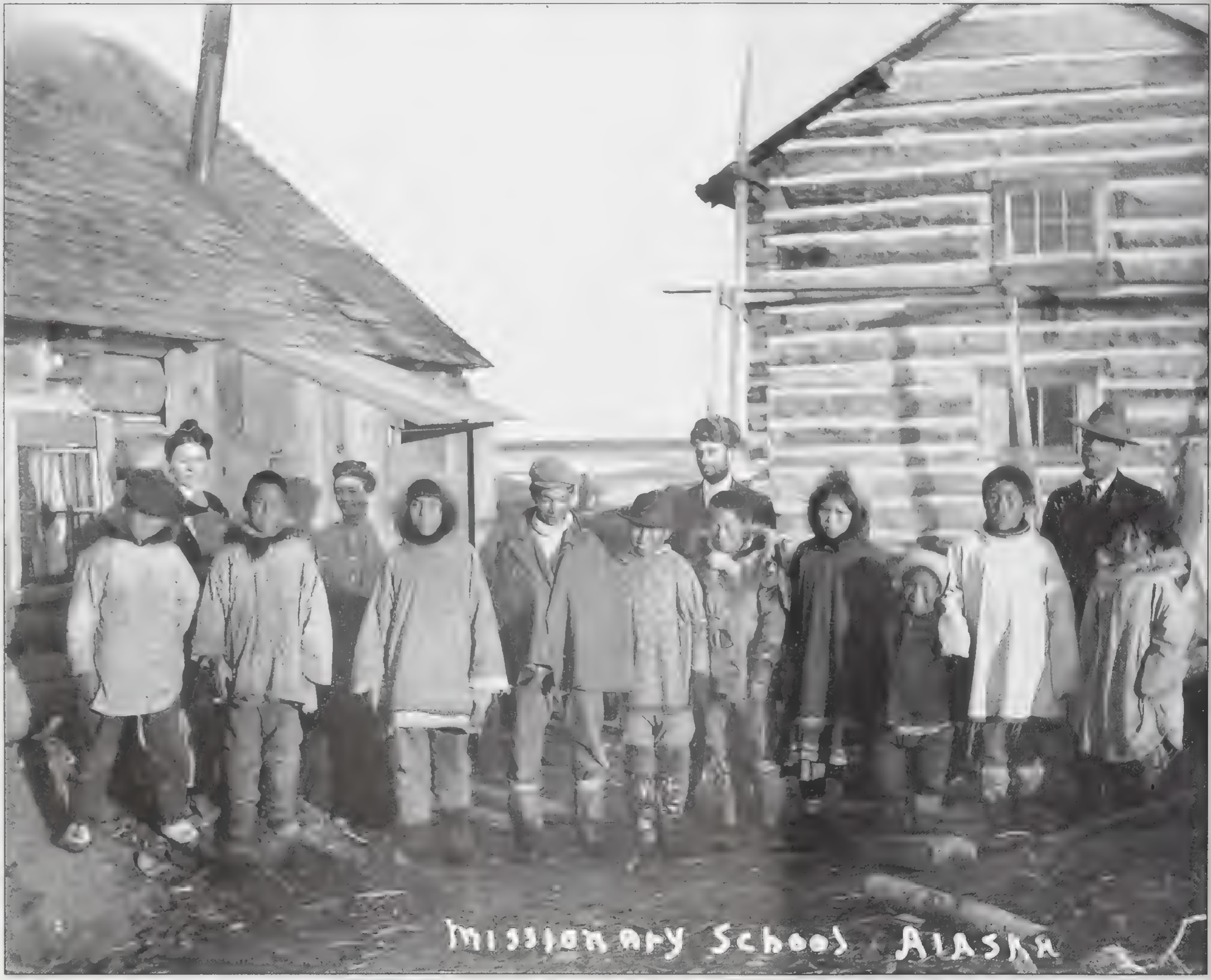


Penny River native family of Ahtaseeuk, near Nome.

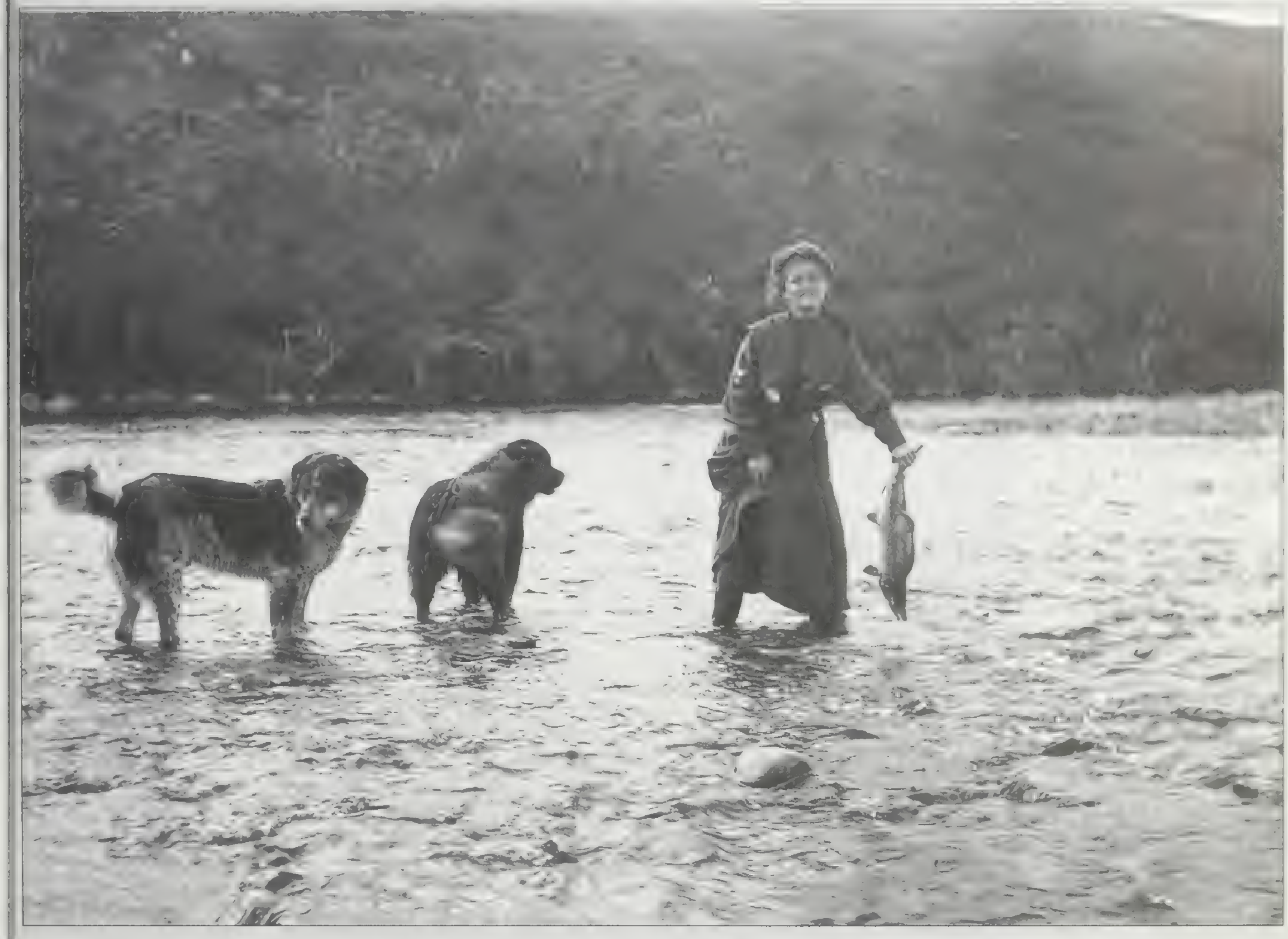
Golovin Bay, Alaska
July 1, 1899

I am wearing mucklucks on my feet. They are made of walrus hide, waterproof, and come up to your knees. We put hay in the bottom of them as the sole is very thin . . . The natives were trying to blow my cornet this morning, and they had a great time with it. They are a very curious people. If they can find a hole to look through, they will be peeping in the tent all the time. . . . They are dressed in furs and calico. The natives have plenty of dogs. They feed them fish and they are fat. At night they howl like coyotes. You can read a newspaper the whole 24 hours now.

Yours truly,
E. J. McDaniel


Missionary School ALASKA

Methodist mission school at Sinrok Roadhouse near Nome, 1902.
Rev. M. A. Sellon (near center) with Charlotte Renny, Jessie, Ed McDaniel, and students.



Charlotte Renny playfully ran into Cripple River, grabbed a salmon, posed for the photograph, and released the fish, 1905.

Originally published in the *Alaska-Yukon Sourdough News* by Wilfred McDaniel, June 1, 1946:

. . . The poke, lean or plump, is no yard-stick to measure the friendships among these sturdy men and women of the early days in the North. Something finer, more enduring is theirs. The GOLD? Most of it has long since taken wings—all but forgotten. In its place, something far more precious has replaced it, something not to be taken away or lost—memories of earnest endeavor and love for our fellow travelers down the trail of life.

"More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold." Psalm 19:10

Elizabeth Eddy Fisk, Redlands real estate investor,
promoter, and civic leader, ca. 1900.
From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.

WOMEN, REAL ESTATE, AND URBAN GROWTH

A Case Study of Two Generations of Women Property Owners in Redlands, California, 1880–1940

by Lee M. A. Simpson

INTRODUCTION

In the early months of 1887, while southern California was reaching the peak of its legendary real estate boom of the eighties, Elizabeth and Will Eddy joined the flood of eastern immigrants moving there. Following Will's diagnosis with tuberculosis in late 1886, the couple looked to southern California not only to find a healthier climate, but to find economic opportunity for themselves and their baby daughter, Ruth. A minister not a businessman, Will had accumulated enough wealth to afford the move with relative comfort and to be able to purchase citrus investment property upon arrival. Will and Elizabeth, however, did not purchase property rashly. Instead, searching for property that would provide both income and an ideal home site, they chose to rent a house for several months and to explore the region. Together, they traveled throughout the Riverside and Redlands orange-growing areas looking at property and discussing the merits of the various communities.

Elizabeth's diary entries reveal a couple involved in an economic as well as a marriage partnership in which important financial and investment decisions were made jointly. They also bring to light a latent role that at the time was becoming typical of bourgeois American women.[1] Far from being relegated to a secondary domestic role, Elizabeth revealed in her diaries that she shared equally in the management of family finances and family affairs. She understood the mechanisms of the land market and participated in the entire process of purchasing property and building a home. In her diaries, she carefully recorded the prices of property, the date and amount of purchases, and other significant financial information. For example, on January 13, 1887, the couple began looking at property in the Arlington area of Riverside. "Explored some new streets," Elizabeth wrote, "talked with a man whose place is for sale. $30,000 for 21 acres."[2]

Throughout the winter of 1887, Elizabeth and Will looked at several pieces of property in Riverside, ranging in size from five to twenty acres, and in price from $6,500 to $30,000. Finding little that appealed to her in their price range, Elizabeth became discouraged with the search. With no luck in Riverside, they turned their attention to the less-developed area of Redlands. Here they found that land prices as well as potential returns were higher than in Riverside. As they spent more time in Redlands, and discussed the situation with neighbors, Elizabeth and Will concluded that even high-priced land would be a sound investment. "The one that pleases us [is] a piece of 13 ½ acres at $300 per acre. Pretty high price we think but it lies well. In p.m. had a call from Mrs. Hale and W[ill] and I went over to call on Parks who were kind to advise."[3] Elizabeth gained further knowledge about the local real estate market by discussing it with Isaac Ford, a local surveyor and engineer. He recommended that the couple, at the minimum, purchase a half-interest in ten acres of citrus groves in Redlands. This would provide a modest income until they could purchase land on which

Arlington Heights Fruit Co. citrus groves, Riverside, ca. 1880. This is representative of the type of property that Elizabeth and Will Eddy would have purchased in the Arlington area of Riverside. *Courtesy Riverside Public Library.*

to build their home and to plant an orange grove.[4] The couple recognized the wisdom of this advice; but because they still planned to make their home in Riverside, they chose to purchase there first.[5]

By the fall of 1887, however, Will and Elizabeth had decided that their future prosperity lay in the booming town of Redlands rather than Riverside. Intending to provide income for Elizabeth following his death, Will purchased the first of several lots in Redlands. Will consulted Elizabeth on every aspect of the real estate purchase. "Talked as usual all manner of plans for living here, building, renting, etc.," Elizabeth wrote. "Do not seem any nearer the point than ever."[6] After several more trips to the Redlands area, Elizabeth began to think that she had convinced Will to buy in the Crafton subdivision.[7] Finally on November 18, 1887, Will and Elizabeth agreed to buy a five-acre plot on Fern Avenue, next to a ten-acre grove. In February 1888, just before the region's real estate bubble burst, they sold their lots in Riverside for $1,437.50, with $737.50 paid in cash. Elizabeth noted that they had paid only $800 for the property the previous spring.[8]

Apprenticeships in Property

Elizabeth's diaries indicate that she and Will made investment decisions jointly; financial decisions were not imposed on her by her husband. By entering into an economic as well as marriage partnership with her husband, Elizabeth engaged in what I call an "apprenticeship" in property ownership and financial management. In this apprenticeship, she became familiar with local land prices; she learned the financial procedures for purchasing property; and she mastered the business skills necessary to manage her own financial affairs.[9] By owning property, Elizabeth also essentially became a "stockholder" in the city's corporate ambitions for growth. The city's success or failure now had a direct impact on her personally and on her family's well-being. By learning the rules of the real estate market, and its intimate relationship with the mechanisms of city government, this apprenticeship prepared Elizabeth for a life outside the home, ensured her interest in the process of city growth and development, and equipped her with the skills necessary to remain independent financially following Will Eddy's death in 1888 (she remarried

The home that Elizabeth and John Fisk eventually built on the Fern Avenue property, ca. 1900. The house still stands today. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

to John P. Fisk in 1890). Far from existing within a restricted sphere, Elizabeth's apprenticeship in property made her a vital part of the Redlands growth machine, and hence a participant in the urban competition for regional dominance.

Elizabeth's experiences thus provide evidence that supports a new model of behavior identifiable among southern California's bourgeois women. An investigation of women's roles in the booming citrus economy in the 1880s and 1890s reveals that middle-class women enjoyed early opportunities to enter the public world of the real estate market. This can be attributed to a variety of factors. In part, it reflects the nature of California community property law, more progressive than in other areas of the nation, that protected a woman's right to own property both individually and jointly with her husband. Real estate dealers had no need to distinguish between men and women.[10] They were more concerned with a prospective client's ability to purchase land at the highest possible price than with the client's gender. In addition, the frenetic pace of western development and the fever to become regionally dominant led California city boosters to encourage women as well as men to buy property and engage in business in their cities. As a result, Victorian social mores and the English common law tradition of the *femme covert* broke down under the economic pressures of California's expanding capitalist land market and urban growth competition.

Between about 1880 and 1900, bourgeois women's emergence into ownership and management of their own property in California generally followed a two-step process. First, women entered an apprenticeship with either their fathers or their husbands overseeing the initial purchase. In this first phase, women were being prepared for economic independence by gaining experience in the overall process of home-buying or building. Second, women achieved active ownership and management of property through either inheritance or personal investment. As independent property owners prior to 1911, such women achieved a measure of economic emancipation long before they gained political emancipation. Thus, women like Elizabeth Eddy established themselves as economic actors in California before they became political actors. Although they may not have had official titles or the right to vote, they insisted that their voices be heard and their vision followed.

Helen Graves Fisk at age 33. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

By the time Elizabeth's daughters were ready to enter their apprenticeships in property acquisition and management in the 1910s and 1920s, however, they no longer required the economic assistance or business expertise of male relatives. In part this reflected the breakdown of Victorian separate spheres that accompanied the emergence of women as participants in city growth. Because the first generation of bourgeois women had established their capabilities as competent property owners and managers, their daughters, entering the market place between 1900 and 1940, could purchase and improve property independently. The rules were also changed by a nationwide shift away from an apprentice system of training and toward academic education, formal credential programs, and a growing movement for professionalization.[11] Nationally, professionalization helped open fields previously closed to non-bourgeois women, to women of all classes. While fathers, brothers, and uncles continued to provide one avenue of entry into an apprenticeship, the proliferation of women's colleges and professional and business schools after 1900 offered alternative approaches.

Elizabeth's daughter by her second marriage, Helen Fisk, for example, entered an early apprenticeship with her father, John Fisk, by helping him in his real estate business as a teenager. Then, in the 1910s, she attended Mt. Holyoke, where she majored in English and economics and made contacts with other business and professional women. After graduation, Helen returned to Redlands, where she took business courses through the local business school in order to expand her skills. Her experiences as a working woman in the 1920s and 1930s prepared her to assume full ownership and management of the family's citrus groves and land holdings as an unmarried, independent business woman.[12]

THE URBAN GROWTH PROCESS

For bourgeois women like Elizabeth and her daughter Helen, the successful completion of an apprenticeship in property prepared them to participate in western urban growth and development. Between 1880 and 1940, California cities, in the words of the Riverside *Enterprise,* generally adopted the creed that "the chief ambition of all cities . . . is to achieve bigness."[13] California cities thus competed to attract more businesses, industries, and residents in order to achieve "bigness," and to become the regionally dominant city. Driven by investment in real estate, capital-intensive agriculture and industry, and social overhead, Californians competed in an urban growth strategy that required careful planning and marketing by real estate developers and urban entrepreneurs, both men and women. Because most cities by the turn of the twentieth century were providing the basic civic services of police, sidewalks, and schools, reaching the top of the urban hierarchy required vision and forethought. It was not enough for a city to sell itself as a modern service city. City boosters had to develop a variety of social and moral services such as churches, clubs, and parks, and demonstrate the growth potential of the city in order to attract residents who would invest in property and enhance the wealth of all property owners.[14]

According to historian Eric Monkkonen, the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century city growth process revolved primarily around a city's ability to engage in debt-financing. As a city's population grew, property values increased and allowed city governments to follow policies of conservative taxation while maintaining high levels of bonded indebtedness. City debt, in turn, financed the services that attracted more immigrants, perpetuating the growth cycle. Knowing that increased land values would continue to underwrite city debt, the more conservative property owners were thus encouraged to invest in the city.[15] Monkkonen further argues that American cities are corporate entities designed to serve as economic rather than social centers. As such, "cities chose to intervene aggressively in the local economic setting, intentionally creating what they hoped would be ideal environments for economic growth. . . . Success, defined as population growth, increased the wealth of all real property owners."[16] Based on the laws governing commercial, profit-oriented corporations, city governments used their debt-issuing privileges to enhance economic opportunities by developing themselves as either passive regulatory cities or active, promotional, service cities. Most cities in the West, and those in California in particular, were established as promotional, service cities that emphasized their social, recreational, and economic resources, rather than their passive regulatory structure. By the 1880s, all California cities that were seriously engaged in competition for regional dominance responded to existing problems through regulation, and provided basic services like sewers and sidewalks. It was additional social, recreational, and economic services that would set one city apart from another and lead to victory.

City debt-financing represented a public form of borrowing money. Through their apprenticeships in private property ownership, bourgeois women became familiar with the mechanisms of public money borrowing. They were thus, "practicing" for later full participation in the city growth process. With personal wealth based in real property, property owners found their personal fortunes dependent on successful urban expansion. Further, to protect or enhance this personal wealth, private property owners had to participate in civic affairs. For all property owners, then, the public and private spheres became inextricably intertwined. Therefore, while women's personal property holdings and finances appeared to concern the private, or domestic sphere, as real estate properties they also belonged to the public sphere. As they increased their property holdings, women could not afford to distinguish between the two spheres. Accordingly, women property owners entered the public sphere because their ownership of property went beyond simply domestic concerns, and drew them into public involvement.[17]

Many women's historians subscribe to the theory that women entered the public arena only after they had "domesticized" it. They suggest that women escaped the bonds of the domestic sphere by asserting moral superiority in the public sphere. Municipal "housekeeping" campaigns, the primary examples of women entering the public arena to engage in health and hygiene projects, have, therefore, been analyzed as an extension of domestic roles rather than as attempts to enhance personal wealth in property. Historian Paula Baker provides the strongest argument that women left the domestic arena to enter the public arena through what she termed the "domestication of politics."[18] Other historians have argued that the traditional "bonds of womanhood" actually provided women with a source of empowerment and a cultural realm separate from men. Recent scholarship, however, notes the many ways in which the public and private spheres blurred, especially for middle-class men and women. My study builds upon this newer work, suggesting that many men also shared in the goals of municipal housekeeping and that these goals extended beyond providing moral uplift to the enhancement of economic opportunity. Rather than extending the domestic sphere to the public arena through moral reform efforts, as historians have concluded in the past, bourgeois women instead became public actors because the public sphere encroached into the domestic. The same decision-making process men and women employed on the private level influenced their decision-making at the public level. City growth and the growth of individual wealth were one and the same.

Most western urban histories that address the issue of rapid urbanization depict a male-centered society in which the credit for vision and benefits of economic growth accrue primarily to men, the owners of wealth and power.[19] As property owners, themselves, however, bourgeois women such as Elizabeth Eddy (later Fisk) and her daughters shared in the ownership of wealth and power. As property owners with a stake in civic affairs, the three women joined the Redlands Contemporary Club. Women's clubs such as the Contemporary Club proliferated in California in the 1890s, and provided middle-class women with the social vehicle by which they could influence the process of city growth and development. The records of women's clubs, and the personal papers of Elizabeth Eddy and other club members, suggest that middle-class women's public activities extended far beyond traditional interests in municipal housekeeping and philanthropy. Further, the experiences of the Eddy/Fisk women of Redlands also suggest that California women were more likely to identify their interests with the men of their same social and economic class than with women of other classes. Although often maintaining a division of labor along traditional gender lines, California's urban property owners worked in a cross-gender, class-based alliance to shape a regional identity based on a commitment to urban growth. Both men and women worked to protect a capitalist future and a capitalist vision for California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[20]

In this period, contemporary observers found the noticeable presence of urban women of all classes outside the domestic sphere to be troubling. They justified that presence by invoking social theories based on perceived biological and moral differences between men and women. Social and moral reform work, therefore, explained women's entrance into he public arena. One of the early-twentieth-century histories of urban women expressly stated that women's public work was morally motivated. mpressed by the urban reform work of Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, Mary Ritter Beard chroncled the civic accomplishments of middle-class women in *Women's Work in Municipalities* (1915). After surveying the civic work of women's clubs in erms of education, public health, "the social evil," ecreation, "the assimilation of the races," housing, ocial service, corrections, public safety, civic mprovement, and government and administration, Beard concluded that "instead of being the source of all evil, woman comes quite as near to being the ource of all good."[21] Because she sought to use her work to encourage women to participate in urban eform, and to gain the approval of men, Beard ocused on the moral motivations of women, while gnoring the economic factors that might impel women to take up reform issues.

Beard's emphasis on gender-specific organizaions and on municipal reform caused her to overook the many women of her generation who were businesswomen and property owners. She failed to discuss those women who maintained memberships both in chambers of commerce and women's clubs. n the 1910s and 1920s in Redlands, Mrs. Helen Kimberly, Mrs. Jennie Davis, Mrs. B. E. Cannon, and Mrs. Olivia E. P. Stokes, among others, were all members of both the Contemporary Club and the Chamber of Commerce. In addition, they all owned property in the city, and Mrs. Davis sat on the board of trustees for one of the local banks. These women had an economic stake in the growth and development of the city, and their membership in the Chamber of Commerce indicates they understood the alue of selling the city. In terms of moral motivaions, both the men and women of Redlands were oncerned with promoting their city as a healthy, morally upright, and economically viable city. The Chamber of Commerce worked for greater coopertion among the men and women of Redlands to chieve "a higher moral tone, . . . more civic pride nd a keener appreciation of our city."[22] As city boosters, members of the Chamber of Commerce, regardless of gender, recognized that a morally-upright city would be more likely to attract residents.

Eric Monkkonen's study of American urban development provides a better framework into which an analysis of bourgeois women's influence on the urban process fits, than do the interpretations by many women's historians discussed earlier here. Although California women lacked real political power prior to the passage of state suffrage in 1911, their actions indicate they wielded a significant amount of economic power. Indeed, explanations of women's civic work in terms of moral uplift, self-expression, and domestic roles need to be reevaluated in light of evidence of bourgeois women's property ownership and in terms of Monkkonen's service city model. Women's efforts to clean up and beautify cities, for example, were not necessarily solely an extension of their domestic housekeeping roles, nor were they performed merely for the moral betterment of the community. Beautification helped maintain or raise property values. Employing moral rhetoric and symbols thus became one strategy in the city growth competition. There were always men and women in cities who recognized that good morals were good business, and that women were more likely to be accepted as economic participants if they defined their activities in terms of socially appropriate gender roles.

ELIZABETH, HELEN, AND RUTH: PROPERTY OWNERS AND CITY SALESWOMEN

Elizabeth Eddy Fisk's family papers tell a story of the emergence of bourgeois women's influence in western city growth and the development of a new value system that not only sanctioned women's public roles, but encouraged them. They reveal the evolution of women's economic involvement through the experiences of two generations of women in Redlands, California, from 1880 to 1940. Elizabeth and her daughters, Ruth Eddy Sargent and Helen Graves Fisk, played typical, yet crucial, roles in the development of their community from a small agricultural outpost into a thriving business and residential city. In the booming citrus economy of southern California, women like Elizabeth, initially, and her daughters after her, became interested in civic affairs because they owned "stock"—property—in the city. While tempered by social and moral con-

The Fisk family—John, Ruth, Helen, and Elizabeth—ca. 1900. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

cerns, their interest in civic affairs primarily reflected their status as local property owners and entrepreneurs. They joined improvement societies and social clubs in an effort not only to beautify their community and to enjoy the company of other women, but also from a conscious effort to protect their investments and to participate in the marketing of their city. Clearly they understood the connection between an attractive environment and the ability to sell property to the "right" kind of people. They worked in tandem with their male relatives, who were the city's main boosters, and together they supported programs for beautification, recreation, and cultural uplift that helped sell Redlands as an ideal place where families could find unlimited economic, social, educational, recreational, and spiritual opportunities.

From the town's founding, property owners in Redlands, like most citrus growers throughout southern California, were interested in long-term investment opportunities and in making their homes where they owned land.[23] Redlands's *Citrograph* editor Scipio Craig noted that investors bought property in Redlands and settled to stay. He predicted that this stability would bring long-term prosperity to the community: "Each family comes in, settles down, goes to work quietly developing the marvelous richness of the soil and that is all there is to it. No feverish excitement; no 'making a pile and going home' about it. *This* is home from the time they get here. To wait for the collapse of such a movement is equivalent to waiting for the stars to fall, so as to gather up the fragments of jewelry."[24] Short-term speculation

Women pose in a citrus grove for a local Board of Trade photograph, ca. 1903. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

was unlikely in citrus because it took from five to seven years for citrus trees to bear fruit and return dividends. Because of the length of time involved in establishing a grove, citrus emigrants were attracted to more than just economic opportunity. They were looking for stable, morally upright communities, similar to those they had known in the East, in which to raise their families. Emigrants like Elizabeth and Will Eddy thus hesitated to purchase property in a city other than that in which they intended to live.

By the late 1880s, Redlands had successfully established itself as one of the major citrus growing communities in the state as well as a favorite winter tourist stop. By 1887, growers had planted more than 1,200 acres in oranges, formed the Redlands Fruit Growers Association, and shipped the first railcars of oranges east. Citrus provided Redlands with the closest thing to a guaranteed return on investment. It was not necessary for investors to speculate, because of the substantial profits available from even a small grove.[25] One California newspaper editor compared growing oranges to mining gold, noting that in 1904 alone, the orange harvest was valued at nearly 50 percent more than the yield of gold for that year.

> Last year California produced gold worth $16,835,500. It was 18 per cent of the gold mined in the United States, Alaska included. Only three countries in the world, outside of America, beat that one American state. The California gold yield was equal to about $10 for every man, woman and child in the state. This year California shipped eastward oranges valued at $24,375,000. The golden fruit of the groves was worth nearly 40 per cent more than the metallic gold of its mines, probably fully that proportion above the gold yield, taking account of the oranges consumed in the state.[26]

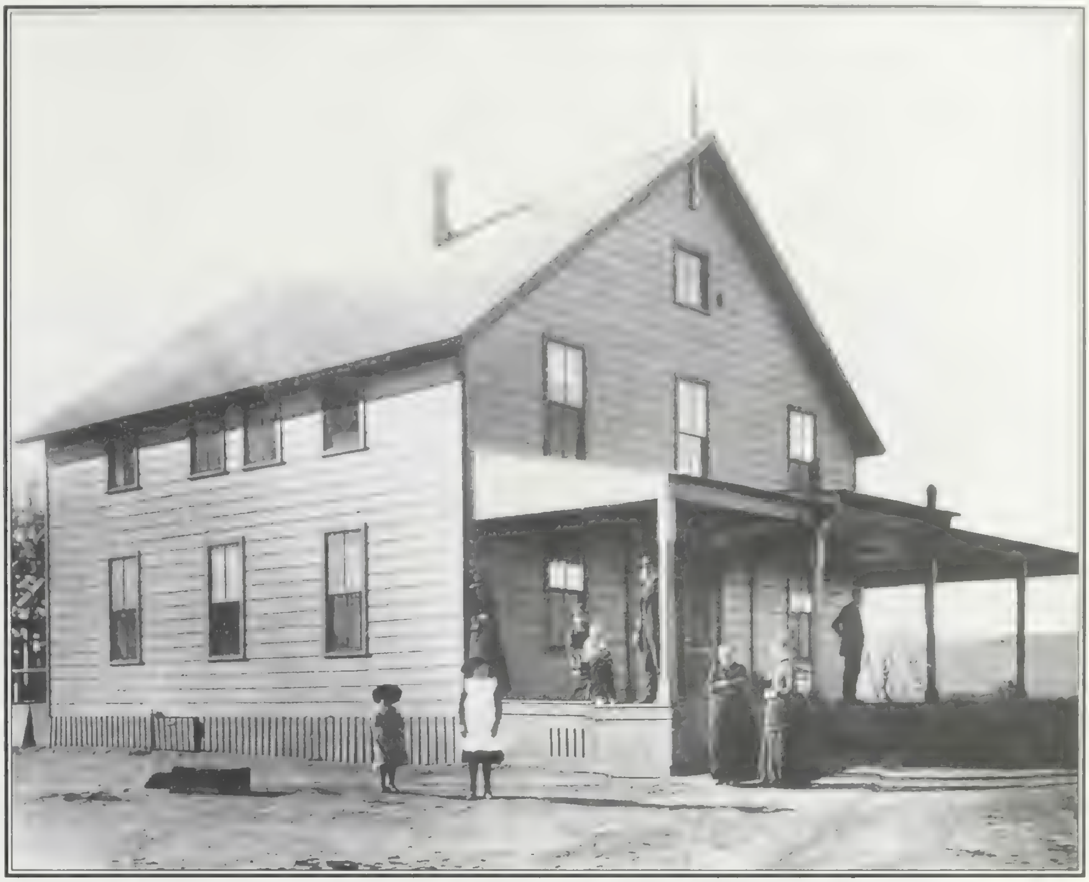
As a result, owning a citrus grove often provided both men and women with their greatest economic opportunity in southern California.

While most histories of the citrus industry emphasize the role of men in its development, women, too, made substantial profits in the citrus real estate market, and one in particular came to dominate the industry through the 1890s. Sarah J. Morey established the most successful citrus nursery in Redlands in 1888 after planting the city's first orange seed bed. Obtaining seed from the nearby ranch of Ben Barton, she sold trees to the town's leading real estate developers, E. G. Judson and Frank Brown, in exchange for ten acres with water rights. Reinvesting her profits in more seedlings, she eventually planted and successfully raised 25,000 young trees, which she sold to Mathew Gage of Riverside for $20,000.[27] Until her death in 1897, Mrs. Morey was considered *the* source for nursery stock, as well as a leading expert on all aspects of the citrus industry.

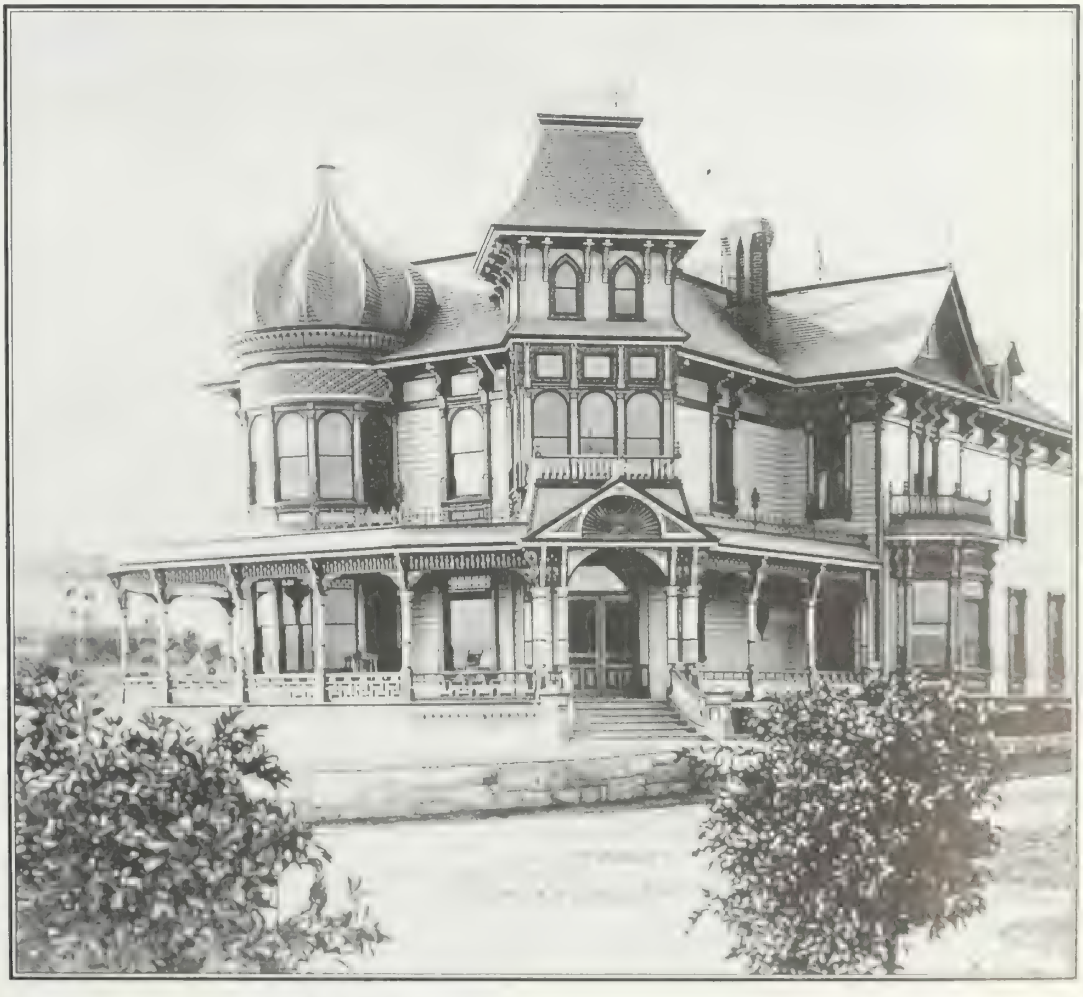
Sarah Morey had completed her apprenticeship in property in the 1870s and had gained the status of an independent property owner by the 1880s. Unlike Elizabeth Eddy, who became completely in charge of her finances at her husband's death, Sarah pursued her own business interests while her husband was living. As a successful property owner and businesswoman, Sarah became a role model for other women in Redlands, including Elizabeth Eddy. Elizabeth and Sarah enjoyed not only a social relationship, but a business relationship as well. Sarah provided Elizabeth with most of her nursery stock and advice on all aspects of raising citrus.[28] Perhaps this relationship inspired Elizabeth to maintain separate financial accounts when she married John P. Fisk in 1890.

Sarah Morey was not alone in investing in Redlands real estate or in completing an apprenticeship in property ownership and financial management by the 1880s. Indeed, as individual entrepreneurs and investors, many women played a key role in Redlands's early history. The *Citrograph* reported in 1887 that eight women were among the top fifty property-tax payers in the city. In addition, the *Citrograph* regularly printed new building permit filings and construction statistics, in which the names of women frequently appeared. In the early 1880s, Dr. Ellen B. Seymour (Redlands's only physician from 1881 to 1887) established the Prospect House, the first hotel in the Redlands Valley. Primarily a sanitarium, this hotel helped establish Redlands's reputation as a health resort, drawing eastern immigrants like the Eddys in search of a healthful climate.[29] In addition, women were responsible for the establishment of the Redlands Bowl (an outdoor amphitheater); they pushed for the development of city parks and a public library; and they worked with men's organizations in the ongoing effort to make Redlands an attractive and clean city. Growth and development relied not merely on an investment of dollars in real estate, but an investment in those cultural and social organizations and attributes that would attract permanent residents and businesses.

In these early years, the *Citrograph* promoted city growth by encouraging transactions in citrus property, and the construction of residences to be both rented and sold. In August 1887, with southern California in the grips of the real estate boom, editor Craig suggested that the only thing preventing Redlands from attaining its destiny as San Bernardino County's leading city was a shortage of housing for eastern immigrants. Craig believed that there was an



The Prospect House was the first hotel in Redlands. It was run by Ellen B. Seymour, at the left of the two women shown here in front of the building, ca. 1885. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*



The Morey mansion and a portion of its surrounding groves, ca. 1890. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

The Redlands Bowl (ca. 1916), an outdoor amphitheater built by the women of Redlands.
From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.

overwhelming demand for housing, and if more were built, more people would follow.

> If there is anything that this section needs more than any other, it is tenement houses. Not a dwelling can be rented anywhere, and not a room to be rented for sleeping purposes. Workmen coming here have great difficulty in getting sleeping accommodations, and if they have families, cannot bring them here at all, unless they have capital enough to buy property and build a house. There would be a large interest in building a number of cottages to rent. Our local capitalists ought to divert a portion of their wealth into this channel. It is not a wild prediction to say that fifty cottages would be rented to families in a short time if they were to be had, and fifty families would be quite an addition to our population. Think over the matter, you who have money, and see if you cannot make money by investing in neat, cheap cottages for workingmen.[30]

A month later, Craig continued with his exhortation for more houses by pointing out that as winter approached so did the tourist season. Second only to citrus, tourism provided Redlands with its economic base. Again calling for the construction of more rental properties, Craig noted that small houses could be built for a cost of between $500 and $800 and rented for from $8 to $15 a month. "Including the price of the lots an average of $10 a month would afford a good investment, to say nothing of the enhancement in value to the property by the increase of population."[31] Both men and women answered Craig's calls for more building and investment in citrus property;by the end of 1887, assessments in Redlands had nearly doubled.

Couples like Elizabeth and Will Eddy responded readily to the investment opportunities available in Redlands. A booming citrus land market provided

John Fisk with the Eddy family, ca. 1889. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

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n ideal setting in which a woman like Elizabeth, fac-
ng an early widowhood, could complete her appren-
ceship. As her husband grew weaker in the spring
nd summer of 1888, Elizabeth sought the support
f her friends Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Sanborn and John
. Fisk, leading land investors in Redlands. Although
he wrote in her diary that she was anxious about
nances, Elizabeth found that she could make her
roperty pay for itself. In June of 1888, Elizabeth sold
30 pounds of potatoes, procuring the first cash the
roperty had generated.[32] She had learned not only
ow to buy property, but how to exploit its resources
produce income. In further preparation for wid-
whood, Elizabeth began to manage Will's business
rrangements during his lengthy trips to Pasadena
r Los Angeles for medical care.[33] She also demon-
trated her knowledge of finances by handling the
le of the family's horse and buggy and the purchase
of a new rig. Although her upbringing as a New York society woman had not entirely prepared her for such undertakings, she demonstrated a strong aptitude for business.

As part of her apprenticeship in property management, Elizabeth also gained an intimate knowledge of the citrus business and developed the skills necessary to oversee the management of her own groves. Her education had actually begun soon after her arrival in southern California. While staying with friends who owned a grove in Riverside, Elizabeth had observed the pickers and packers who came to harvest the crop. She was outraged that "they took 195 boxes and had estimated and paid for only 155."[34] Following Will's death in 1888 and her subsequent marriage to businessman John P. Fisk in 1890, Elizabeth continued to administer the family groves, overseeing the installation of irrigation pipes, learning the latest techniques for treating white scale from Sarah Morey, and ensuring that pickers and packers did not cheat the family of profits.[35] Through this process, she began to share in the economic vision of the citrus elite and to define a role for herself as an independent stockholder in the city corporation.

Elizabeth's role as a member of the citrus elite created a place for her among the leading decision-makers of Redlands. In their study of the southern California citrus industry, Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell found that regional economic development was shaped fundamentally by the citrus elite.[36] As a class, growers had a vision, an example, and the means to disseminate the economic benefits to a broad constituency. These same capitalists who guided the development of the citrus industry also oversaw the development of cities within the citrus region. As such, they believed that what was good for the citrus industry was good for their communities. Hence, urban growth in much of southern California followed the vision and design of the citrus elite. Tobey and Wetherell did not make gender distinctions in their assessment of the importance of the citrus elite in shaping urban policy. Evidence of the presence of women such as Elizabeth Fisk and Sarah Morey in this elite, however, indicates that women shared in the vision and the goals pursued by their male counterparts.

Tobey and Wetherell further argued that the citrus elite, composed mainly of upper-middle-class eastern investors, came to California for both health and wealth. They brought with them preconceived notions of social and cultural life predicated upon their experiences with eastern Protestant communities. They expected to recreate in California the towns and social life they had known in the East. They invested not only in real estate and industrial enterprises but in social overhead as well.[37] Evidence from the Redlands *Citrograph* indicates that the local citrus elite relied heavily on investment in social overhead and looked to women for leadership in this regard. Writing in 1887, editor Craig not only countenanced women entering the real estate market, he suggested men follow their example of investing not only in land but in social agencies as well.

> Last winter a lady, who was stopping here for the benefit of our invigorating climate, had the good fortune to find a twenty-dollar gold piece in the street. Inquiry was made for the owner but he failed to appear. The lady then secured an option on ten acres of land in Crafton at $175 an acre, paying down the twenty dollar piece aforesaid. The property was placed in the hands of John P. Fisk, Jr., one of our live real estate agents, for sale. Before the time came around for the payment of the first installment on the land, it was sold for $235 per acre, clearing a cool $600 on the transaction.
>
> The lady then purchased seven acres between here and Crafton for $300 per acre, paying the $600 cleared from the former transaction down. This piece has just been sold for $375 an acre, making the net gain from the original find of $20 just $1125. Filled with gratitude at her good fortune the lady has contributed a 'tithe' to the Y.M.C.A. building fund, or fifty-five dollars. Should any of our successful real estate speculators wish thus to testify to their feelings they will probably find the Y.M.C.A. ready and willing to receive their thank offering. "Go thou and do likewise."[38]

Scipio Craig and his associates sought to create a community that was both morally upright and economically strong. They were convinced that investment in social services promoted an educated citizenry who would stay in the community and reinvest in the city, and they saw women as the leaders in that movement. Craig built upon traditional roles for women and traditional concepts of women's duty to the community. Women were regarded as the moral and spiritual leaders of the community, and men like Craig recognized the economic value of that leadership. Thus for many late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century women, as the public world of private property ownership extended into the domestic world, morality and economics became inextricably intertwined.

As the "moral guardians" of the city, most upper-class women in Redlands, including Elizabeth Fisk, came under increasing pressure from both men and women to serve on the boards of charitable groups such as the ladies auxiliary to the YMCA and the Redlands Contemporary Club. As the widow of a minister, and an avid church-goer, Elizabeth found herself in a position familiar to many who came to southern California. On the one hand, her indoctrination as a Christian taught her to be selfless and to contribute to all charitable activities. On the other hand, her practical experience as a property owner and businesswoman encouraged her to pursue self-interest. Her inner conflict was evident in a diary entry for November 19, 1888, referring to the time commitment involved in serving on the board of the YMCA's ladies auxiliary. "So much time wasted—had to come home without doing my errands."[39] Her frustration with the ladies auxiliary prompted her to refuse a board seat on the Contemporary Club in 1897.[40]

In part, Elizabeth's reluctance to serve on an executive board also stemmed from her inexperience as a public speaker and fear of assuming a public role of leadership.[41] This she slowly overcame as her membership in the Contemporary Club exposed her to women speakers and to discussions of topics in which she was interested. For example, when the club discussed women in business in January 1898, Elizabeth wrote in her diary, "I tried to talk. Didn't say much."[42] Three months later, she served as a delegate and hostess to the meeting of the Woman's Parliament of Southern California in Redlands. Over the next four years, she regularly served as a Redlands delegate to district and statewide meetings of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, and gained valuable experience as a public speaker and leader. Membership in the Contemporary Club supplemented Elizabeth's apprenticeship in property by providing her with an apprenticeship in public affairs.

Elizabeth's involvement with the Contemporary Club increased as the club's programs turned to civic issues in the 1900s. While she regularly noted club meeting days in her diary, she usually did not record its programs unless they pertained to civic matters. For example, in 1900, she wrote, "Club was interesting. Studies as a civic factor in Redlands."[43] Other noted programs included a 1904 program on women's law, presented by Mrs. Willoughby Rodman of Los Angeles, and a discussion on finance in 1908 by Mrs. J. A. Kimberly and Mrs. Emma Greenleaf, two of Redlands's leading business and property owners, and by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Burdette from Los Angeles.

Elizabeth's increased interest in the civic work of the club reflected her growing awareness of business prospects in the city as her apprenticeship drew to a close. Between 1898 and 1910, when she became president of the club, Elizabeth's business activities expanded greatly. In 1898, her concern lay primarily with the price and quality of her oranges.[44] By 1900, she had regained her active participation in the local real estate market by consulting with her second husband on investment property and by investigating slum conditions in the city.[45] Four years later, she independently purchased, against the wishes of her husband, an inventory of furniture. At this time, John Fisk's real estate business had acquired a furnished home as part of the settlement of an estate. The furnishings were auctioned separately from the real estate. Elizabeth noted in her diary on June 20, 1904, that John had received two bids for the furniture: $500 from the family purchasing the home, and $400 from the "second hand man." On June 21, Elizabeth decided to offer $550 for the furniture. "John does not favor the move for me but I want to make it. I guess I shall." The next day her offer was accepted, and by June 29 Elizabeth had sold the entire inventory, surprising even herself. "Beats all how fast that furniture has sold."[46] At the same time, Elizabeth became more aware of city elections and the work of the Chamber of Commerce, in which she participated along with her husband.

Throughout this period, Elizabeth expanded her property holdings by purchasing a lot next to the Contemporary Club's clubhouse. This property, which included a small cottage, she intended to sell to the club in the future. In the meantime, the property provided Elizabeth with a modest income from rentals. She sold the property to the club in 1917 for $3,500. It is interesting to note that she decided to sell the property the same day that she attended a club program on California development.[47]

Elizabeth's experiences as a property owner reflected the growing investment opportunities available to Redlanders in the early twentieth century. By the 1910s, investment in rental property, for example, was possible not only for the wealthy, but for working men and women as well. Many could supplement their wages through rent and thus hope to join the ranks of the middle class. Social mobility of this type appears to have been encouraged by the elite. Writing to her daughter Helen in 1914, Elizabeth had the following to say about her housekeeper: "My well-to-do cleaning woman does very well. I quite like her. She put your room and the guest room in good order today. She came on the street car today because her daughter has gone to take training for a nurse and could not drive her here in the automobile. When her work is done, she said she was going over onto Fourth St. to collect rent for a house she owns there. She is a thrifty one."[48]

Investment in citrus and residential real estate attracted inquiries from women across the nation. Continuing into the 1940s, the Redlands Chamber of Commerce received letters from women seeking opportunity in the burgeoning citrus economy of California. Women from Washington, Alabama, and New York, among other states, wrote for descriptive literature about the city. Mrs. Della Boyer, from Washington, wrote, "would like to hear from you. I wish all the information I could get regarding prices and location of city and country real estate around Redlands."[49] These letters indicate the spread of citrus booster literature across the nation, as well as the important role women played in determining the economic future of their families.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the moral vocabulary employed by women of Elizabeth's generation no longer kept pace with their changing behavior. As women became involved in economic activities, Victorian standards of acceptable behavior slowly gave way to new standards and a new vocabulary that not only allowed women to enter the public sphere but encouraged them to do so. Eastern prescriptive literature of the time suggested that the ideal woman was a married, middle-class, Protestant, non-employed mother.[50] Western writers, on the other hand, recognized and advocated another reality for urban bourgeois women. Writers such as Scipio Craig, in his "Typical Real Estate Deal," outlined above, displayed the emergence of a new attitude toward acceptable behavior for women that endorsed women's property ownership. Craig even suggested that men should emulate the model of social investment practices set by women.

Women such as Elizabeth Eddy Fisk thus represent transitional figures caught between the social dictates of Victorian womanhood and the emergence of the New Woman. In many respects, though, Elizabeth was a closet feminist. She demurred to her husband in public, yet she privately made independent economic decisions. At the same time, she raised her daughters to be self-supporting. Although she fulfilled a traditional, home-oriented role as a wife and mother, she entered into an economic partnership with her husband in which business and investment decisions were usually made jointly. As a role model for her daughters, she did not openly espouse a feminist vocabulary, but her life provided an example of women's independent capabilities.

Elizabeth's daughters in contrast, represented the emergence of the New Woman. They broke from traditional roles to pursue publicly their own interests. Following the example set by their mother, Ruth and Helen earned college degrees and became civic-minded property owners and businesswomen. Prior to leaving home to attend Mt. Holyoke College, Helen, as her sister Ruth had done, began an apprenticeship in civic work by joining the Junior Section of the Contemporary Club. Her initiation into the business world began when she worked for her father's real estate business during her school vacations.[51] Extending this apprenticeship into academic training, Helen pursued a double major in English and economics. During college, Helen kept informed of local issues through letters from both her parents and her sister. She also began a career as a public speaker and advocate of women's career opportunities. She presented papers before the Contemporary Club on a variety of topics: in 1917 on women in business and sociological work, and in 1919, on wartime changes in women's education.[52]

After college, Helen completed her apprenticeship by taking classes at the local business school. The clerical and statistical skills she learned through her education, combined with the practical business applications she learned in her father's business, prepared her to live and work in San Francisco, where she established a Women's Employment Bureau. She also became involved with the Children's Bureau, the War Department, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the American Association of University Women. In the 1920s, she worked for the Industrial Relations Association of California before returning to southern California, where she assumed management of the family orange groves.[53] By 1940, Helen had become a member of the Redlands Orange Growers Association, and successfully marketed her own fruit. Helen and her generation represented the emergence of women as public participants, serving as the advanced guard for the modern women's movement.

Helen's sister Ruth, ten years her senior, chose a more traditional career path that more closely followed the example set by her mother. Ruth majored in English in college and returned to Redlands,where she taught high school for a few years before marrying Arthur M. Sargent. Following her marriage, however, she maintained separate financial arrangements, as her mother had. Ruth also entered into a business relationship with her stepfather as an independent property owner. In 1917, she sold John Fisk two lots in Redlands along with five shares of capital stock in the Redlands Water Company.[54] She held the promissory note on this deal, and charged her stepfather six percent interest over the years she held the note.

Like her mother's, Ruth's apprenticeship in property was supplemented by an apprenticeship in civic affairs. She and her husband were members of civic clubs such as the Contemporary Club and the Fortnightly Club, and Ruth became interested in the work of the Chamber of Commerce. In the 1920s, she demonstrated her knowledge and concern with marketing the city by writing an award-winning essay on how to advertise Redlands, *Publicity Problems of a Small California Community (As Exemplified by Redlands)*.[55] Although she perceived her primary role in life as a homemaker, the content of this essay indicates the depth of her knowledge and interest in the importance of careful advertising for the city. It demonstrates that even women who were not business owners understood the economics of city growth. In her essay Ruth expressed her understanding of the importance of proper advertising in selling any product, from mouthwash to automobiles to cities. She suggested that in order for cities to sell themselves as successfully as General Motors sold cars, or Metropolitan Life sold insurance, they must model their advertising campaigns along the lines of these companies and develop the same degree of name recognition. But before cities could advertise themselves, they needed to discover why people chose to live where they did and then use testimonials to describe the advantages found in that community. Ruth emphasized the importance of factual advertising, noting that "disillusioned people make poor townsfolk."[56]

Using Redlands as her case study, Ruth suggested that city boosters had failed in their advertising campaign to sell local economic opportunities other than citrus. "Did you know that forty per cent of the wealth produced in our end of the valley comes from something else than oranges?. . . I still do not know where that forty per cent comes from. Poultry, honey, canned fruits, and dairy products are doubtless part of it. May it be increased? Is it worth advertising? What new discovery lies just around the corner?"[57] Ruth recommended that city boosters investigate these opportunities and promote investment particularly in those industries that would produce goods for both local consumption and for export: planting of persimmons and deciduous fruits for shipment east, harvesting of eucalyptus for furniture and interior construction, planting of pomegranates and cork oaks for grenadine and cork production, and developing silk culture, animal husbandry, medicinal herbs, and arts and crafts.

While Ruth understood the importance of industry in attracting residents, she also attributed city growth to the quality of life that Redlands provided.

> A chance to earn a living and have a good time, is what most Americans want. So far we have advertised the living more than the good time, and yet Redlands combines the two in rather useful fashion. Vacations at small cost are within easy reach. We lie between the mountains and the city; midway between trout fishing and the Philharmonic. We are in a little city; and yet in Friendship Village. Why not mix some of these human values with citrus culture and real estate, in our advertising?[58]

To promote these non-industrial features of life in Redlands, Ruth proposed developing a series of illustrated pamphlets to be presented to tourists in hotels and auto courts. She recommended that they advertise such diverse attractions as the health benefits of Redlands sanitariums, opportunities for family entertainment, diversified agriculture, strong public schools, and opportunities for recreation and culture. Unified under a banner such as "Redlands in the heart of all this interesting country, is a city of opportunity," or "this is the way you may live in Redlands," these pamphlets would find their way to communities across the country and expand Redlands's name recognition.[59]

By stressing the unique features of life in Redlands, Ruth demonstrated an awareness of the failures of traditional advertisements based on city services alone. Although she understood the importance of city services in selling the city, she recognized that in the 1920s most cities provided basic utilities, sidewalks, and sewers. It was a town's individuality that would attract new residents. "Every town worth the name has them [services]. And one California town keeps its eye on its neighbor; swimming pool, Junior College, municipal auditorium—thus competition keeps us stirring. But competition can be carried too far. If all towns are exactly alike, none is interesting. If one advertising campaign duplicates another, its value is lost. Redlands must cultivate individuality."[60] Hence, if the service city was to continue to grow in the mid-twentieth century, it had to expand its services into the realm of culture and recreation.

Ruth proposed a program to enhance the individuality of Redlands. She recommended that the city discover its personality through "better coordinated activity; a city center better planned and regulated; cooperative marketing; vocational direction; forums and classes for adult education; more expert architectural guidance; and improved city plan with fewer jogs in the streets of new subdivisions."[61] She did not recommend developing a city festival to attract visitors because this form of advertising had become too common to be effective. Summarizing her program, Ruth proposed five steps to successful advertising: 1) study and implement new and successful advertising by emulating corporate advertising; 2) set the goal of presenting a truthful picture of life in Redlands; 3) discover and exploit the diverse possibilities of life and industry in Redlands; 4) infuse human interest into the presentation of facts; and 5) create more community spirit.

The success with which Ruth, Helen, and Elizabeth completed their apprenticeships and engaged in independent financial management is reflected in the family wills. To begin, when John P. Fisk died in 1944, he named Elizabeth and Helen co-executrices of his will, with Ruth as an alternate. Elizabeth inherited $40,000 in cash and securities, and Helen received $20,000 and John's property in Redlands. By the time Elizabeth died in 1952, her total estate was valued at $121,500 and she named Helen and Ruth as co-executrices. Ruth's will is unavailable, but Helen left an estate valued at $540,000 in 1986. Their apprenticeships thus prepared these women to engage in the accumulation of personal wealth as well as the promotion of city growth. They recognized that the two could not be separated.

Women of Ruth and Helen's generation were born and raised in California's growing cities. They witnessed the way in which their mothers and fathers both participated in the city growth process. They were college educated and embraced the expectation that they too were economic players with a stake in the outcome of community expansion. They increasingly joined the ranks of business and professional men, and gained experience as property owners and as members of civic groups. They were able to break down the separate spheres mentality of their mothers and to discuss openly the true motivations behind their public work. Thus, the experiences of the Fisk women demonstrate that middle-class women shared in the promise of wealth and the sense of destiny that drove economic growth and development in California between 1880 and 1940.

The story of the Fisk women in Redlands also provides an opportunity to reinterpret western urban history by examining the contributions of both men and women. It demonstrates the ways in which the job of selling the economy and the home were shared by both marriage partners and by a variety of civic organizations. In the expanding citrus economy of southern California, economic growth driven by investment in real estate, capital-intensive agriculture, and social services created an environment conducive to the breakdown of the Victorian separate spheres mentality. As more women invested in citrus and residential real estate, they shared the vision of the citrus elite and staked a claim to stock in the city corporation. By the time daughters of early immigrants reached maturity, women had not only demonstrated their abilities as participants in the city

The Contemporary Club House, Redlands, ca. 1904. *From the Archives of the A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands.*

growth process, they had altered the social mores that estricted their activities and their ambitions.

The success with which the first generation of bourgeois women participated in the real estate market provided women with a degree of economic emancipation that predated their political emancipation. Perhaps the failure of bourgeois women to sustain political activism in the 1920s reflected the act that they had already achieved a modicum of economic equality. Economic emancipation no onger required their political activism, and concern with equality in the office place did not become a cenral issue for women until the 1960s. By examining he process of urbanization in terms of bourgeois women's participation in long-term real estate nvestment prospects, a new picture emerges. First, he urban West provided bourgeois women with enough economic security to temper demands for political equality. Second, the urban West, as the product of the long-term vision of both bourgeois men and women, also created an economic environment in which investment, rather than speculation, guided urban growth and development. CHS

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Lee M. A. Simpson completed her Ph.D. from the University of California, Riverside, in 1996. She is currently an adjunct professor of history at Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon. This article is part of a broader study of the contributions of California women to the urban growth competition that defined the early-twentieth-century western experience.

The Iowa picnic, held each summer throughout most of the twentieth century in Long Beach, a.k.a. "The West Coast of Iowa," brought together thousands of former Hawkeyes and their families in the post-war years. Corn-on-the-cob and fried chicken were, of course, staples at the picnic. *Photograph from the archives of the Historical Society of Long Beach.*

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE DREAM

Midwestern Images of Southern California in the Post-World War II Decades

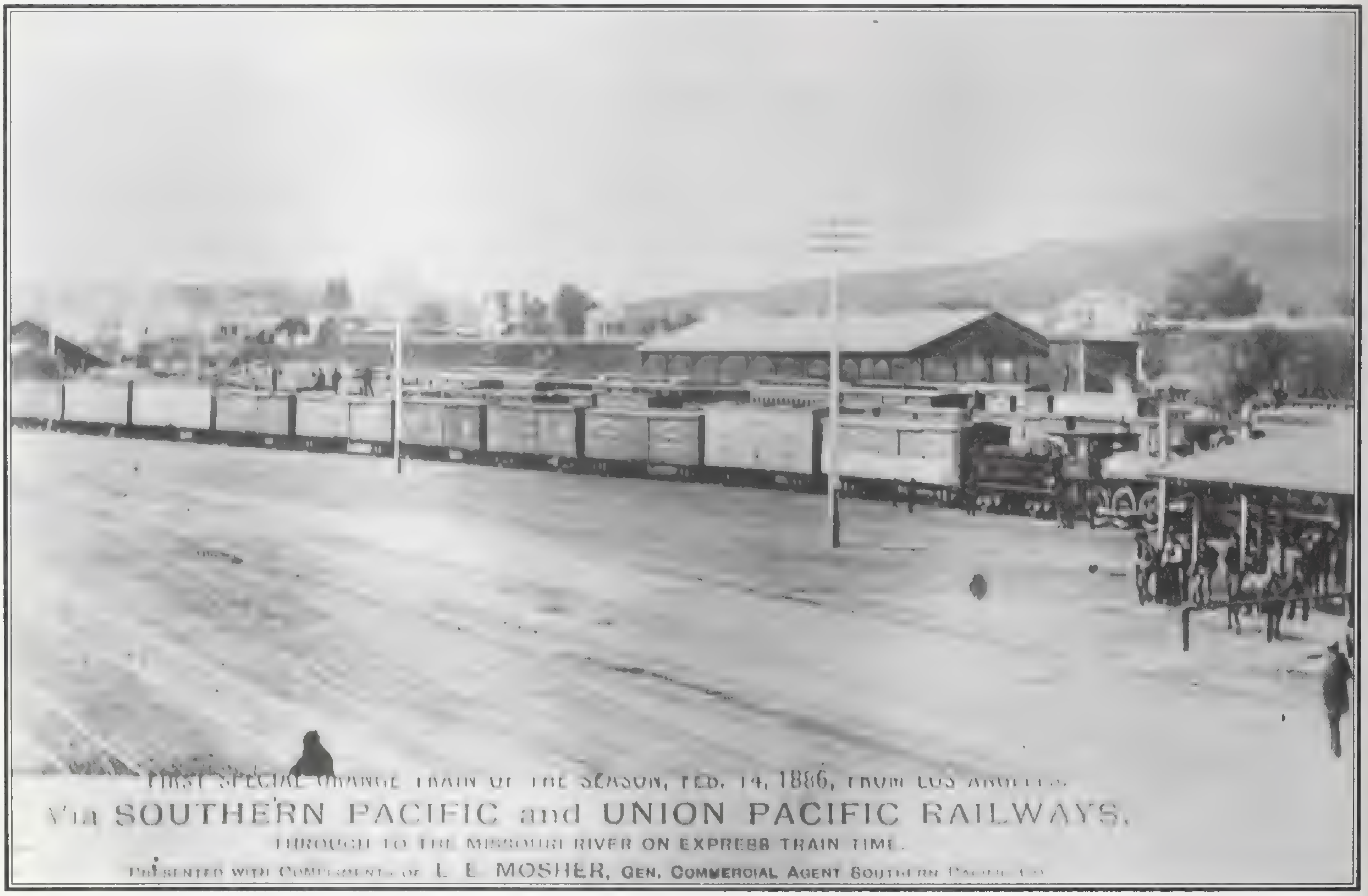
by Denise S. Spooner

California. For over a century it has been a name that has evoked vivid images in the minds of Americans. Sunshine, oranges, beaches, Hollywood—the pursuit of a life defined by these images has long been thought to have been the primary motivation for the migration of millions of Americans to southern California from the late 1880s hrough the twentieth century. Indeed, as a number of California historians have noted, in the late nineeenth and early twentieth centuries a series of promotional campaigns sponsored by corporations and nstitutions with an economic stake in the region's growth used many of these symbols as a means of generating migration to southern California.[1]

The Midwest was specially targeted by turn-of-he-century promoters, a marketing scheme that provided returns certainly beyond the grandest proections of the sponsors. Recorded as the largest stream by early 1900, the flow of migrants from the Midwest to California continued as such until it was nterrupted by the Great Depression and World War I. In the post-war decades it resumed. The 1960 census recorded the West North Central and East North Central census divisions, which make up the Midwest, as the numbers one and three contributors to California's population.[2]

Considering that change is the one constant in life, t would be quite peculiar to find that the dream that nspired post-World War II midwestern migrants was the same as that that motivated those who came earlier in the century. As Robert Fogelson pointed out almost thirty years ago, southern California was sold to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth- century midwesterners, and initially developed, as a place like the Midwest, but better. The citrus groves, sunshine, and ocean were to serve as a more congenial backdrop for the same type of community as the one they had left, one Fogelson described as "embodied in single-family houses, located on large lots, surrounded by landscaped lawns, and isolated from business-activities."[3] Today when you visit many of the cities in the region that developed between approximately 1870 and 1920, especially in Orange County and the San Gabriel Valley of Los Angeles County, you find many townscapes that appear to be realizations of the midwesterners' desire for a new setting for their former communities.[4]

In the post-World War II years, however, some migrants had a different vision of what life in southern California promised. While many still imagined it as a place of exceptional physical beauty, some also envisioned it as an opportunity to escape from a type of community common throughout the Midwest, one that judged people on the basis of the degree to which they adhered to various locally determined norms. For these people, southern California in the post-war years represented a place where their lives could be different, where they would be free to express their individuality as openly or privately as they wished.[5] Examining the images migrants held prior to leaving the Midwest, and investigating the conditions that produced them, deepens our understanding of the culture of post-World War II southern California.


FIRST SPECIAL ORANGE TRAIN OF THE SEASON, FEB. 14, 1886, FROM LOS ANGELES.
Via SOUTHERN PACIFIC and UNION PACIFIC RAILWAYS.
THROUGH TO THE MISSOURI RIVER ON EXPRESS TRAIN TIME.
PRESENTED WITH COMPLIMENTS OF L. L. MOSHER, GEN. COMMERCIAL AGENT SOUTHERN PACIFIC CO.

The First Special Orange Train, February 14, 1886, dispatched from Los Angeles to the Midwest. The trains used to ship California citrus products to the rest of the nation were also utilized as marketing tools. The sides of the boxcars, as well as the crates holding the fruit, depicted southern California's scenery and healthy lifestyle. *Editorial office photo.*

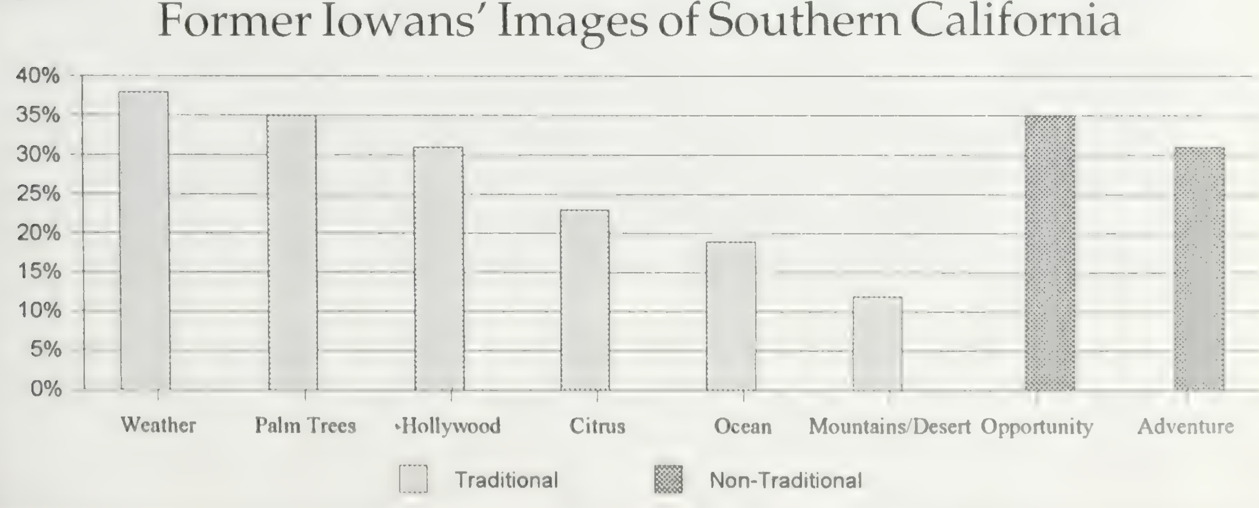
From the start of the boosters' program in the late nineteenth century through much of this one, a special relationship grew between southern California and one midwestern state in particular, Iowa. The creators of the marketing plan recognized early that the profitability of Iowa's agriculture made for a relatively well-off, retirement-age population ready to remove themselves to a place with a far more temperate climate. Such was partly the motivation behind the California Fruit Growers' special promotional trains to Iowa between 1907 and 1911, which used some of the symbols noted above, especially those related to citrus and sunshine, to encourage people to settle in southern California. The seeds of that effort took root, grew beautifully, and continued to bear fruit throughout much of the next fifty years. In every census taken between 1910 and 1930, Iowa ranked among the top ten state contributors to California's population, along with far more populous states such as New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. Mirroring the trend of midwestern migration in general, the flow of migrants from Iowa to southern California slowed considerably during the Depression and war years, and then resumed its pre-Depression course during the great population boom of the post-World War II decades. For example, in 1960, when the West North Central census division was recorded as the number one contributor to Calfornia's population at the division level, among the states in that division, only Iowa and Missouri were also on the list of the top ten states contributing to California's population.[6] It is no wonder that one of he myths popular in southern California for years was that the region was largely made-up of former owans. That exaggeration aside, the census figures suggest that by using Iowans as a case study group we might extend our understanding of the California Dream as it was envisioned by midwestern migrants in the post-World War II years.

The pre-migration images of California held by the migrants I surveyed and interviewed are depicted n Diagram 1.[7] Images I have labeled "traditional" were reported by 81 percent of my subjects. Those symbols, many of which were devised by the early promoters, portrayed the region as a physically wondrous place. Visions of sunshine, palm trees, citrus, mountains, and ocean contrasted sharply with many migrants' experience of Iowa as a climate of extremes, in a landscape of sameness: sweltering summers and long, cold, gray winters, across gently, but relentless, rolling hills. Nancy Rutherford was one who envisioned southern California as a place fantastically different from Iowa. As a youngster, bed-ridden with rheumatic fever, she began writing to an uncle in southern California who was recovering from a heart attack:

> He would talk about those huge palm trees and I had this wonderful vision. It wasn't really Beverly Hills, but a beautiful place with palm trees and swimming pools and blue sky all year 'round. When I was younger I used to do a lot of day dreaming in the midst of the snowstorms in January and February, and I would hear from my uncle. Just think! He was getting to look out at the sun and trees and green grass and all that.[8]

To this list of images that depicted southern California as a place with a balmy climate and a more varied landscape, some post-war migrants added

Diagram 1



images of the entertainment industry, which I have labeled "Hollywood."[9] Of course, the movies played a central role in creating this image for many, including Don Fromknecht:

> We used to go down to the Capitol Theater in Sioux City, Iowa, and sit there and watch Bing Crosby movies, and I said, "Man, is that what it's like out there? I got to get out there!" See how naive we were. Why, hey. They could paint those palm trees in the back of those movie sets as fast as you could leave.[10]

With the establishment of the television and pop music industries in southern California in the postwar decades, younger migrants such as Priscilla Eckert, who was in her early twenties when she left Iowa, were influenced by the impressions of the region they received through those media:

> That's when the Beach Boys were a large part of the teenage life, as far as music went; and [they] had a connotation of the beach and the bikinied girls and the tans, the blonds, the water. . . . I did figure that California looked like that.[11]

And then there were migrants like William Powell, who imagined southern California as the entertainment capital of the world, as well as the balmy paradise captured in images the industry produced:

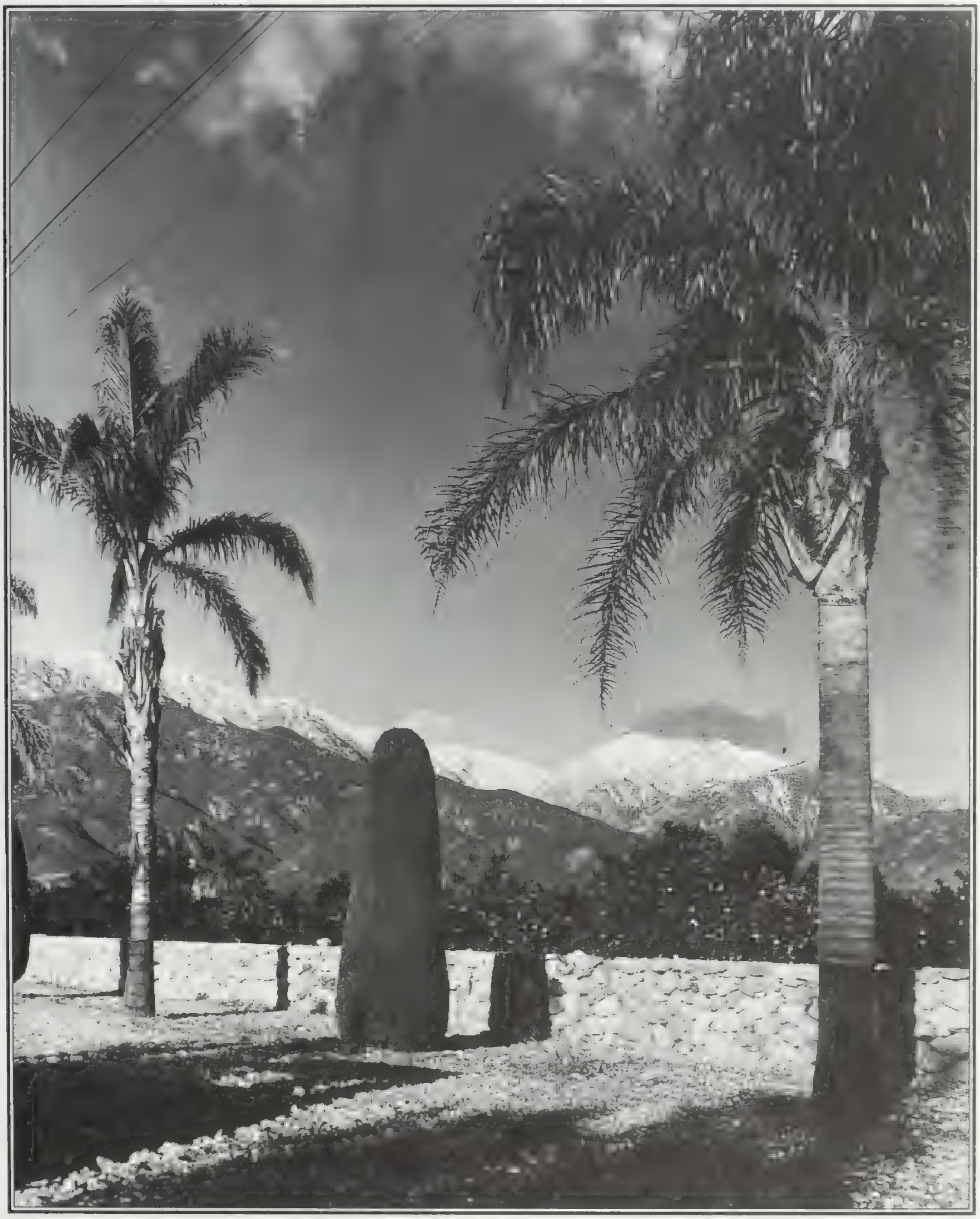
> [Southern California was] all glamorous: the palm trees and the movie stars and everything. Back in those days [the 1950s], it was the place to go.[12]

In addition to these traditional images, 58 percent of the migrants had a somewhat different view of southern California, one I have labeled "non-traditional" on the diagram. They still imagined it as a place, but rather than emphasizing the environmental characteristics that distinguished it from the places where they had grown up, their vision of southern California was as a place of adventure and opportunity, a place where their lives could be different.[13]

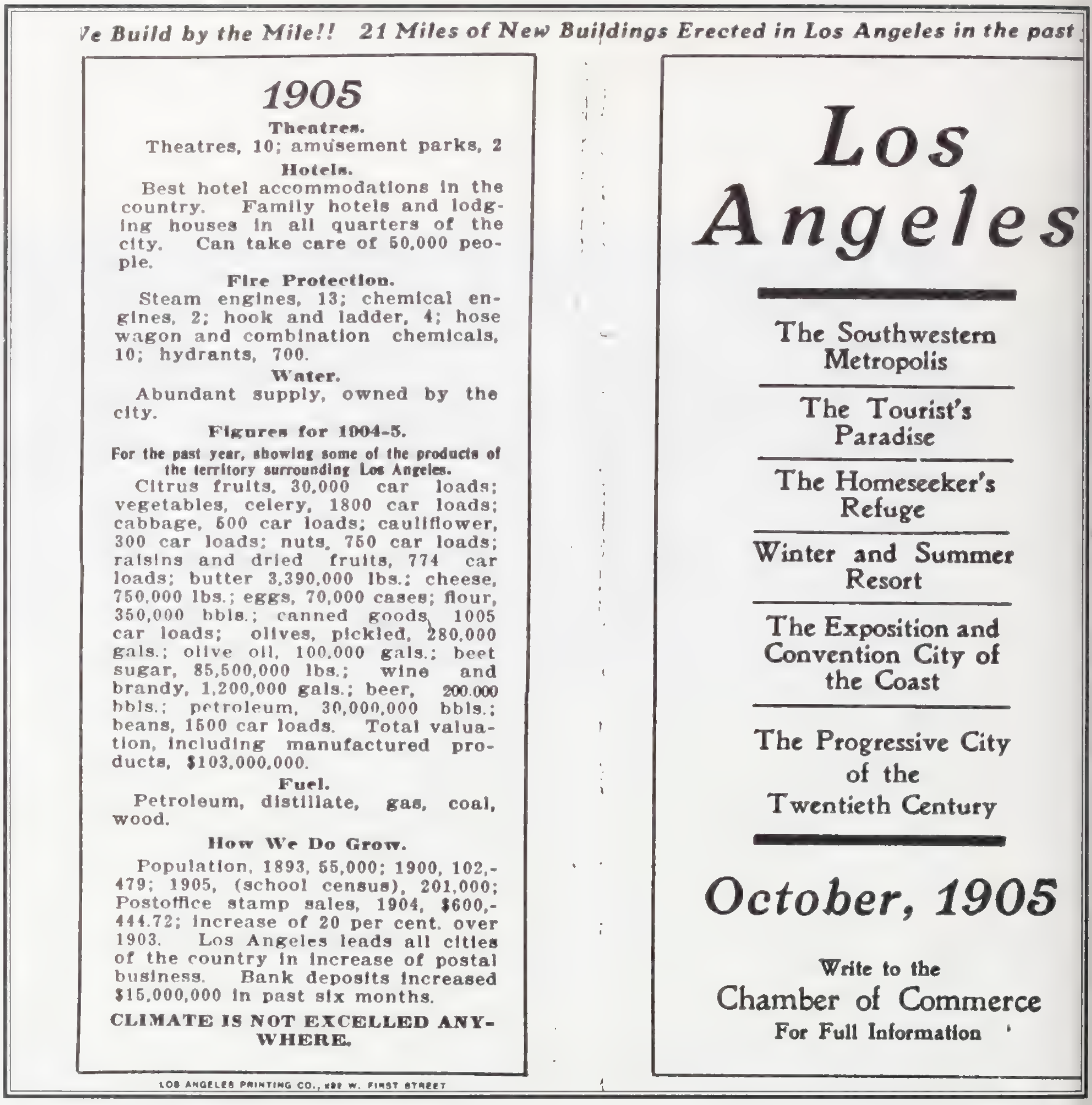
Associating California with adventure and opportunity was not a new phenomenon. The Spanish settlers of the eighteenth century, as well as the American infiltrators and gold rushers of the mid-nineteenth century, identified California with risk, danger, excitement, and the chance of acquiring a fortune. This was exactly what some of the migrants had in mind when they imagined southern California as a land of adventure and opportunity. For example, when Dee Ann Shaw dreamed of southern California, she thought of the many exciting things there would be to do for fun, and all the different sorts of businesses there would be in which a person could find a job.[14] Don Cameron equated southern California with opportunity, which he described strictly in terms of the chance to make more money. In Iowa, where he was born and raised, he worked as a salesman for a wholesale produce company, but his goal was to get into the origination end of that business. As garden to so much of the United States, California was the best place to live in order to achieve that goal, he decided.[15]

But there were other migrants who give a unique twist to the southern California-as-adventure-and-opportunity image. Seventy-three percent of those who identified the region in this way used adventure and opportunity as code words for "escape from community." In the towns and rural neighborhoods of Iowa in which they lived, community was created through cooperation and judgment. In essence, both were used to measure who was a part of the group and who was not. Some migrants found this aspect of community repressive. Martha Celmer was one. Throughout her life she held a variety of images of southern California, but the one that motivated her migration was envisioning southern California as a chance for a different, freer life:

> As a young teenager girl, it was just all Hollywood at its best; but I never got out here when I was a young girl. So I never got to see if that was really true. By the time I finally got out here, I was already maybe twenty-six, twenty-five. I had matured a little. My perception of things wasn't quite the same as it had been as a teenager. I came out with my sister-in-law and brother-in-law the first time and I guess while I was here, I developed an idea that I could make it out here and I went from there. I don't want to say that it was land of milk and honey, because I wasn't that far off in my perception of things past at that point, but I also realized that it was an opportunity to live a different kind of lifestyle, and maybe one that I thought might be a little better for me than living in the Midwest.[16]



Palm Drive in Azusa, California, looking toward Mt. Baldy, ca. 1920s. Typical promotional photos, such as this one used by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, depicted southern California scenes with a variety of distinctive environmental features, including palm trees, snow-capped mountains, blue skies, and sunshine, all of which helped create an image of a place very different from the Midwest. *California Historical Society.*



Ve Build by the Mile!! 21 Miles of New Buildings Erected in Los Angeles in the past

1905

Theatres.

Theatres, 10; amusement parks, 2

Hotels.

Best hotel accommodations in the country. Family hotels and lodging houses in all quarters of the city. Can take care of 50,000 people.

Fire Protection.

Steam engines, 13; chemical engines, 2; hook and ladder, 4; hose wagon and combination chemicals, 10; hydrants, 700.

Water.

Abundant supply, owned by the city.

Figures for 1904-5.

For the past year, showing some of the products of the territory surrounding Los Angeles.

Citrus fruits, 30,000 car loads; vegetables, celery, 1800 car loads; cabbage, 500 car loads; cauliflower, 300 car loads; nuts, 750 car loads; raisins and dried fruits, 774 car loads; butter 3,390,000 lbs.; cheese, 750,000 lbs.; eggs, 70,000 cases; flour, 350,000 bbls.; canned goods, 1005 car loads; olives, pickled, 280,000 gals.; olive oil, 100,000 gals.; beet sugar, 85,500,000 lbs.; wine and brandy, 1,200,000 gals.; beer, 200.000 bbls.; petroleum, 30,000,000 bbls.; beans, 1500 car loads. Total valuation, including manufactured products, $103,000,000.

Fuel.

Petroleum, distillate, gas, coal, wood.

How We Do Grow.

Population, 1893, 55,000; 1900, 102,479; 1905, (school census), 201,000; Postoffice stamp sales, 1904, $600,444.72; increase of 20 per cent. over 1903. Los Angeles leads all cities of the country in increase of postal business. Bank deposits increased $15,000,000 in past six months.

CLIMATE IS NOT EXCELLED ANYWHERE.

LOS ANGELES PRINTING CO., [illegible] W. FIRST STREET

Los Angeles

The Southwestern Metropolis

The Tourist's Paradise

The Homeseeker's Refuge

Winter and Summer Resort

The Exposition and Convention City of the Coast

The Progressive City of the Twentieth Century

October, 1905

Write to the

Chamber of Commerce

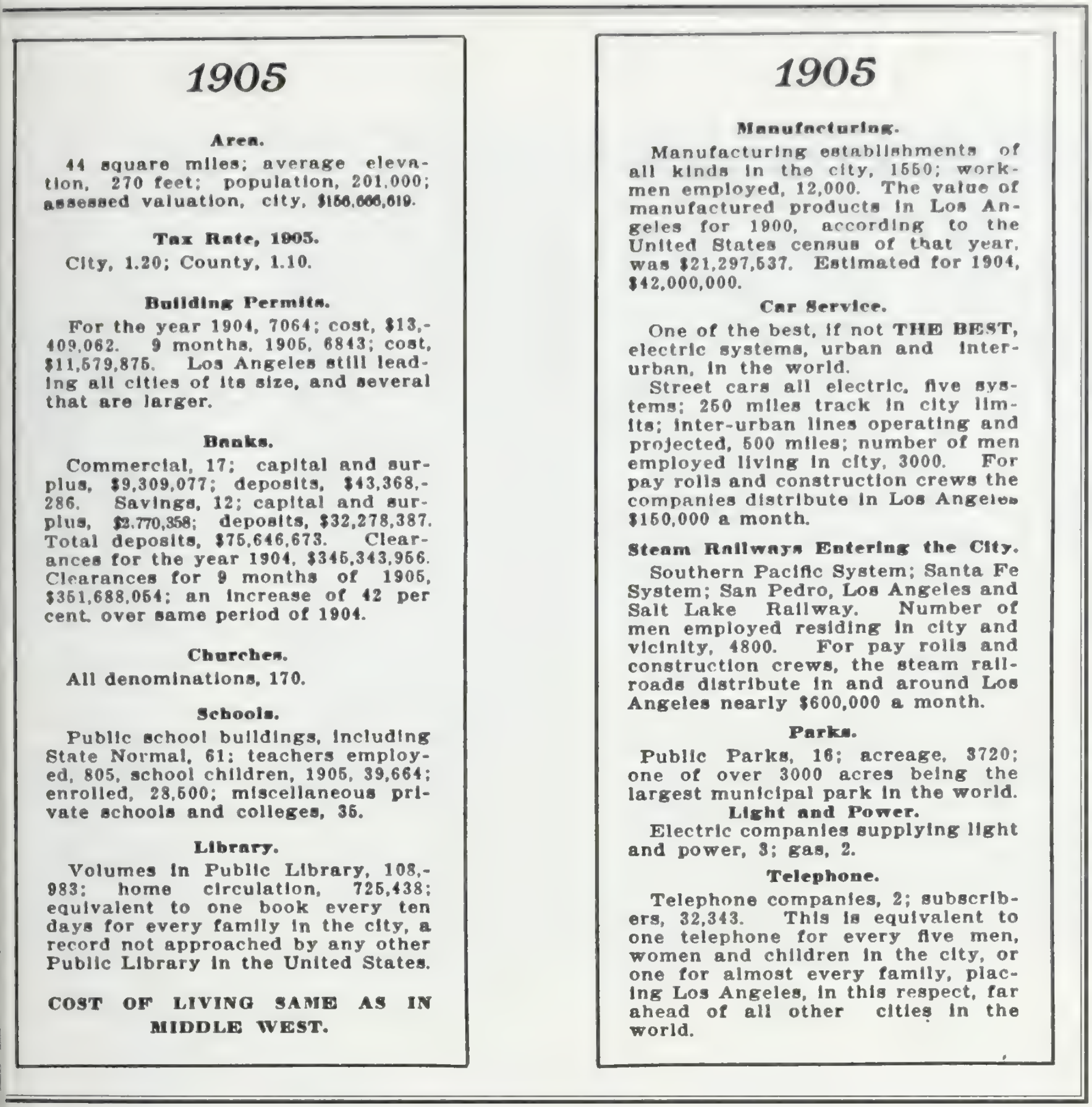
For Full Information

The beginning of boosterism can be seen in this early example of an advertising pamphlet describing the amenities and attractions of life in southern California employe by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in 1905. Unlike most cities, which attached only one descriptive label to their names, Los Angeles had six such labels covering the whole range of opportunities awaiting newcomers. *California Historical Society.*

The lifestyle Martha Celmer and some of the other migrants wanted was one where they were free to be whomever and whatever they wanted to be, without limitations on individuality imposed by community in the cities, towns, and rural neighborhoods they lived in through cooperation and judgment.

As Kenneth Jackson has written, "the term 'community' implies cooperation," and in much of the Midwest from the time of settlement through the first half of the twentieth century, cooperation between neighbors in work and social life was essential to success, if not survival.[17] For instance, Collins Roe's father got his start as an independent farmer through the money he made one season when he and a neighbor worked together to try to harvest more corn than anyone else in Iowa.[18] Moreover, the financial health of businesses in many Iowa communities was directly tied to the profitability of farming.

In addition, the isolation of farm families and lack of entertainment opportunities in small towns made neighbors dependent on one another for their social life. Typically, Saturday nights brought farm families to town. During those visits farmers purchased supplies and talked prices and politics with other men while women gathered in automobiles to visit with one another.[19] Other factors that brought country and town people together were those that maintained shared institutions, such as churches, schools, the local chapters of the Farm Bureau, various fraternal organizations, including the Masons and Oddfellows, and the community memory of important events, like the Civil War and World War I.[20]



1905

Area.

44 square miles; average elevation, 270 feet; population, 201,000; assessed valuation, city, $156,666,619.

Tax Rate, 1905.

City, 1.20; County, 1.10.

Building Permits.

For the year 1904, 7064; cost, $13,409,062. 9 months, 1905, 6843; cost, $11,579,875. Los Angeles still leading all cities of its size, and several that are larger.

Banks.

Commercial, 17; capital and surplus, $9,309,077; deposits, $43,368,286. Savings, 12; capital and surplus, $2.770,358; deposits, $32,278,387. Total deposits, $75,646,673. Clearances for the year 1904, $345,343,956. Clearances for 9 months of 1905, $351,688,054; an increase of 42 per cent. over same period of 1904.

Churches.

All denominations, 170.

Schools.

Public school buildings, including State Normal, 61; teachers employed, 805, school children, 1905, 39,664; enrolled, 28,500; miscellaneous private schools and colleges, 35.

Library.

Volumes in Public Library, 108,983; home circulation, 725,438; equivalent to one book every ten days for every family in the city, a record not approached by any other Public Library in the United States.

COST OF LIVING SAME AS IN MIDDLE WEST.

1905

Manufacturing.

Manufacturing establishments of all kinds in the city, 1550; workmen employed, 12,000. The value of manufactured products in Los Angeles for 1900, according to the United States census of that year, was $21,297,537. Estimated for 1904, $42,000,000.

Car Service.

One of the best, if not **THE BEST**, electric systems, urban and interurban, in the world.

Street cars all electric, five systems; 250 miles track in city limits; inter-urban lines operating and projected, 500 miles; number of men employed living in city, 3000. For pay rolls and construction crews the companies distribute in Los Angeles $150,000 a month.

Steam Railways Entering the City.

Southern Pacific System; Santa Fe System; San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railway. Number of men employed residing in city and vicinity, 4800. For pay rolls and construction crews, the steam railroads distribute in and around Los Angeles nearly $600,000 a month.

Parks.

Public Parks, 16; acreage, 3720; one of over 3000 acres being the largest municipal park in the world.

Light and Power.

Electric companies supplying light and power, 3; gas, 2.

Telephone.

Telephone companies, 2; subscribers, 32,343. This is equivalent to one telephone for every five men, women and children in the city, or one for almost every family, placing Los Angeles, in this respect, far ahead of all other cities in the world.

For those who grew up and lived in larger cities nd towns, the presence of movie houses, amuse- ient parks, and such made neighbors somewhat less :liant on one another for a social life. Still, people 'om cities recalled their neighborhoods as warm, pen, nurturing places. For example, Lynn Achak escribed her Davenport neighborhood as a place ithout fences, where neighbors roasted hot dogs nd marshmallows together in the autumn over onfires built from fallen leaves they had all raked ut to the curb. Robert Allison explained the wide- read participation in community by saying that back in Des Moines, or in small towns in Iowa, you new everybody in town. It took everybody in town make it a town."[21]

Together, the interaction between people in pheres of work and leisure created cohesiveness and interdependence. But there was that other activity that helped create community: judgment. The midwestern tendency to judge people, a theme prevalent in the writings of Hamlin Garland, Sherwood Anderson, and Sinclair Lewis, and inferred in Grant Wood's famous painting, *American Gothic*, was reflective of many aspects of midwestern culture, including the predominance of small towns throughout the region and its heritage from the mid-nineteenth century, when nativism was a force throughout the nation. Viewing anyone or anything different as a threat to the prevailing order was characteristic of both. Thus, judging people across a wide spectrum of characteristics and according to a restrictive moral code was common in Iowa communities. In this way judging emphasized likeness as a basis for community. It isolated those who did not conform to various criteria, including the community norms of class, ethnicity, and religion.

Class divisions within communities were drawn along two non-exclusive lines: farm vs. town, and the more usual manner, according to social group based largely on income. According to Irene Molloy, farm kids such as herself were one step down from "the kids on the other side of the track," at least in the eyes of people who lived in town.[22] Growing up in the 1940s and 1950s in Burlington, Iowa, Priscilla Eckert, the daughter of an electrical engineer and a school teacher, recalled her awareness of the existence and importance of class:

> I think I was [aware of it] in high school. I wasn't before that; but I think I was in high school because, when I started dating, there were boys who couldn't come to the golf club for things that were going on there. I couldn't understand that, because everyone went there, I thought. But, in fact, everyone didn't go there.[23]

Ethnicity was also a characteristic by which individuals were judged within and between communities. Dee Ann Shaw explained that, in the area of Iowa where she grew up, communities were organized based on where in Scandinavia a family had originated. Norwegians and Swedes populated her hometown, Callendar, while fifteen miles away, was a town that was primarily Danish. Tension between the towns was so intense that when the Lutheran church burned down in the Danish community, some people in Callendar balked at the idea of Danes coming to Callendar to go to their Lutheran church.[24]

People were also judged by their religious identification. Discrimination against those not belonging to the dominant Protestant churches was common, especially in the form of anti-Catholicism. Not only did religious discrimination divide even people with the same national heritage, it also denied participation in social life to those not belonging to the dominant religion, and it helped determine who shared work with whom.[25]

In addition to classification according to class and culture, a second type of judging also was prevalent: the judging of conduct. The tendency to judge conduct, rather than adherence to specific moral rules, has seemed to sociologist Robin Williams to be the basis of Americans' moral orientation.[26] This sort of moral orientation did not go unnoticed by the former Iowans I studied. Eighty-four percent reported it as an aspect of life in Iowa that they remembered most vividly. However, contrary to Williams's belief, it is evident throughout my conversations with the Iowa migrants that there was a moral code against which conduct was appraised. The degree to which a person could be judged a hard worker, and adherence to traditional morals such as honesty, were central elements of that code.

That many Iowans were not far removed from a farming past where survival, not to mention prosperity, depended on everyone doing their part, probably accounts for much of the emphasis on being a good, hard worker. Of those I studied, 62 percent were either the children or grandchildren of farmers. But, respect for hard work was a value held by city people too. In talking about which Iowa qualities he tried to impart to his children, Don Fromknecht, who was born and raised in Sioux City and Des Moines, noted that one of the values he took from his upbringing was the idea that people get paid what their labor warrants. "I'm still carrying that [motto] the old man [his father] taught us. I still believe that value earned is value received."[27]

Adherence to traditional morals was another standard against which conduct was judged in Iowa. Honesty was cited most frequently as an eminent value. Kenneth Bauermeister explained its importance:

> [There was a] tremendous belief that all people had that they should be as fair and honest with their neighbors as they possibly could because everybody knew everybody. If you started telling a little white lie or whatever it was, it was soon to catch up with you, no matter what it was. It wasn't like the big city where you could hide in an atmosphere of anonymity.[28]

In essence, honesty and being a hard worker were essential components of a good reputation in Iowa's small towns. In larger cities, the size of the population made it difficult to make those sorts of assessments about everyone. Instead, other methods were used. For example, Don Fromknecht reported that, in the section of Des Moines where he lived, those

The Iowa State Association annual picnic in Long Beach, ca. 1930. *Photograph from the archives of the Historical Society of Long Beach.*

vho tried to win respect by displaying all that heir money could buy were considered not quite rustworthy.[29]

The migrants had mixed feelings about the lynamic of community that I have just described. enerally, all had fond memories of sharing work nd social life, but their feelings about judgment var-ed. Fifty-four percent had decidedly negative feel-ngs on the subject, while the rest were neutral. ommon throughout the statements of those in the irst group was the sense that judging limited self-xpression. It determined the sort of work individ-als could pursue, the friendships and marriage onds that were formed, and even what people did or fun and relaxation. As a result, community roved too restrictive for many.

The consequences for these individuals and for alifornia were significant. Sixty-seven percent of hose who were dissatisfied with the judging that vent on in Iowa communities held images of south-rn California as a place of adventure and opportu-ity. Not coincidentally, the reasons many of them gave for moving to southern California also reflect the adventure and opportunity theme. Diagram 2 represents the reasons people gave for moving, in order of importance. Of those who stated that they moved in search of greater economic opportunity and/or the desire for more autonomy, anonymity, and adventure than existed in Iowa, 50 percent held images of southern California as a place where life could be different. In short, many of these were the people who defined the California Dream, in part, as an escape from community.

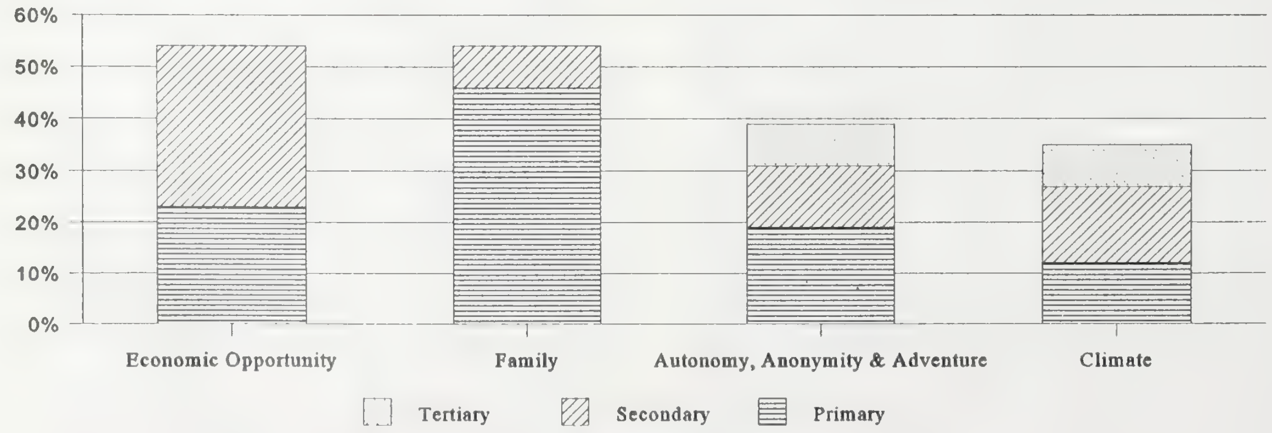
Several questions remain. First, how did the migrants come to associate southern California with escape from community? Second, after they moved to the region, did they like it? Were they satisfied with the level and kind of community that existed in southern California? The first question is difficult to answer definitively because I did not collect any information on how migrants came by their vision of the Dream. Still, it is possible to speculate. Many of the migrants who held images of southern California as an escape from community were people looking for something different from what they had in Iowa. And the traditional images portrayed a place not just different, but wonderfully so. The sun, palm trees, citrus, and ocean all depicted a climate where there was greater freedom of movement and dress than was found in Iowa. In addition, the never-ending stories of music, film, and television personalities rising from obscurity to stardom, plus the likewise incessant tales of celebrities' marital peccadillos might have communicated the message that in southern California there was more social freedom as well. To people yearning for greater freedom of self-expression, these traditional images might have conveyed the idea that southern California was just the place for them.

Another way people might have come to associate southern California with escape from the limitations of community is suggested in comments made by Lois Smith. When she was a child in Iowa, her family was desperately poor. During those years, she had an uncle who had moved to California and who occasionally brought his family back to Iowa to visit. It seemed to Smith that her uncle and his family had far more money than her family *because* they had moved to California. She believed that her uncle, who had grown up in the same circumstances in Iowa as her mother, where community imposed restrictions on upward mobility, had been able to escape those conditions in California.[30] So, perhaps some migrants came to imagine southern California as an escape from the limitations imposed by community, based on contact with friends and relatives who seemed to have made that escape themselves. Indeed, 65 percent of the migrants had networks of family and friends who had made the trek to California before them.

The migration of Americans who defined the California Dream in part as an escape from community must have had some influence on the nature of that institution in southern California in the post-World War II era. At this time, it is not possible to say when the weak state of community evident today in many suburban neighborhoods of southern California became prevalent. The history of community in southern California has yet to be written. But there is little doubt that the migration of people whose

Diagram 2

Reasons for Migration from Iowa to Southern California



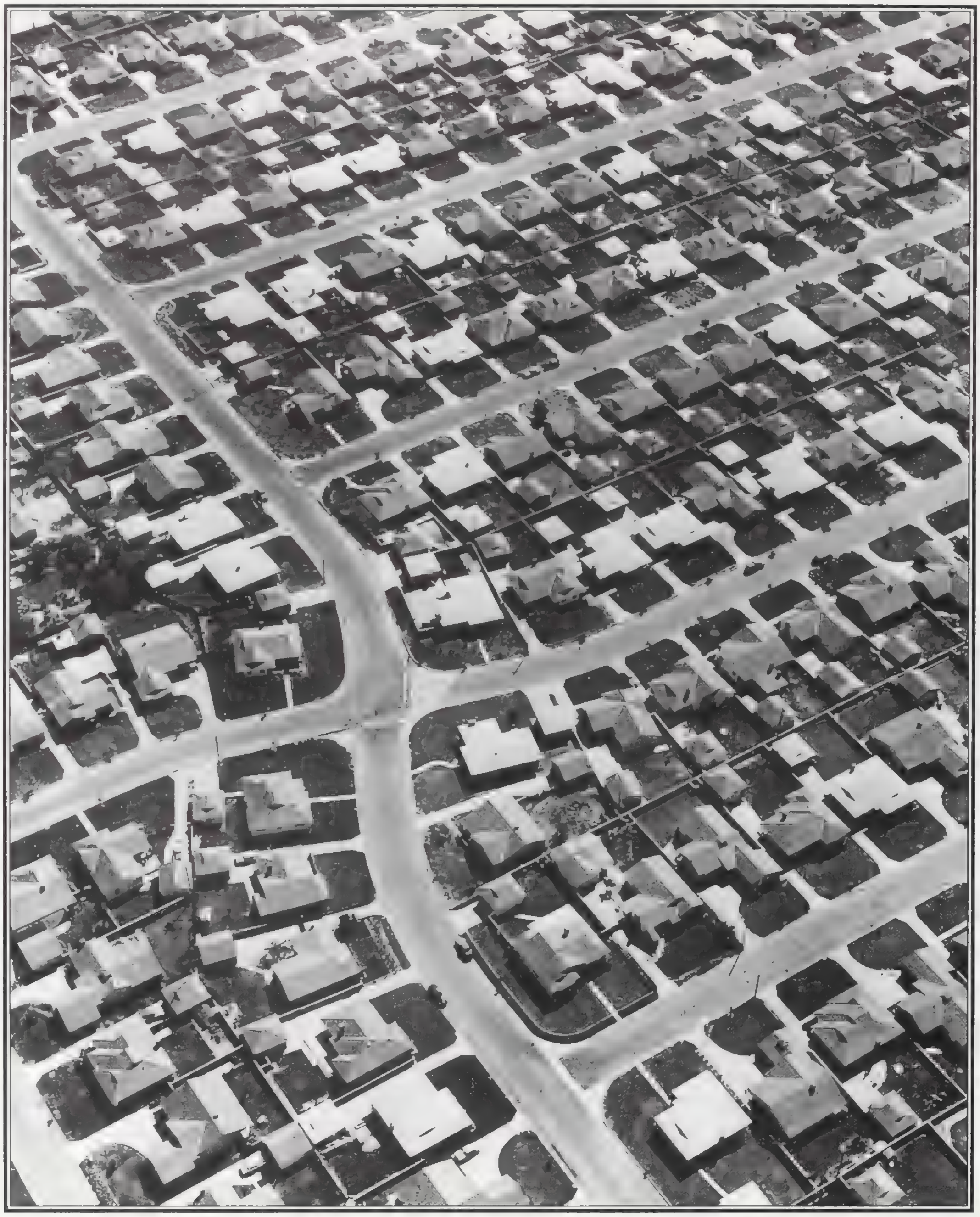
The vernacular architecture, abundant trees arching over streets, and "Main Street" downtowns are elements of the landscape that, for example here in Claremont, mirror many of the small towns of the Midwest and East from which many early residents hailed. This recent photograph of Claremont houses constructed in the early twentieth century evokes the atmosphere of the older towns in the eastern United States. *Courtesy Joseph M. Marino.*

experiences caused them to flee close-knit communities must have had some role in the development of the kind of community that exists today. When asked if they missed the closeness of community they had experienced in Iowa, not surprisingly, some of those who had envisioned southern California as an escape from community replied that they did not. What is surprising, however, is that others, who did not leave Iowa because they were dissatisfied with community life there, also said that they did not long for a more closely knit community life once they settled in the region. For example, Richard Mongar says:

> Out here in California people have a lot of things going on in their own [lives.] They don't really pay too much attention to other people. I kind of like that though. I like neighbors, but I don't like to have them come in and have a drink in the afternoon, or coffee in the morning. I like to live an independent [life.][31]

Perhaps Mongar's preference for the greater autonomy that life in southern California provided was a result of his adaption to the culture of the region. Or perhaps the cause was his feelings about the closeness of community in Iowa, which he did not reveal.

Of course, there were some who did miss the ties of community they had left in Iowa. In fact, this



The post-World War II suburbs of southern California cities such as Los Angeles became home to thousands of transplanted midwesterners. This 1960 aerial view of an unidentified tract illustrates a pattern of middle-class housing that became typical in southern California: large, homogeneous subdivisions of similar houses, isolated within walled yards and lacking in neighborhood identity—the antithesis of the small, tightly knit communities that some post-war midwesterners were fleeing by migrating to the West. *Hearst Collection,* Los Angeles Examiner, *Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California.*

group was the larger of the two.[32] The particularly interesting members of this group were those who also conceived of the California Dream as an escape from community. Their situation was paradoxical, however. On the one hand they longed for community as they had experienced it in Iowa, but, at the same time, they also rejected the limitations community attitudes imposed on their ability to achieve their dreams and goals. Martha Celmer was one:

> Just judging from my experience of when my folks were still alive and from their neighborhood [in Iowa] where they lived. There were people who

> would stop by. Things like that don't occur out here. People are too interested and caught up in their own lives. They don't have time for neighborly things. I have often mentioned that it would be fun to have a porch so we could have a swing, so we could watch people go by.[33]

For the most part, those like Celmer who lived with this paradox did so fairly comfortably, finding friendship where they could. Perhaps they accepted the sacrifices that attended their increased ability to express the individuality they felt was stifled in owa. Or perhaps like Jean Bruning, another member of the group, they fantasized about moving away from southern California one day, to a place where neighbors shared more with one another than ust their names and what they did for a living.[34]

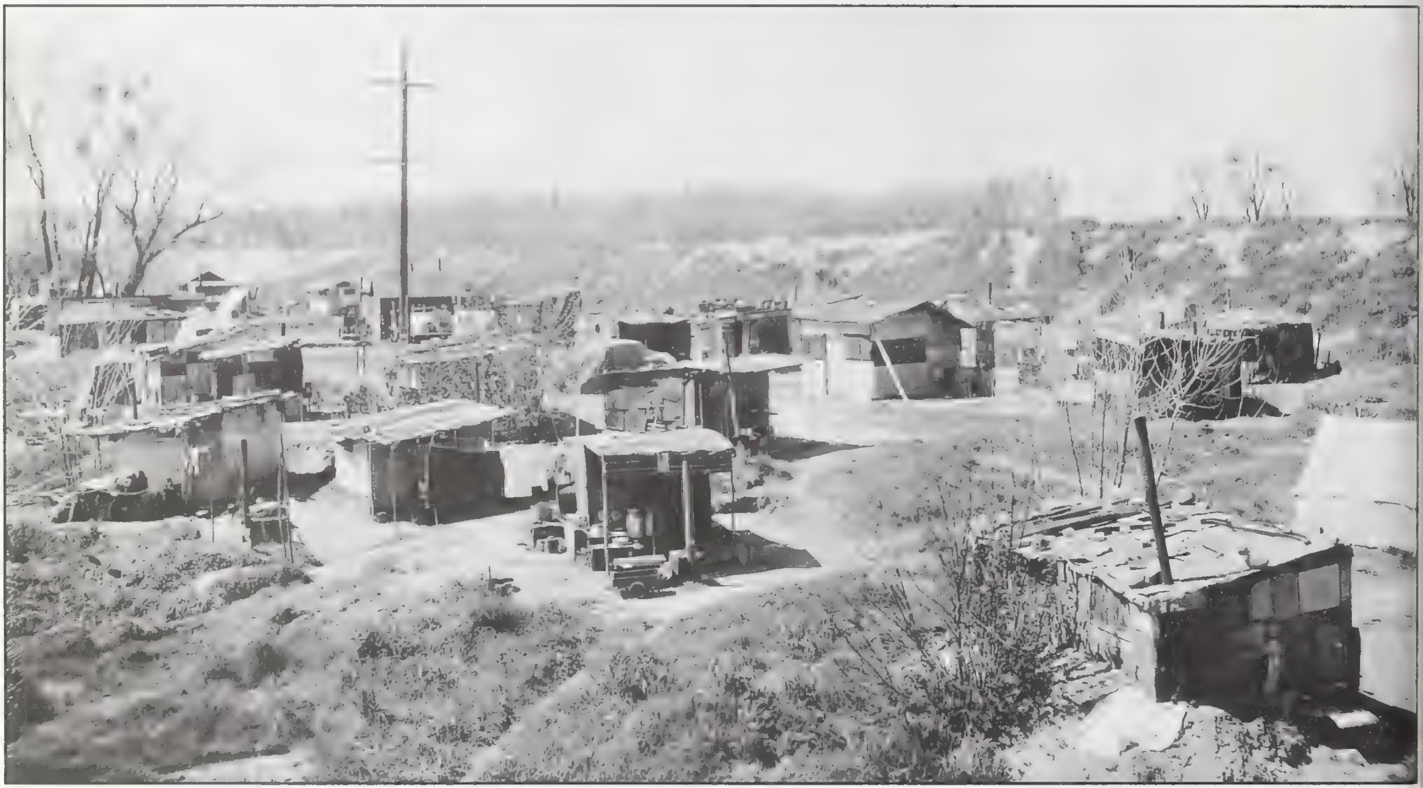
Some of my colleagues might rightly question how much weight we should give to these alternative images, these ideas of southern California as an escape, since I examined the recollections of migrants from only one state. Undoubtedly, more testimonies of post-war migrants' visions and experiences must be collected in order to more fully test the hypotheses I have presented herein. However, the facts of post-war migration to California suggest that the interpretation I have offered has wider application. After all, among the top ten states contributing to California's population in the post-war years were many where small town life was still a vital memory, if not the norm: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Texas. In addition, it is quite possible that migrants from larger cities in these states also completed journeys of migration similar to many I found in my study of Iowans. After having been raised in a small town or rural neighborhood, many left for one of the larger cities in Iowa before making the jump to southern California.[35] Given this evidence, it seems plausible that an experience of community similar to that I described above might have fueled the migration and shaped the dream of people from urban areas and other states.

Throughout the immediate post-World War II decades, the California Dream continued to lure midwesterners to the Golden State. Portraits of a land of movie stars, palm trees, the ocean, oranges, and a place for a sun-kissed life continued to be central images of the dream. But this examination of the lives of a group of post-war migrants from one state suggests that there was another set of images attached to southern California; that, in fact, the dream was more complex than most of us realize. Images of southern California as an escape from community in the Midwest, where judgments made about people on the basis of class, ethnicity, religion, and adherence to traditional morals seemed to limit individuality, also were a part of the dream, for some.

By understanding these images, and the conditions that created them, we achieve two things. First, we have identified one piece of the puzzle of community in post-war suburban southern California. Through the attitudes and lives of people such as those I studied, we find that the weak sense of community that prevails in many suburban areas of the region is not a fluke. It is the result of probably a number of factors, including the one I have explored here, the new residents' negative experiences of more intimate community elsewhere. And second, for people interested in studying California, these images lend a new perspective to the California Dream, a feature unique to the state, as it was envisioned by some in the post-war decades.

See notes beginning on page 74

Denise S. Spooner is a lecturer in California and U.S. history at California State University, Northridge, and co-editor of H-California. She received her Ph.D. in American civilization the University of Pennsylvania. Currently she is studyin yard fencing in suburban southern California for a the experience of community in the twentieth century.



This photograph of a small migrant camp near Sacramento is one of hundreds of "Hoovervilles" that could be found throughout California during the 1930s Depression. Migrant workers flooded into California seeking work advertised by labor contractors who inflated the labor force by falsely advertising work in order to drive down wages. *Courtesy the Bancroft Library.*

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California.

By Kevin Starr. (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1996, xii, 402 pp., $35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Andrew Rolle, *Cleland Professor Emeritus at Occidental College, and presently research scholar at the Huntington Library. His latest book is entitled* Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future (San Francisco, 1995).

In his own way, Kevin Starr is becoming today's Hubert Howe Bancroft of California historical writing. This is meant as a compliment, for he is the most obvious successor of the state's first multi-volume historian. Much the better stylist, and a polymath as well, in this volume Starr furnishes the reader with a panoramic sweep of the turbulent 1930s. Each book in his series, entitled "Americans and the California Dream," has achieved unusual acclaim, as did Bancroft's work—well beyond the criticisms of professional historians.

Starr is also in the tradition of Louis Wright, Dixon Wecter, and George Stewart: all were originally professors of literature who turned their talents toward the study of history. Starr's preparation is wide: Harvard professor, San Francisco city librarian, newspaper columnist, and now California state librarian as well as a professor at the University of Southern California.

Endangered Dreams is the fourth volume in Starr's overview of California's past. Like the earlier ones, it is based on a prodigious variety of sources. His method remains discursive. Starr describes how the thirties generation, though forced to cope with financial tragedy, endured with at least some of its hopes intact.

The central challenge that all multi-volume chroniclers face is the unification of vast quantities of data. Because generalists find this goal difficult to achieve, they must struggle against disconnectedness. Though Starr's earlier volumes were criticized as somewhat high-flown narratives, this one is tightly-woven indeed. Its bibliography reflects Starr's heavy use of specialized materials as well as biographical data.

The personalities whom he treats anecdotally include would-be-governor Upton Sinclair and his EPIC Plan, the jailed labor leader Tom Mooney and the protracted effort to free him, pension advocate Dr. Francis Townsend, author John Steinbeck, and the impoverished Arkies and Oakies who fled midwestern dust bowls. The treatment of the controversial Mooney (whose papers are in the Bancroft Library) is both innovative and strong.

Starr reminds us of how many social and political conflicts rocked California during its Great Depression years. Bitter left- and right-wing clashes aligned the Association of Farmers and the American Legion on one side; on the other were angry labor organizers. Union strife was not confined to the agricultural fields of the Central Valley, either. Starr retraces the radicalizing of San Francisco's 1934 waterfront strike as well.

All of Starr's fact-filled volumes express hope in a future that has grown out of California's remarkable but sometimes flawed past. Though this is a sobering narrative of a land in pain, Starr remains a vigorous optimist. Finally, his work is free of gibberish and trendy "political correctness." No arcana (such as deconstructionism) dampens the author's enthusiasm for his native state.

Hispanic California Revisited: Essays by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M.

Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1996, xvi, 389 pp., $39.65 cloth.)

Reviewed by Douglas Monroy, *professor of history at The Colorado College and author of* Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California.

The publication of this volume of essays by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., solidifies the defensive posture of pro-mission writers about Spanish California. It was once dogma in the tourist publications, at the mission sites themselves, and even in the California public schools that the Franciscan friars had brought something once called "civilization" to the unfortunate Indians of Alta California. Political movements associated with affirmation of Native American ways, opposition to the Vietnam War, and an acknowledgement that indigenous peoples have cultural integrity and legitimacy combined to challenge the heroic narrative that tourism boosters, and scholar priests and their followers, had built around the fabled California missions. The publication of essays from around 1940 by Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library

(University of California Press, 1976), provided the avalanche of evidence sustaining the point of view that the outcome of missionization, intended or not, was genocide. Fermín Lasuén, father president of California missions (1785–1803), wrote his "Refutation of Charges" to defend the missionization effort against challenges from civil authorities. I think that Guest's substantive but tortured work should be seen in this tradition.

In the introduction, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., states that Guest "knows how to argue his thesis with consummate skill, boldly building his case by the use of solid historical evidence while eschewing bias and partiality" (xvi). The richness of the primary sources contained in the endnotes is quite remarkable, but so is the exclusion of the insights of non-Catholic secondary sources. The bias and partiality, however, are contained in the assumptions. The author asserts that "aboriginal peoples have a right both to their culture and to the Gospel . . ." (p. 139). Guest explains away the California friars' understandable eighteenth-century ethnocentricity, but simply presumes the latter "right." Indeed, if the California Indians had a right to the Gospel, then everything that ensued can be explained logically. The "discipline" that the fathers used on the Indians was necessary because "as legal guardians, the friars were looked upon as responsible before God for the religious education of their neophytes" (p. 192). Anyway, whipping was part of Spanish culture, and if it was done to those considered children it was actually rather light. Confinement—necessary for conversion—meant fatal diseases, but the Europeans suffered frequent and devastating plagues. In an article originally published in 1983, Guest can still speak of "the great contrast that existed between their native aboriginal way of life and the civilized life of living at the missions" (p. 155) to explain Indian flight from the mission and then to justify the force necessary to keep them there. He's right, except that the brutality that the soldiers exercised in re-capturing *huidos* shatters any such distinctions between the "civilized" and the "uncivilized." Nonetheless, all this follows from the notion of the right of the Indians to the Gospel and that "the Indians . . . entered them [the missions] voluntarily" (p. 171).

If one wonders about Indian involvement in establishing this "right," or believes that different peoples' different relationships to the spirit world and the body's desires are equally valid, then these long justifications for the events at the California missions will seem, at best, pedantic. Indeed, Guest, for very understandable reasons, gives no legitimacy to Indian belief systems. Nor does he ever question, or acknowledge the ongoing consequences of, his church's unthinking decision to attach itself to Spanish imperialism. Guest acknowledges that "The Spanish . . . were engaged in what we now see to have been a largely quixotic venture, a titanic enterprise that called forth their noblest efforts but was destined, almost of necessity, to fall short of success" (p. 162), but he never questions the legitimacy of the mission effort.

Ultimately, I am convinced, these disputes over the California missions derive not from malice, but from differing values over whether or not people should be left to worship the gods to which they are accustomed. This is not to say that my differences with Father Guest exist simply on the level of values. Sherburne Cook is made into a straw man in these writings: "But to proceed from a page of statistics on whipping to the conclusion that the missionaries were insensitive, harsh, and pitiless is to take more than a long step" (p. 136). Cook doesn't do this, and I don't know who does. Actually that's Cook's point, and mine too: namely that there is something about western civilization's presumption of missionization (not simply its agents) that seems to result in the destruction of the targeted natives. Guest challenges us to answer why: "If one assumes that the missionaries were habitually guilty of grave mistreatment. . . , how does one explain" the acceptance of their discipline and "the enduring attachment of the descendants of the missionized Indians to Catholicism?" (p. 236). From their graves to which resisting neophytes dispatched them, Padres Panto, Jayme, and Quintana would all dispute the acquiescence of the Indians whom they whipped. And why all the soldiers? After Secularization (1833) ended the mission effort, the Indians mostly fled: "The different missions," stated Hugo Reid, whose wife was a former neophyte, "had alcaldes continually on the move hunting them up and carrying them back, but to no purpose; it was labor in vain." In a letter of 1828, Father Peyri wrote that "apathy reigns over the Indians." Apathy, we know, derives from the combination of hurt and anger; in this case the hurt from the soldiers, the punishments, and the diseases, and the anger over the destruction of the Indians' cherished lifeways.

These sorts of questions that Guest poses have been answered again and again by now. It has become almost like refuting U. B. Phillips's defenses of southern slavery. Points may be scored for slavery (it too brought Christianity to heathens), and we can certainly understand slavery in historical context, but it, like the notion of missionization, belongs to a time now well past.

Land Grants in Alta California: A Compilation of Spanish and Mexican Private Land Claims in the State of California.

By Crisostomo N. Perez. (Rancho Cordova: Landmark Enterprises, 1996, 264 pp., $42.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Rodolfo F. Acuña, professor of chicana/o studies at California State University, Northridge, and author of Occupied America; Anything But Mexican; *and the forthcoming* Sometimes There is No Other Side: Essays on Truth and Objectivity, *among other histories.*

Land Grants in Alta California is a labor of love by Crisostomo N. Perez, a boundary determination officer with the California State Lands Commission. A professional land surveyor, Perez knows his subject. It is, however, this technical knowledge that is both the strength and weakness of the book. Perez deals with an interesting, timely topic that has tremendous popular appeal to the growing Mexican American population, a goodly sector of which is fascinated with the land question. It certainly will be a valuable tool for future researchers.

According to the author, "This is a definitive reference book detailing pertinent data in relation to the United States of America's confirmation and patenting of land grant claims, together with a compilation of legislation and litigation affecting each claim." This is all well and good. But, the gnawing reality remains that the editor should have helped the author craft a book that was more cohesive and, if it was intended as a reference book, easier to follow. For example, while the book has an excellent glossary, it does not have an index to find the considerable data it holds, and even reference books are heavily annotated.

My own preference would have been for the author to have had a more cohesive story. The author tells a good one when he gives himself the luxury of doing so. Without this cohesive narrative, the work is a mere compilation and listing of documents, which are incredibly valuable, but this does not make it a book or a reference work per se. Writing this review is frustrating because the topic and the material are so exciting; basic editorial changes in the format of the book could have made it a potentially definitive work on Spanish and Mexican land grants.

Land Grants in Alta California is therefore a sourcebook for professionals. The guts of the work is the first chapter, which deals with the private land claims. Although the material can be found in disparate sources, such as textbooks, what has been missing from them are references indicating where one can pursue this topic, to wit, the Spanish and Mexican law that controlled land titles and boundaries in California prior to 1850.

The author relates the essence of "Las Partidas," the seven parts, which was the thirteenth-century code that Spanish land law was based on. He then describes the changes brought about by Mexican law after 1822. Within this context, he deals with laws governing land, and laws governing ownership and use in the mission, presidio, and pueblo universes. The author does touch on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 and the letter of protocol. What is missing is an analysis; the narrative is more often than not solely descriptive.

I was fascinated by the discussion of the Board of Land Commissioners, which heard 809 cases involving private claims, confirming 604 and rejecting 190. In this discussion, Perez is in his environment, explaining the difference between the Spanish-Mexican *diseños*, maps, and the U.S. tradition of the rectangular system of surveying, which was based on the Land Act of 1796. The United States being a new and a small nation at the time, comprised of a goodly number of land speculators, could initiate this more efficient method without much cost, as it encroached on Native American lands in its westward expansion.

The difficulty other countries had was the tremendous cost associated with implementing this reform: "In 1863 the men of learned science in England estimated that it would require an appropriation of $450,000.00 a year for 21 years to extend a rectangular survey over the entire British Isles" (p. 9). It was not that the Mexican government was behind the times on this score, it was just the cost. The lack of such precision, however, would cost the Mexican nation as well as the California grantees dearly. In the case of the Mexican government, one- to two-thirds of the public lands went to surveying companies, for this service. The rancheros were required to pay for their own surveys, and the economic consequences to the grantees is dramatically told in works such as Leonard Pitt's *The Decline of the Californios.*

As good as the material is in this first chapter, it is cluttered. The author includes, for example, the private claims on the offshore islands, which are interesting. However, the topic lacks a proper discussion. The section is reduced to a mere listing of claims. As well as I know the geography of California, I got lost. The essential question as to why anyone wanted any of t[illegible] islands is lost, and the sense of history is just not there. The author states in the preface that "It is not a history of the grants, the grant process, or the vast impact that this process had on the economy and culture of modern day California. [illegible] the geographer and historian" (p. xi). Perez, an expert witne[illegible] on many legal cases, should know better—history is th[illegible] that binds even a reference book together.

The reader gets the feeling that the author had [illegible] to say, such as his recounting of the career of the Irish su[illegible]

Jasper O'Farrell, who surveyed twenty-two Mexican land grants between January 1844 and May 1846. His work has been ignored, having been completed during the Mexican period, and in fact, it has been claimed that there were no regular surveys prior to the American takeover. Perez's enlightening description of the career of O'Farrell will surely inspire some graduate student to do more research on the Irishman, but, for the present, the reader will be left without an adequate biography.

The chapters that follow contain important information, but the reader is let down. They do not tell you anything more than where to find the documents. Chapter 3, for example, is a listing of rancho claims, with almost no text. The following chapter deals with mining ordinances, which is always exciting. True, what the author says is interesting, but it could have been expanded. And, I concede that the author has made it plain that he is no historian, but history would have enhanced his viable information. Yes, there were mine claims before John Marshall's find.

Certainly the work will inspire historians and other social scientists to do more work on the subject of the land grants. The Perez book will cut their hours in libraries and other archives. They will find in the latter part of the book congressional documents, court cases, and other documents, which if they had been encased within a historical framework, would have expanded the scope of the book so dramatically.

Lola Montez: The California Adventures of Europe's Notorious Courtesan.

By James F. Varley. (Spokane, Wash.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996, 266 pp., inc. notes and index, $29.50 cloth).

Reviewed by Glenda Riley, *Alexander M. Bracken Professor of History at Ball State University and author of* The Life and Legacy of Annie Oakley.

Lola Montez was an enigmatic woman of great beauty and little talent. According to James F. Varley, a retired Navy captain and writer, Montez also took "so many lovers that a centipede couldn't count them on its legs" (14). Apparently inexplicably, she chose to spend the years 1853 through 1855 in California. Although Montez died in New York City, Varley asserts that thousands of Californians not only mourned her, but elevated her to folk hero status rivalling that of Kit Carson and Joaquin Murieta.

To prove his points, Varley pursued detailed research in California newspapers. Blow-by-blow, he relates Lola's arrival in San Francisco, her stage appearances as an actress and Spanish dancer (although she was born in Ireland), and her subsequent scrapes with lovers and the law. In the telling of Montez's wild tale, Varley also reveals a bit of California theater history.

Varley's biography makes good reading. It is engagingly written and superbly illustrated. The text even has real, old-fashioned footnotes at the bottom of the page, which facilitate reader reference to sources. Varley has also eschewed myth and anecdote to discover some of the realities of this particular California icon.

Still, the study leaves many questions unanswered, some about Lola, more about California. First, regarding Lola: how did she rank in theater circles? what was her lasting impact? why should a courtesan become an icon? In turn, such queries lead to questions about California: why did Lola choose to go there in 1853? was California really a macho, male-dominated society that took Montez to its heart? why is it "farfetched" to believe that, in 1855, a group of women drove Montez from her Grass Valley cottage?

The problem here seems to emanate from the sources. Besides occasionally misquoting and misdating, newspapers are in the business of reporting rather than analyzing. A perusal of some of the deeper literature regarding nineteenth-century women and California history might have closed some of the resultant gaps in Varley's biography.

Why the author chose to target California is also a puzzle. Over one-third of the book deals with Montez's pre-California years; the last one-fifth with her post-California life and eventual death. A glaring lack is an assessment of what Montez meant to California, as well as what the state meant to her. California readers looking for insights into the evolution of California images and idols will be disappointed.

If an entertaining, fast-paced story is desired, this more than fills the bill. For analysis and appraisal of nineteenth-century women and California, as well as Lola Montez's place and impact, the historical studies will yield more.

One of the most famous Polish immigrants to California was actress Helena Modjeska. Well known for her portrayals of Shakespearean and other heroines, Modjeska first appeared on stage in San Francisco in 1877 in *Adrienne Lecouvreur.* She eventually settled in this house (photographed in 1905), now a historic site and museum, in Orange County. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

olish Americans in California, Vol. II.

y Henrietta Simons, *et al.* (Los Angeles: National enter for Urban Ethnic Affairs and the Polish Amer- an Historical Association, 1995.)

eviewed by Gloria Ricci Lothrop, *W. P. Whitsett Professor California History, California State University, Northridge.*

he second volume of the survey of the Polish presence in Cal- ornia is described by the authors as a compendium of data from hich information may be gleaned for the writing of future his- ories. The content is divided into five parts, including historic ighlights, profiles of twentieth-century Polish Californians, Pol- h religious life, social life, and a Polish American Who's Who.

The first section offers a potpourri ranging from life at Helena Modjeska's vacation retreat, called the Forest of Arden, to events surrounding the visit of Pope John Paul II to Los Angeles in 1987. The second section offers profiles of Polish residents in California who have made notable contributions in the arts, the scien business, and public service. The religious life of Poles in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Orange counties is described briefly in section three. The chapter devoted to the social life of the Polish community provides brief sketches of theater and dance groups dedicated to the preservation of Polish culture as professional organizations and a number of political and veterans' clubs. Several organizations resembled typical support groups in Poland, ranging from orphans to young entreprene The Polish American Who's Who, which comprises the fifth tion, includes statements from and autobiographical portraits of junior as well as adult members of California's Polish American community.

The volume clearly conveys the cohesiveness of the Polish émigré settlement in California, and the dedication with which the national culture has been sustained through schools, libraries, national churches, retirement homes, sports leagues, and radio programs. Their myriad activities are coordinated and publicized by the Polish American Cultural Network. The enterprise and industry expended in sustaining institutions ranging from River End Park in Los Angeles to the Polish School of San Jose are clearly evident.

Although mindful of the disclaimer that this is not a history, in the estimation of the reviewer the community would have been well served by more essays like "Poles in San Diego" or "The Polish Center in Los Angeles." More such commentaries would have contributed to an understanding of the larger Polish story that includes such notable California visitors as Polish aristocrat John, Count of Rouissillon, for whom William Shaler, the captain of the *Lelia Byrd,* in 1805 named the bay at Catalina Island. Such essays might have noted that one of the earliest California gold-rush accounts was *California As I See It, and As It May Be or a Guide To the Gold Region,* written in 1849 by ardent Polish revolutionary, medical doctor, and adventurer, Felix Wierzbicki. It would also have been worthy of note that in the 1930s, when the 17,205 Poles of Los Angeles represented the largest Slavic community in the county, Konstany Stys used discarded pavement and rocks in constructing fifteen handcrafted homes. Known today as the Russian Village of Claremont, they are designated on the National Register of Historic Places as definitive examples of folk architecture.

Such historical treasures historians must glean from other sources. In this volume they will find documentation of the efforts of a vital ethnic community successfully sustaining its cultural traditions and proud of its contributions to its adopted homeland.

Douglas Tilden: The Man and His Legacy.

By Mildred Albronda. (Seattle: Emerald Point Press, 1994, xiv, 183 pp., $49.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gray Brechin, *graduate student and instructor, Department of Geography at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of* Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin, *to be published by the University of California Press.*

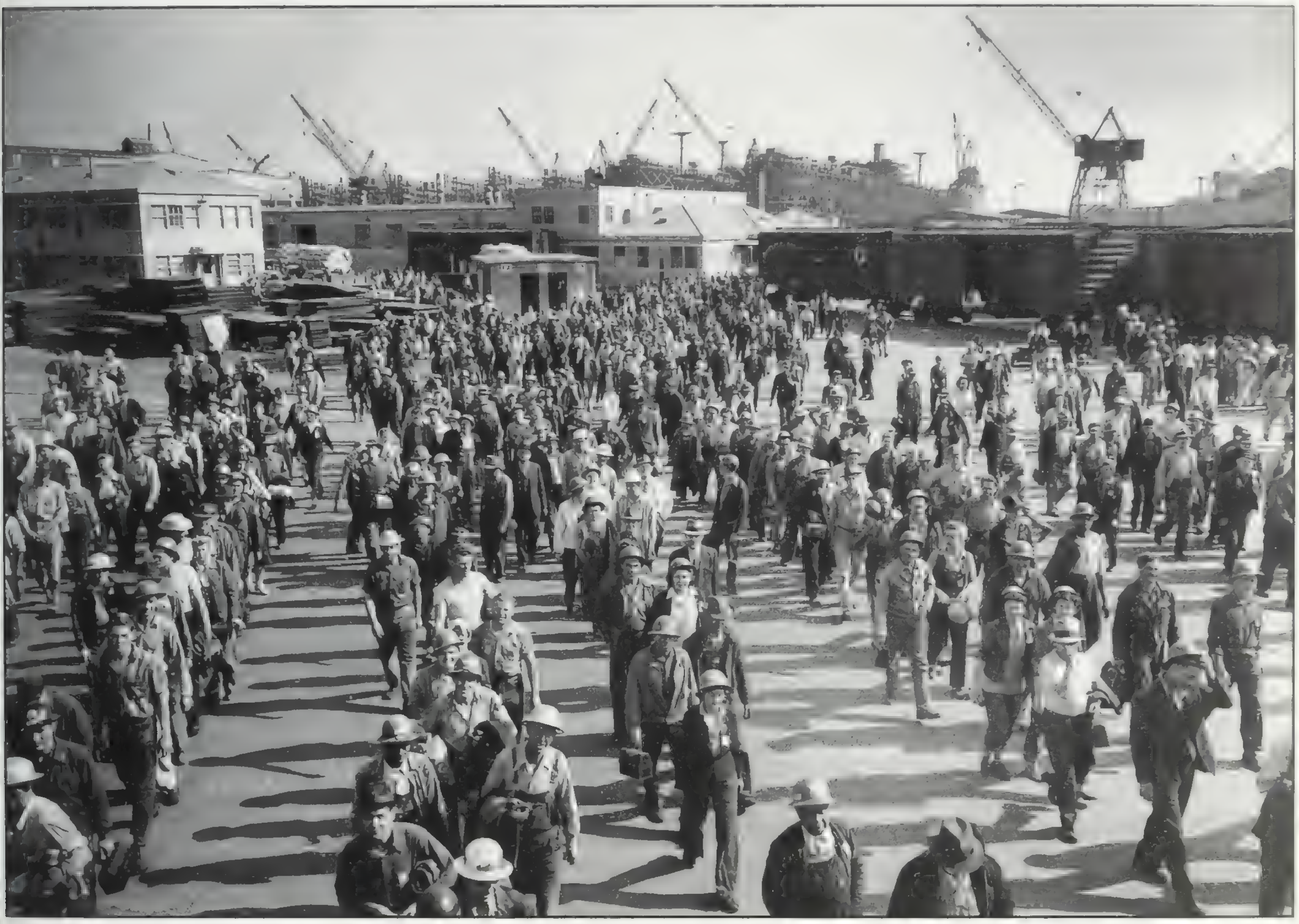
Douglas Tilden *should* be among the best known of San Francisco's sculptors, for his heroic bronzes are not only unavoidable but the best ever produced in the city. At his peak, Tilden was in a league with Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Mildred Albronda, who has written extensively on the little-known contributions of deaf artists, has revised her 1980 biography of Tilden, expanding it into a handsome coffee table format book with foreword by the Oakland Museum's curator of arts, Harvey L. Jones.

Albronda explains in her introduction that so much information has come to light since her previous book, including the discovery of the contents of Tilden's final studio and his daughter's donation of family papers to the Bancroft Library, that she felt compelled to produce a new publication. The book abounds in anecdotal photographs as well as Tilden's revealing self-appraisals. Albronda is especially good at explaining why the artist's career peaked and declined as a result of changing international taste, Tilden's difficult personality, and, especially, arts patronage in a city that styled itself "The Paris of the West." It is not a pretty story.

A childhood case of scarlet fever left Tilden deaf and mute. Nonetheless, he devoted himself to the education of and advocacy for the deaf, as well as to the creation of some of the most dynamic works of the American Renaissance.

Following his return to San Francisco in 1894 after study in Paris, Tilden's career became tightly entwined with that of his chief patron, James Duval Phelan, banker and mayor (1898–1902). An ardent imperialist, Phelan found in Tilden precisely the instrument he sought to ennoble California's history and beautify his city.

If the sentiments that Tilden expressed in his sculpture are conventional, the manner by which he expressed them is anything but. In the *Donahue Monument* (now *Mechanics' Monument*) of 1901, Tilden froze five workers, clad only in leather aprons, straining to pierce a steel plate with a gigantic punch press. While a prominent official condemned its nudity as "unhealthy for the young minds of San Francisco," sculptor Lorado Taft admiringly called it the most unconventional work in the United States and



In this photograph, *Shift Change, 3:30 p.m., Kaiser Shipyards, 1943,* Dorothea Lange captured workers leaving a Richmond, California, shipyard. *Copyright the Dorothea Lange Collection, The Oakland Museum of California. Gift of Paul S. Taylor.*

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emarked that no other city could have produced art so “lawess.” It remains Tilden's masterpiece.

The overwhelmingly masculine nature of Tilden's *oeuvre* sugests that his marital problems may have had deeper roots than is wife's dementia, but on this Albronda does not speculate.

Tilden lived beyond the era of heroic figurative sculpture and ould not change with the times. It is just as well that works such s his monumentally camp *Joaquin Miller Departing for Valhalla* 1917) were never cast. After a brilliant early florescence, his comissions dried up and he declined into self-recrimination and overty. In 1935, the year after the *San Francisco Examiner* called im “the West's greatest sculptor,” Tilden died alone and on welare in an unheated Berkeley studio crammed with unrealized odels. Nearly sixty years later, Albronda's biography does jusice to a superbly gifted visionary largely forgotten by the state e memorialized.

Photographing the Second Gold Rush: Dorothea Lange and the Bay Area at War, 1941–1945.

Introduction by Charles Wollenberg. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1995, 88 pp., $14.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Sandra S. Phillips, *curator of photography at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.*

Last year, if she were alive, Dorothea Lange would have been one hundred years old. In acknowledgment of this [illegible] recognition of the relevance of her work today, a number of books, exhibitions, and a documentary film have [illegible] appeared. Her most concerted effort and the largest body of work was made in the 1930s, when she worked with her husband, Paul

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Kunkel, "Alaska Gold,"pp. 2-23.

1. This and all subsequent quotations without footnotes are from the writings of the McDaniel brothers, private collection.
2. T. Cole, "Foreword" to L. H. French, *Nome Nuggets: Some of the Experiences of a Party of Gold Seekers in Northwestern Alaska in 1900* (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Co., 1983), 7.
3. Ibid., 31.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. George Bird Grinnell, *Alaska, 1899: Essays from the Harriman Expedition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 183.
7. French, *Nome Nuggets*, 23.
8. Ibid., 21.
9. Ibid., 47.

Simpson, "Women, Real Estate, and Urban Growth," pp. 24-43.

1. A growing body of literature in American women's history addresses the ways in which men and women have worked together rather than in totally separate spheres of influence. For the colonial period and early republic, see Richard Buel and Joy Day Buel, *The Way of Duty* (New York, 1984); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, 1990); and Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (1984). Lebsock argues that throughout the nineteenth century, women gained increasing autonomy in their personal lives as independent property owners. She suggests, however, that this limited their political autonomy. Urban life for bourgeois women was "neither a permanent retreat into a separate sphere nor a steady march from the confines of the home to the riskier and more varied regions the nineteenth century called 'the world'" (235). For the later nineteenth century see Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872* (New York, 1984). For the twentieth century see Andrea Kornbluh, "City Sex: Views of American Women and Urban Culture, 1869–1990," *Urban History Yearbook* (1991), 60-83.
2. Elizabeth Fisk Diary, 13 January 1887, Helen G. Fisk Papers. A. K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands, Calif. (hereinafter cited as Fisk Diary).
3. Fisk Diary, 2 February 1887.
4. Ibid., 4 March 1887.
5. The Eddys finally purchased two lots of investment property in Riverside in the spring of 1887, ibid., 10 March 1887.
6. Ibid., 5 October 1887.
7. Ibid., 18 October 1887.
8. Ibid., 23 February 1888.
9. Financial Records, Helen G. Fisk Papers. The family financial records indicate that Elizabeth maintained business accounts separate from her husband. She kept the property at 1009 W. Fern Ave. in her own name following her remarriage to John P. Fisk.
10. Peter Thomas Conmy, *The Historic Spanish Origin of California's Community Property Law and Its Development and Adaptation to Meet the Needs of an American State* (San Francisco, 1957), 2, 11, 12, 15, 25.
11. An extensive body of literature, generally regarded as the "organizational synthesis," argues that between 1870 and 1920, American society underwent a transformation from entrepreneurial capitalism to corporate capitalism. In the process Americans organized themselves into bureaucratic hierarchies, and replaced an apprentice system of training with professional, academic training. Professionalization and organization represented an attempt to bring order out of chaos. See Louis Galambos, "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History," *Business History Review* XLIV (1970): 279-90, and "Technology, Political Economy, and Professionalization: Central Themes of the Organizational Synthesis," *Business History Review* 57 (1983): 471-93; Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877–1920* (New York, 1967); Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).
12. Helen G. Fisk to Miss Van Cluck, 14 February, 1918, Fisk Papers.
13. Riverside *Enterprise*, 30 November 1915.
14. This paper relies on Albert Hirschman's theory of economic development outlined in *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven, 1958). Hirschman argues that in order for growth to occur, a socially organized elite with a marketable vision of *potential* growth has to be in place. The psychology of growth is as important, if not more important, than the availability of natural resources or investment capital. Shortage of capital and resources is not a hindrance to development if careful planning and the promise of competent management are both perceived and fulfilled. The necessary condition for successful urbanization

is, therefore, the social organization of decision-making.

Eric Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U. S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980* (Berkeley, 1988), 7.

Ibid., 4.

For a historiographical essay on the separate spheres paradigm in women's history, see Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History 75* (June 1988): 9-39. Works that employ this argument to explain women's lives in the urban context include Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-74; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29; Blanche Weisen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Chrystal Eastman, Emma Goldman," *Chrysalis* (no. 3, 1977), 43-61; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, 1977); Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Fall 1979): 512-29; Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980); Ellen DuBois, Mari Jo Buhle, Temma Kaplan, Gerda Lerner, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Politics and Culture in Women's History: A Symposium," *Feminist Studies* 6 (Spring 1980): 26-64; Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, 1982); Cynthia Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945–1968* (Berkeley, 1988); Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1989); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge, 1981); Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg;* Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York, 1986).

18. "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 620-47. See also Mary Ritter Beard, *Women's Work in Municipalities ([1915] New York, 1972);* Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1790–1835* (New Haven, 1975); Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in Mary Harman and Lois W. Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York, 1974), 119-33; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood"; Sandra Schackel, *Social Housekeepers* (Albuquerque, 1992).
19. Mansel Blackford, *The Lost Dream: Businessmen and City Planning on the West Coast* (Columbus, 1994); Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York, 1985), and *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York, 1991); Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban;* and William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1992).
20. For traditional interpretations of municipal housekeeping see Beard, *Women's Work in Municipalities;* Schackel, *Social Housekeepers.* For work on the blurring of separate spheres see Kornbluh, "City Sex"; and Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 22. See also "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," *Unequal Sisters* (1990), 1-14; and Michael E. Engh, "Mary Julia Workman: The Catholic Conscience of Los Angeles," *California History* LXXII (Spring 1993): 2-19.
21. Beard, *Women's Work*, vii.
22. *Redlands Chamber of Commerce Bulletin*, vol 1, no. 2, (May 1912), [n.p.], Internal Affairs, Redlands Chamber of Commerce Papers, Heritage Room, A. K. Smiley Public Library.
23. For interpretations that emphasize speculation as the motivator behind southern California and western development, see Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* and *Material Dreams;* Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York, 1985); and Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York, 1990). These works argue that southern California today is the result of greedy, manipulative, and dishonest real estate speculators who sought personal gain at the expense of the non-white population and of the environment.
24. *The Citrograph*, 24 December 1887.
25. Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell, "The Citrus Industry and the Revolution of Corporate Capitalism in Southern California, 1887–1944, *California History* LXXIV (Spring 1995): 6-21.
26. Oakland *Enquirer*, 16 January 1904.
27. *History of Redlands and Prospect Park* (Redlands, 1968), 61-62.
28. Fisk Diary, 27 February, 9 April, 5 August 1891, 12 May 1892, 12 January 1894, 23 February 1895, 29 February, 21, 22 April 1896, 30 January, 2 February, 7 October 1904, 26 February 1908.
29. *Golden Jubilee Redlands California: 1888–1938* (Redlands, 1938), 7, and *History of Redlands and Prospect Park*, 49-50.
30. *The Citrograph*, 13 August 1887.
31. Ibid., 3 September 1887.
32. Fisk Diary, 2 June 1888.
33. Ibid., 7 May 1887.
34. Ibid., 12 April 1887.
35. Ibid., 27 February, 9 April, 5 Aug[illegible] 12 May 1892, 12 January 1894, 23 February 1895, 29 February, 21, 22 April 18[illegible]uary, 2 February, 7 October 1904, 26 February 1908. In addition, [illegible] member of the Redlands Ora[illegible] Association, with accounts se[illegible] her husband; Financial Record[illegible] pers.
36. Tobey and Wetherell, "The Citrus [illegible] 6-12. See also H. Vincent M[illegible]

NOTES

ange Grower is not a Farmer': G. Harold Powell, Riverside Orchardists, and the Coming of Industrial Agriculture, 1893–1930," *California History* LXXIV (Spring 1995): 22-37; and Anthea M. Hartig, "'In a World He Has Created': Class Collectivity and the Growers' Landscape of the Southern California Citrus Industry, 1890-1940," *California History* LXXIV (Spring 1995): 100-111.

37. For an explanation of the importance of social overhead investment, see Douglas North, *The Economic Growth of the United States* (New York, 1968). In his explanation of industrial development in the antebellum United States, North argued that profits gained from the export of southern cotton by northeastern capitalists were reinvested in social overhead as well as industrial enterprises, thus spurring the growth of commercial shipping cities such as Boston or New York. Urbanization, reinvestment of capital into the infrastructure, and the development of free public school education created an educated consumer base. This in turn generated local demand for more products. As the market expanded, industry diversified, fueling growth and transforming regional economies.
38. *The Citrograph*, 13 August 1887.
39. Fisk Diary, 19 November 1888.
40. Ibid., 7 and 8 June 1897.
41. Ibid., 17 January 1898.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 5 March 1900.
44. Ibid., 3 February 1898.
45. Ibid., 22 May 1900, 19 March 1901.
46. Ibid., 20 and 29 June 1904.
47. Ibid., 14 May 1917.
48. Elizabeth Fisk to Helen G. Fisk, 12 November 1914, Fisk Papers.
49. Mrs. Della E. Boyer to Bureau of Commerce, Redlands Chamber of Commerce Papers, A.K. Smiley Public Library.
50. Kornbluh, "City Sex," 60.
51. Fisk Diary, 7 August 1916, 3 September 1917.
52. Ibid., 3 December 1917, 5 May 1919.
53. Amy Hewes and Clara M. Tead, letters of recommendation for Helen G. Fisk, 12 January 1919, Fisk Papers.
54. Agreement for Sale of Real Estate, County of San Bernardino, California, 1 January 1917, Fisk Collection.
55. Ruth Eddy Sargent, "Publicity Problems of a Small California Community (As Exemplified by Redlands), 1925, Redlands Chamber of Commerce Collection, n.p.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.

Spooner, "A New Perspective on the Dream," p. 44-57.

1. Carey McWilliams was first to write on this subject in *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pierce, 1946; reprint Santa Barbara, California: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1979), chapters 6 and 7. See also John Baur, *Health Seekers of Southern California* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library Publications, 1959), chapters 1 and 2; John L. Phillips, "Crating Up the California Dream," *American Heritage* (April 1977): 88-93; Alfred Runte, "Promoting the Golden West: Advertising and the Railroad," *California History* LXX (Spring 1991): 62-75; Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Richard S. Street, "Marketing California Crops at the Turn of the Century," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (1979): 239-53; T. H. Watkins, "The Social History of a Singular Fruit, *American Heritage* (April 1977): 94-95; Oscar O. Winther, "The Use of Climate as a Means of Promoting Migration to Southern California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 33 (1946): 411-24; Tom Zimmerman, "Paradise Promoted: Boosterism and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce," *California History* 64 (Winter 1985): 22-23.
2. Margaret S. Gordon, *Employment Expansion and Population Growth: The California Experience, 1900–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), table A-2, p. 162; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, State of Birth,* Final Report PC (2) 2-A (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1963), table 18.
3. Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 144-45.
4. Here I am thinking of cities such as Orange and Tustin in Orange County and Claremont and Monrovia in the San Gabriel Valley.
5. These conclusions are based on responses to questionnaires I sent to, and interviews I conducted with, migrants whose names, addresses, and places of birth I took from records maintained by the registrars of voters for Los Angeles and Orange counties. The sample I compiled consisted of 982 respondents, 407 from Los Angeles County and 574 from Orange County. Of the 982 questionnaires sent out, 277, or approxiamtely 28 percent were returned. Of those 277, I netted 106 who had migrated within the time frame of my study, 1946-1964.
6. McWilliams, *Southern California Country,* 129, 161, 163-64; Gordon, *Employment Expansion and Population Growth,* table A-3, 163; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, State of Birth,* table 18.
7. Together the percentages equal more than 100 percent because most people reported more than one image that they associated with southern California. The percentages depicted in the diagram are as follows: weather = 38 percent; palm trees = 5 percent; Hollywood = 31 percent; citrus = 23 percent;

ocean = 19 percent; mountains/desert = 12 percent.

Nancy Rutherford, interview with the author, 21 September 1988, Carlsbad, California, tape recording and transcript, California State University, Fullerton: Oral History Collection, 21-22, (hereinafter OHC).

Carey McWilliams mentions the addition of entertainment to the images of the California Dream in *Southern California Country,* 135-36. Kevin Starr gives the topic a thorough examination in the final two chapters of *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era.*

Don Fromknecht, interview with the author, 8 October 1988, Fullerton, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 11-12.

Priscilla Eckert, interview with the author, 29 October 1988, Irvine, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 9-10.

William Powell, interview with the author, 10 October 1988, Anaheim, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 7.

Thirty-five percent identified California with opportunity; 31 percent associated it with adventure.

Dee Ann Shaw, interview with the author, 10 December 1988, Laguna Beach, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 10.

Don Cameron, interview with the author, 27 September 1988, Anaheim, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 26.

Martha Ann Celmer, interview with the author, 14 November 1988, Rancho Palos Verdes, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 13-14.

Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 272.

Collins Roe, interview with the author, 22 September 1988, Garden Grove, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 4

Kenneth Bauermeister, interview with the author, 6 October 1988, Newport Beach, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 3-5; Robert Littschwager, interview with the author, 23 September 1988, Newport Beach, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 5; Collins Roe, interview with the author, 22 September 1988, Garden Grove, California OHC, 5-6.

20. All of the interviewees, except two, recalled that they and/or their family participated in these sorts of groups. Church was the most often mentioned, followed by the Farm Bureau or co-op; social groups such as square dance, card club, or lodge; and a variety of other groups. Memorial Day was remembered by Margaret Pille as a special celebration that brought town and rural folks together. Lynn Achak and Margaret Pille, interview with the author, 22 October 1988, El Toro, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 23-24.

21. Lynn Achak and Margaret Pille, interview with the author, 22 October 1988, El Toro, California, OHC, 7-9; Robert Allison, interview with the author, 17 October 1988, Redondo Beach, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 30.

22. Irene Molloy, interview with the author, 12 September 1988, Los Angeles, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 9-10.

23. Priscilla Eckert, interview with the author, 29 September 1988, Irvine, California, OHC, 42.

24. Dee Ann Shaw, interview with the author, 10 December 1988, Laguna Beach, California, OHC, 27-28. Deborah Fink reported the existence of geographically consolidated, or isolated, depending on how you choose to look at it, ethnic groups in Iowa as late as the 1980s in her study *Open Country Iowa: Rural Women, Tradition, and Change* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 91. Carl Hamilton also noted its presence in his reminiscences of farm life in Iowa, 1914–1940, in *No Time At All* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), 28-29.

25. Kenneth Bauermeister, interview with the author, 6 October 1988, Newport Beach, California, OHC, 23; Joseph Conway, interview with the author, 5 December 1988, Tustin California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 20-21; Doris Headrick, interview with the author, 20 October 1988 La Habra, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 32; Irene Molloy, interview with the author, 12 September 1988, Los Angeles, California, OHC, 26; Helen Perez, interview with the author, 11 October 1988, Burbank, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 10; Dee Ann Shaw, interview with the author, 10 December 1988, Laguna Beach, California, OHC, 27-28.

26. Robin M. Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1961), 424, quoted by Scott G. McNall and Sally Allen McNall in *Plains Families: Exploring Sociology Through Social History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 71-72.

27. Don Fromknecht, interview with the author, 8 October 1988, Fullerton, California, OHC, 63-65.

28. Kenneth Bauermeister, intervew with the author, 6 October 1988, Newport Beach, California, OHC, 13.

29. Don Fromknecht, interview with the author, 8 October 1988, Fullerton, California, OHC, 65.

30. Lois Smith, interview with the author, 10 September 1988, Lakewood, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC, 14-16.

31. Richard Mongar, interview with the author, 19 October 1988, Seal Beach, California, tape recording and transcript, OHC. Overall, 31 percent said they did not miss the close [illegible] of the neighborhoods they had left in Iowa.

32. Sixty-two percent did miss the [illegible] Iowa communities. Seven percent did not believe that Iowa neighbor[illegible] more closely knit than those where they lived in southern California.

33. Martha Ann Celmer, interview with the author, 14 November 1988, [illegible] Verdes, California, OHC, 38

34. Jean Bruning, interview with the auth[illegible] October 1988, Duarte, Califor[illegible] recording and transcript, [illegible]

35. Thirty-one percent of those [illegible] ported this pattern of migrat[illegible]

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Errata

In the Winter 1996/1997 issue of *California History,* both the author's name and the inclusive dates contained in the title were omitted from the headline of the first article. The editorial staff and designer deeply apologize for this omission which occurred in the final stages of production. The title of the article should have appeared as follows:

First Farmworkers, First *Braceros*

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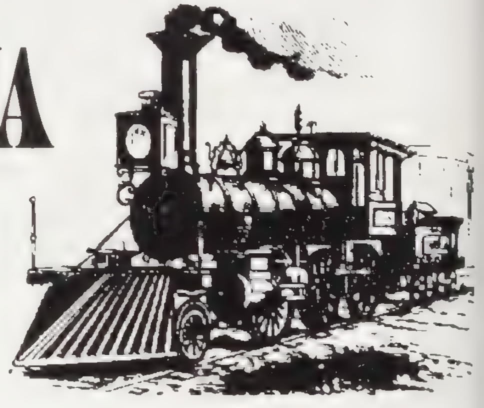

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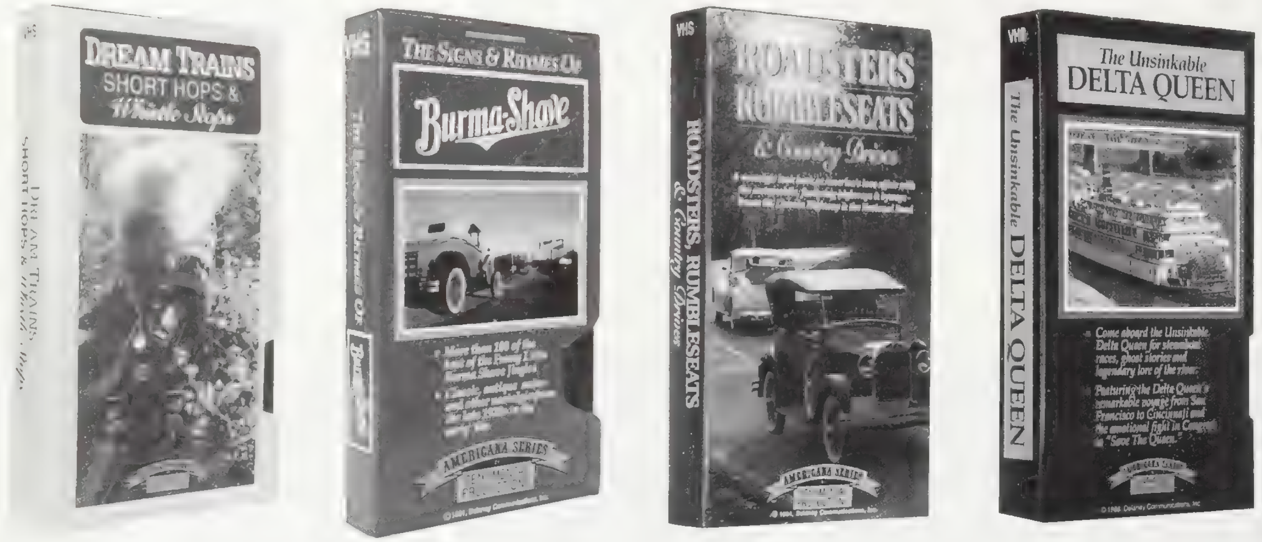
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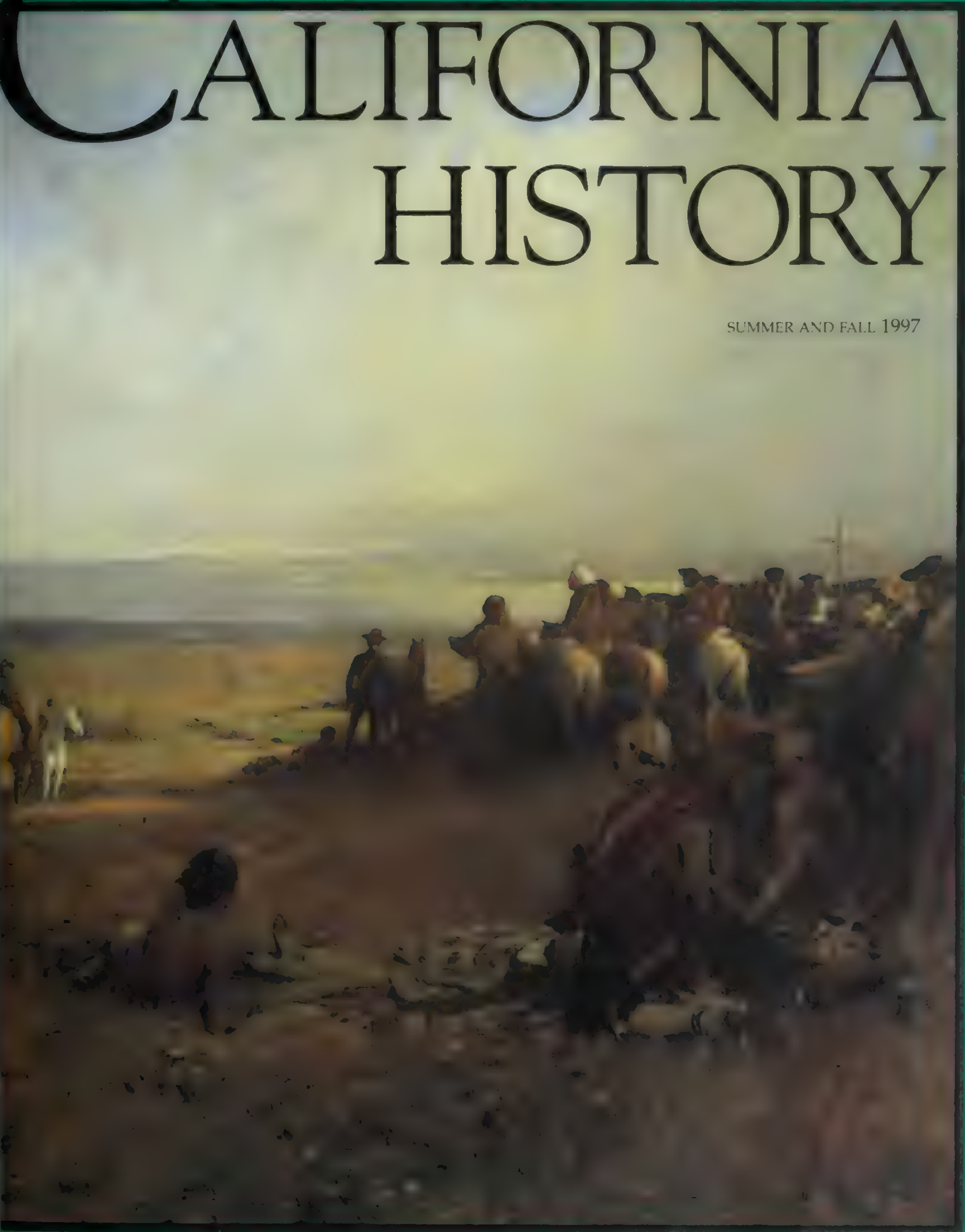

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Reflections on the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of California History

Seventy-five years is a long time in the publishing business. Not many periodicals make it that far. Harper's Magazine *started in 1850, and next year* Sunset *celebrates its centennial. But there are not many headed for the century mark and beyond.*

The California Historical Society was established in 1871, but it wasn't until the early 1920s, when C. Templeton Crocker, Henry R. Wagner, and a few friends gathered together to revitalize the Society, that it began to gain recognition. The primary event in this transformation was the publication of the first quarterly journal in June 1922. The journal was entitled Quarterly of the California Historical Society. *In 1934 it became the* California Historical Society Quarterly; *in 1971, the* California Historical Quarterly; *and in 1978, it acquired its present title of* California History. *The quarterly changed format, as well as titles, over the years, featuring more photographs starting in the 1970s and changing to its present size in 1984.*

Over its three-quarters of a century, the quarterly has served as the principal forum for historical information and interpretation about the Golden State. Requiring more than ten feet of shelf space to house its bound volumes, the quarterly has made stunning contributions to scholarship. It has reviewed the major literature of California history and has published countless hitherto uncirculated documents, bibliographies, and important articles that have become standard references on their subjects. The list of contributing authors since 1922 reads like a "who's who" of leading lights of California and western writing: Henry R. Wagner, Carl I. Wheat, Adele Ogden, Herbert E. Bolton, Robert E. Cowan, Francis P. Farquhar, John Haskell Kemble, Paul Taylor, Oscar O. Winther, Robert Glass Cleland, Paul W. Gates, Alfred L. Kroeber, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Robert F. Heizer, Glenn S. Dumke, John W. Caughey, Manuel Servin, Andrew Rolle, James J. Rawls, W. Turrentine Jackson, J. S. Holliday, Charles Wollenberg, Rodman W. Paul, Norris Hundley, Donald J. Pisani, Kevin Starr, Gloria Ricci Lothrop, Robert V. Hine, Sucheng Chan, Gerald W. Haslam, James D. Houston, Dan Walters, Valerie Matsumoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Albert Hurtado, Alfred Runte, Glenda Riley, Patricia Nelson Limerick, William F. Deverell, Yuji Ichioka, Lowell J. Bean, Howard R. Lamar, Ronald W. Limbaugh, Robert W. Cherny, Richard A. Garcia, Richard Griswold del Castillo, Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, and many, many more.

Along the way, special issues have periodically gathered knowledge on important topics of the state's history: the discovery of Drake's "plate of brass" (March 1937); the ethnic experience (September 1971); the controversy over Drake's landing (Fall 1974); the bicentennial of Los Angeles (Spring 1981); the state's sports history, in commemoration of the Los Angeles Olympics of 1932 and 1984 (Winter 1984); the Yosemite and Sequoia national parks centennial (Summer 1990); railroads in California and the Far West (Spring 1991); California art (Spring 1992); California Indians (Fall 1992); women's history (Spring 1993); Japanese Americans (Spring 1994); southern California citrus (Spring 1995); Mexican Americans (Fall 1995); California archives (Spring 1996); African Americans (Fall 1996); and others. It is a rich tradition in which the California Historical Society can take great pride, as well as a continuing challenge for all of us to live up to.

With this Summer and Fall 1997 special issue, the first in our Sesquicentennial series, the California Historical Society rededicates itself to publishing the best scholarship that is both informative and enjoyable to the expert and reading public alike.

California is an astonishing state. It is big, very big, and home to a rich diversity of people, an incredible variety of geological forms, and most everything that grows from the soil. It is a point of considerable satisfaction that the Society—its members, friends, donors, trustees, authors, and staff—contributes so much to the knowledge and enjoyment of those who wish to better understand the Golden State.

We are quite confident that, seventy-five years from now, our successors will be penning a message very much like this one.

MICHAEL MCCONE
Executive Director

RICHARD J. ORSI
Editor

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXVI NOS. 2 AND 3 Summer and Fall 1997

Regular readers of *California History* will immediately wonder what's going on.

The Summer and Fall 1997 issue is indeed a departure. The entire look, the feel, the design, are different. The pages are single-column; the type-face is unfamiliar; the illustrations are set in new ways. It has more pages, but its dimensions are smaller. It won't line up neatly on the shelf with other issues of the quarterly. It's not a journal, but a book.

The Summer and Fall issue does *not* represent a radical redesign of the magazine, however. With the Winter issue, we will return to the familiar format. This special Summer and Fall issue—in the seventy-fifth year of the quarterly's publication—inaugurates the California Historical Society's California History Sesquicentennial Series, a series of four annual volumes of essays by leading writers reinterpreting important themes of early California history. Each year through 2000, as two of the four issues of the quarterly, members of the Society will receive a volume in the series commemorating the state's one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary: *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush* (1997); *A Golden State: Mining and the Development of California* (1998); *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California* (1999); and *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California* (2000). The Sesquicentennial issues will be published simultaneously as books by the University of California Press.

Cumulatively, these four matched volumes of the California History Sesquicentennial Series—books, not just journals—will collect the best judgment of fifty of the state's finest scholars on the meaning of early California history, particularly from the perspective of the present. They will be unique, valuable works for reading now and reference in the future. The authors, the editors, and the California Historical Society's officers offer these volumes as contributions to the state's celebration and evaluation of its past. We hope the Society's members enjoy and learn from them.

Richard J. Orsi
Editor

This special Sesquicentennial double issue is made possible through the generous support of the Mericos Foundation, the University of California Press, the California State Archives Foundation, and California State University, Hayward.

Contested Eden

Contested Eden

CALIFORNIA BEFORE THE GOLD RUSH

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PUBLISHED FOR THE *California Historical Society*
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

California History (ISSN 0612-2897 LC 75-640289) is published quarterly by the California Historical Society (CHS), 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014. Subscription: Regular annual membership is $40.00. Periodicals postage is PAID at San Francisco, CA and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: send address changes to CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

On the cover: Arthur F. Mathews, *The Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco by Portolá, 1896.* Courtesy Garzoli Gallery, San Rafael, Calif.

Contents

LIST OF MAPS · viii
PREFACE · Michael McCone and Richard J. Orsi · ix

1. *Contested Eden: An Introduction* · Ramón Gutiérrez · 1
2. *A World of Balance and Plenty: Land, Plants, Animals, and Humans in a Pre-European California* · M. Kat Anderson, Michael G. Barbour, and Valerie Whitworth · 12
3. *Indian Peoples of California* · William S. Simmons · 48
4. *Seekers of the "Northern Mystery": European Exploration of California and the Pacific* · Iris H. W. Engstrand · 78
5. *Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California* · Steven W. Hackel · 111
6. *"The Child of the Wilderness Weeps for the Father of Our Country": The Indian and the Politics of Church and State in Provincial California* · Michael J. González · 147
7. *The Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society* · Douglas Monroy · 173
8. *Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848* · James A. Sandos · 196
9. *Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769–1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family* · Antonia I. Castañeda · 230
10. *Serpent in the Garden: Environmental Change in Colonial California* · William Preston · 260
11. *Alta California's Trojan Horse: Foreign Immigration* · Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. · 299
12. *War in California, 1846–1848* · Lisbeth Haas · 331

PICTURING CALIFORNIA · Anthony Kirk · 357
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS · 375
INDEX · 379

Maps

California, 1830 · 2

The North Part of America, 1625 · 79

Spanish sea and land expeditions to California · 84

Diseño, Rancho Sespe, ca. 1829 · 178

Spanish missions, presidios, and pueblos to 1824 · 207

Hispanic and Anglo influences on California's interior Indians, 1820s to 1850s · 217

The Anza expedition, 1775–1776 · 247

San Joaquin Valley, ca. 1819 · 272

Bidwell-Bartleson party, 1841 · 314

Preface

As the twenty-first century dawns, it is incumbent on Californians to take stock of their civilization. Over centuries, indeed millennia, through the application of human intelligence and organization, they have built monumental productive systems, sophisticated associations, flexible governments, and creative and vigorous, if somewhat untamed, cultures. On the other hand, Californians continue to be troubled by contradictions, debates, and conflicts, ironically often stemming from those same successes. While, for example, the people benefit from perhaps the most diverse and profitable regional economy in the world, resource exhaustion renders the continuation of that affluence problematic. Whereas California has always been a land of immigrants, ever refreshing the state with their ideas, skills, and energies, some contemporaries now challenge the wisdom, and even the viability, of a multicultural society. Although the complex, modern California way of life, with its gargantuan infrastructure and environmental management systems, has been made possible only because of the evolution of powerful government agencies to further the common interest, in the last two decades those governments have been crippled by dwindling finances, a stalemate of contending interests, and growing doubts among some of the populace regarding their efficiency and representativeness. Private interest has, for many Californians, replaced community well-being as the state's driving principle. As it has been in the past, California remains a "contested Eden."

The victories and torments of modern California, which actually reflect those of much of the rest of the nation and world, though perhaps in bolder relief, can be understood only in the context of the state's history. The origins of an ambiguous present lie not simply in yesterday, but also in pioneer days. Demonstrating this is the great opportunity, and the challenge, presented by the California Sesquicentennial between 1998 and 2000.

It is with pleasure and a sense of obligation that, in conjunction with the University of California Press and many other partners, the California Historical Society—the officially designated "state historical society"—launches the California History Sesquicentennial Series as its principal contribution to the statewide commemoration. Four topical, but interrelated, volumes, one published in each year from 1997 through 2000, will reexamine the meaning, particularly from today's perspective, of the founding of modern California in the pre-1848 and gold-rush era experiences. Each of the volumes will collect essays by a dozen authors, drawn from the ranks of leading humanists, social scientists, and scientists, reviewing the best, most up-to-date thinking on major topics associated with the state's pioneer period through the 1870s. The authors have been asked to consider, within their area of expertise, the general themes that run through all four volumes: the interplay of traditional cultures and frontier innovation in the creation of a distinctive California society; the dynamic interaction of people and nature and the beginnings of massive environmental change; the impact of the California experience on the nation and the wider world; the shaping influence of pioneer patterns on modern California; and the importance and legacy of ethnic and cultural diversity as a major dimension of the state's history.

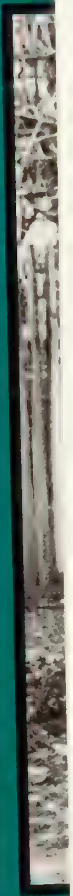
The Sesquicentennial California History volumes will be published simultaneously as double issues of *California History,* the quarterly of the Historical Society, and as books for general distribution. This volume, Volume 1 in the series, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush,* co-edited by Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Professor of Ethnic Studies and History at the University of California, San Diego, deals with the social, economic, cultural, political, and environmental patterns of Native American, Spanish, and Mexican California through 1848. Volume 2 (1998), being co-edited by James J. Rawls, member of the history faculty at Diablo Valley College, will focus on the pioneer industry of gold mining, its discovery and its impact on the state, the West, and the national and world economies. Volume 3 (1999), being co-edited by Kevin Starr, State Librarian of California, will focus on the Gold Rush and the migration and settlement of peoples, cultures, organizations, and institutions. Volume 4 (2000), being co-edited by John Burns, Chief Archivist of the California State Archives, will investigate the inception of government and politics—statehood, early constitution-building, law, bureaucracy, and civil rights.

The California Historical Society's issuing of these major sesquicentennial publications is made possible through the contributions of all the Society's members, as well as a host of direct and indirect supporters. Chief among the helping agencies are the University of California Press, the California State Archives, California State University, Hayward, which furnishes ongoing support for editing the quarterly, and the Mericos Foundation of South Pasadena, which has provided a generous grant specifically for the Sesquicentennial Series.

Many individuals have also shared their time, knowledge, energy, and resources. The Historical Society's particular appreciation goes to Lynne Withey, associate director of the University of California Press, who has been an indispensable part of the project from the beginning; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, the pioneering co-editor of the first series volume, who not only contributed immeasurably to conceptualizing the volume, selecting authors, and evaluating and editing manuscripts, but also established a very high standard for subsequent editors; Anthony Kirk, illustrations editor, who applied his unequaled knowledge and appreciation of California iconography to discover and edit a stunning series of images, many of them never before published; and Marlene Smith-Baranzini, associate editor of *California History* and true partner-editor in every facet of the Sesquicentennial History Series. Other important contributors include graduate assistants Sandra DeSalles and Mary-Jo Wainwright, and Liz Ginno, historian and member of the library faculty at California State University, Hayward. Our thanks also go to all the institutions and individuals who made it possible to use images from their collections in this work or who provided other valuable assistance. Although space precludes listing all their names, special mention should be made of Mina Jacobs, assistant archivist at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art; Barbara Allgaier, lecturer in the Department of History at California State University, Hayward; Dace Taube, curator of the California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library; Peter Blodgett at the Huntington Library; Richard Ogar and William Roberts at the Bancroft Library; John Cahoon, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County; Linda Agren, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History; David Bisol, Santa Barbara Historical Society; Joy Tahan, Oakland Museum; Robin Inglis, director of North Vancouver Museum and Archives; Iris Engstrand, professor of history at the University of San Diego; and Larry Campbell, Patricia Keats, Katherine Holland, Emily Wolff, Bo Mompho, and other members of the professional staff of the California Historical Society, San Francisco.

Michael McCone
Executive Director
California Historical Society

Richard J. Orsi
Professor of History
California State University, Hayward
Editor, *California History*



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Contested Eden

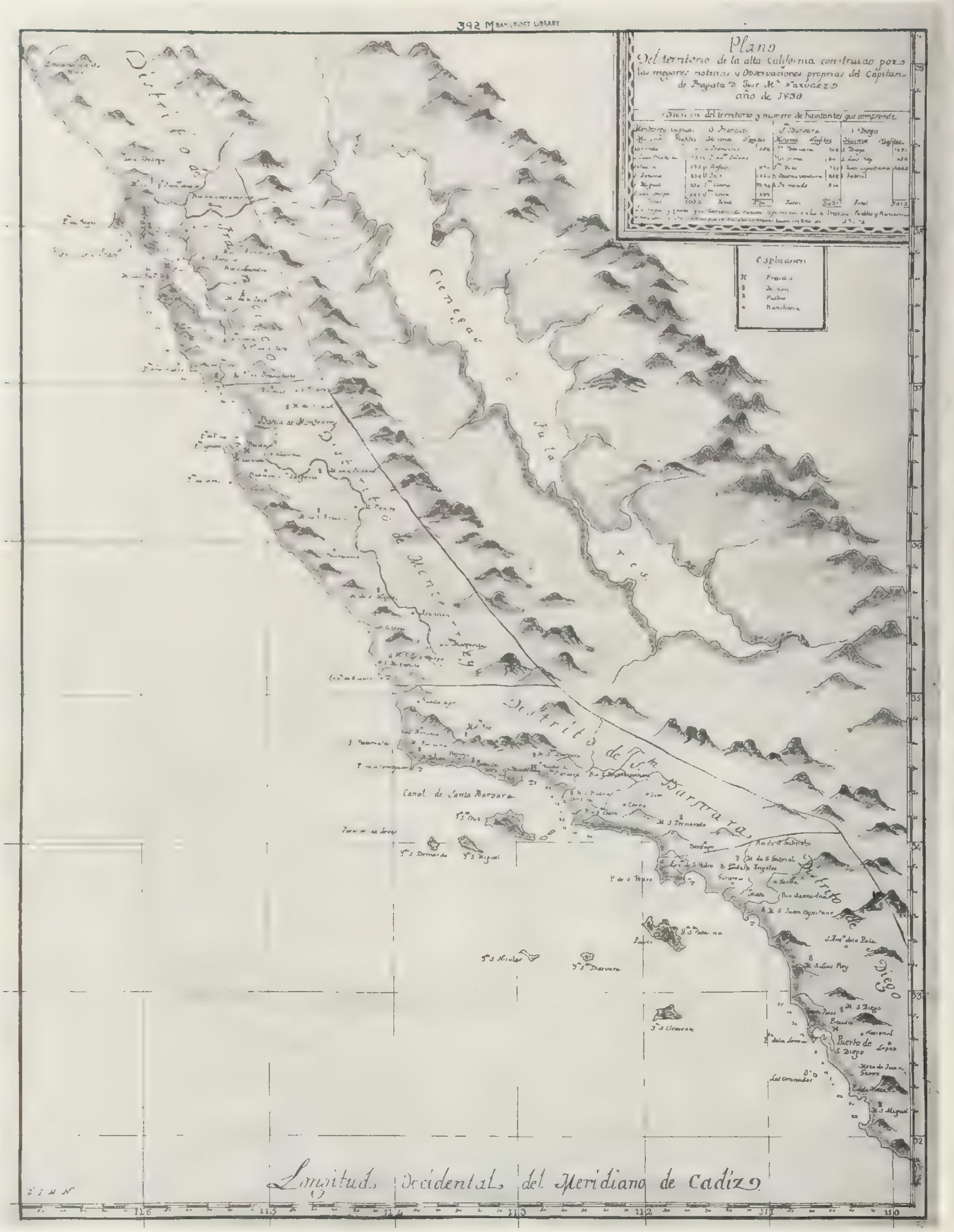
An Introduction

Ramón A. Gutiérrez

History, as the study of change over time, always requires that we stop periodically to take stock. Whether we measure by years, decades, or centuries, by regions, cohorts, or generations, the goal is identical: to assess what has transpired and what still remains to be done. California became part of the United States of America a century and a half ago. On the event of the state's sesquicentennial we commemorate our genealogies and complex pasts, acknowledging the debts of knowledge and interpretation we owe to previous generations, fashioning our present with distinct questions and concerns, charting a course toward a richer, more complex understanding of the past.

In the years since 1850, when statehood was won, California has gone from a space sparsely populated to the most populous place in the Union. Once a largely isolated backwater where Native Americans subsisted on hunt products, on plantings, and what could be gathered, California has been continuously and radically transformed, and periodically renewed. Spanish-speaking settlers arrived febrile with dreams of gold. But on finding none, they settled for lordship over the land and over its native labor. Gold was eventually discovered by Anglo-Americans in 1848. Gold fever truly gripped the national imagination then, and in California that fever has never completely cooled.

In the Golden State, one generation after another has found a tangible place on which to project its myths and fantasies of utopic possibility. Eden, Arcadia, lands flowing with milk and honey, gardens grander than Nebuchadnezzar's—in California such dreams have taken form. Parched deserts have been turned into verdant fields of plenty. The sea constantly yields its bounty. The aerospace industry has given us mastery over our universe. And our edifices scrape the sky and color the horizons.


392 M Bancroft Library
Plano
Del territorio de la alta California construido por las mejores noticias y Observaciones propias del Capitan de Fragata D. José Mª Narvaez
año de 1830
Division del territorio y numero de havitantes que comprende
Monterey capital
S. Francisco
S. Barbara
S. Diego
Esplicacion
Distrito de S. Francisco
Distrito de Monterey
Distrito de Sta. Barbara
Distrito de S. Diego
Ciengas
Tulares
Canal de Santa Barbara
Puerto de S. Diego
Longitud Occidental del Meridiano de Cadiz

A map of California drawn in 1830 by José María Narvaez, showing the missions, presidios, pueblos, and ranchos strung along the coast, and the massive wetlands—the *ciengas* or *tulares*—that filled the Central Valley. Though not many years would pass before topographers came to understand more fully the great complexity of the California landscape, it is relatively recently that historians have begun to explore some long-neglected aspects of the Golden State's storied past, working to create a history that is more comprehensive, more inclusive, and more subtle than older accounts. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

California's is today the sixth largest economy in the world because of its incredible human and natural resources. Since the earliest days of human occupation, California has been home to numerous linguistic, ethnic, racial, and national groups. If in ancient times the first natives of this land were Asians from Siberia, Asian presence today is much more diverse and of even grander import. If from central Mexico came the Spanish impetus for settling California, over the centuries Mexican presence has only grown. The Anglo-Americans who first visited California under Mexican rule were a diverse lot. The boom towns they and the forty-niners fueled were often cosmopolitan sites for feasting and hosting diplomats and plenipotentates, raiders and traders, and just plain folk. California, a state blessed by numerous microclimates, has also been cursed by virulent climates of hate, genocide, and intolerance for differences born of blood, faith, and race.

California is today the product of these multiple and diverse pasts. Still vibrant and alive today are many human memories of feast and famine, joy and pain, centrality and marginality, power and powerlessness. These memories are the potent stuff of history, for they fuel conflicting narratives of how it was in the "olden days." Call them golden days of yore or hurtful times that remain tender and sore, they are, nevertheless, wellsprings of historical imagination and the breeding ground of historians. Communities of memory and interest in the present cannot advance a trajectory toward the future without a commonly accepted origin and useable past. This is even more the case today, as California's population is renewed by immigrants from every corner of the globe.

Historians and the histories they write have always been the imaginative products of the period in which they were produced. Each generation turns to the past with different questions, with new concerns, with different hopes and anxieties. Since the 1960s there has been a revolution in historical writing about the United States, and about California's past more specifically. The exact causal lineages for this profound transformation are complicated and remain open to debate. Obviously, such change was born of generational tensions, fueled by the war in Vietnam, and intensified in the late 1950s and early 1960s by the massive social movements for civil rights, women's equality, lesbian and gay freedom, and the full extension of personhood to the very young, the very old, the disabled, and the transgendered. Eventually the force of state was given to the reaffirmation of our egalitarian constitutional principles, and as this occurred, educational institutions were desegregated and the American mind was opened to different ways of thinking and to perspectives on the past that were situated in relationship to power.

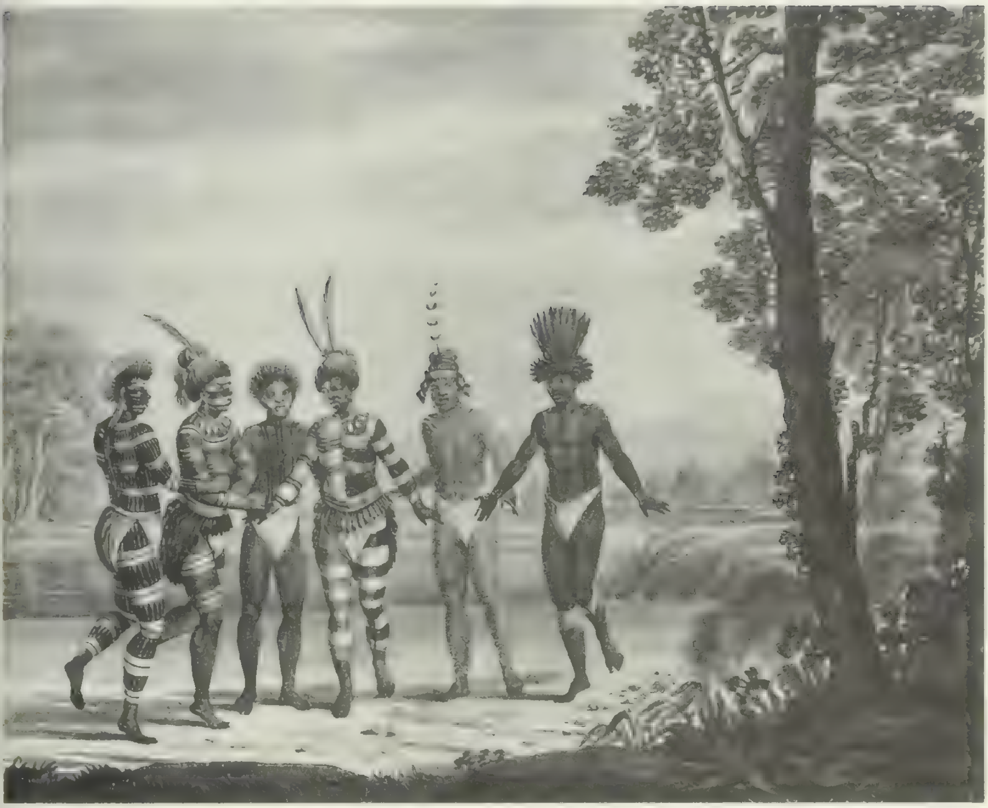
The impact of these changes on contemporary historical writing has been a heightened body ethic. Greater attention and importance is given to the human body, particularly to those physical aspects by which the status inequalities of gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity are read. Now, for history-as-written to be deemed a good depiction of history-as-lived, it must acknowledge that it is but a very small slice or limited perspective on a whole as viewed from a specific locale, rather than a transcendent total perspective. For a social whole to be represented, a matrix of society's status groups must be systematically addressed. No longer is it considered adequate to write the history of men without acknowledging the presence of women, and vice versa. Power and its relational dyads—conqueror and conquered, master and slave, white and Indian, male and female, rich and poor, old and young—are similarly the focus of new and sustained attention.

Much of what is considered new in historical writing stems from profound epistemological shifts, most notably an attack on positivism and empiricism as truths, and the feminist critique of modernism's transcendent, universal "Man." Modernity was that extraordinary intellectual effort on the part of Enlightenment thinkers to develop objective science and a universal morality and law. The idea was to use the accumulation of knowledge, generated by many individuals working freely and creatively, for the pursuit of human emancipation and the enrichment of daily life. The scientific domination of nature promised freedom from scarcity, want, and the arbitrariness of natural calamities. Rational forms of social organization and thought would liberate humanity from irrationality, myth, religion, and superstition.

History as a university discipline and profession was born out of this modernist impulse.[1] Historians sought objective, universal truth, laws of human progress, and ways to liberate citizens and subjects. In the late nineteenth century, objectivity and the quest for truth became the collective myths of the historical profession. By reading sources in a detached and dispassionate manner, historians of that era assumed, one could reveal and discover the truth of the past. That knowledge, gained in an "objective" manner, enhanced its scientific value. If scientific rules were imposed on documentary bodies of evidence, the past would be reflected in written history.

Postmodern critics have retorted that consciousness has always been, and always will be, embodied. Can historians detach themselves from their bodies and their social participation in class-, gender-, and race-inflected ways? No. Are archives neutral and systematic collections of documents that record everyone's past? No. Can history-as-written exactly represent history-as-lived? No. The selection process, the mental filters and prisms through which events, people, and theories are refracted to create historical narratives, are always supremely subjective acts rooted in bodily experiences. Bodies are alive at particular times, in specific contexts, and in unique warps of power. In the writing of history, such realities cannot be ignored.

The implications of these epistemological and interpretive shifts for writing about early California's history heighten our awareness of how each generation has interpreted its past differently. Those pasts have always been partial views, rendered from highly partisan economic and political sites. When the Spanish arrived in California and pronounced that Native Americans were savages, ensnared by Satan and re-



In 1806 the German-born physician and naturalist Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff portrayed a ceremonial dance of mission Indians that he observed near the shores of San Francisco Bay. Decorating their bodies with red clay, chalk, and charcoal, the natives moved to the accompaniment of singing and the clapping of sticks, attempting, thought Langsdorff "to represent battles, or scenes of domestic life." *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

quiring instruction in civilization, they concluded that these people had a history, but one that had to be obliterated. By calling them "Indians," the incredible complexity and diversity of native peoples and cultures in California was erased; henceforth Native Americans would share a subjective legal identity as "Indians." When Anglo-Americans conquered California at the end of the U.S.-Mexico War in 1848, they too rewrote history to fit the designs of conquerors. From the perspective of the new lords of California, the land was vacant, the Indians a meaningless race that would soon disappear, the Mexicans an inferior, indolent breed in whose command California had wasted.

The essays collected in this volume significantly revise the history of California from prehistoric times to 1848. The historians, scientists, anthropologists, and social ecologists chosen to write for this volume represent the best of interdisciplinary work in their scholarship. Readers familiar with California's traditional history writing will note that the missions, as the main institutions of mythology, fantasy, and romance, have receded into the background, and are analyzed here instead as institutions not only with religious, but with economic, social, and political functions. Where generals, friars, soldiers, adventurers, and merchants as individual actors used to dominate the narrative of Spanish and Mexican California's history, here the essays focus less on persons and personalities and more on the complex social networks of society. And while some familiar and well-known terrain is addressed—European exploration, the U.S.-Mexican War—these essays assess what has been learned over the last thirty years about these topics and what still remains to be investigated. Long ignored, California's indigenous peoples here take center stage. Rarely mentioned until recently, California's ecology and changing natural environment here gain sustained attention. Women, the family, the nature of Californio society, these are all themes of the vibrant scholarship over the last thirty years that is represented here.

One of the most troublesome aspects of histories of California written between the 1880s and 1960s is that they largely ignored the Indians. When Indians were mentioned, they were, more often than not, set in an endless stream of blood—nameless, and usually faceless, victims of atrocities. Indian prehistory was found mainly in archaeology and anthropology books, but rarely in history books. If and when Indian history gained attention, it was only as a prelude to the larger narrative of American triumphalism. Indian voices were rarely heard, and the categories of thought and action they were given to respond to their own conquest and colonization were those of ventriloquists. Bit players in morality plays about assimilation, noble savages who had disappeared—this is how Native Americans were primarily represented in early writing on California history.

The essays collected here not only offer a very different starting point for Native American history, but also give agency to California's Indians. This is not the history of white expansion and Indian responses to it; it begins with the complex dimensions of indigenous prehistory. Beginning Indian history before contact allows us to understand how leaders and followers responded to invasion and the changing circumstances of various tribes over time.

M. Kat Anderson, Michael Barbour, and Valerie Whitworth's rich essay on the natural environment surveys the state's great climatic, geological, floral, and faunal arrays, the complicated natural history of its vegetation, and the abundant, creative new scholarship about it. This information forms the foundation for a brilliant discussion of the intimate relationship Indians had with the natural world, structured around complex methods of plant conservation and use. Anderson, Barbour, and Whitworth urge us to view Indians as active agents in the use and modification of their environments and to abandon long-held stereotypes about a sharp divide between Indians who practiced agriculture and those who subsisted on hunting and gathering.

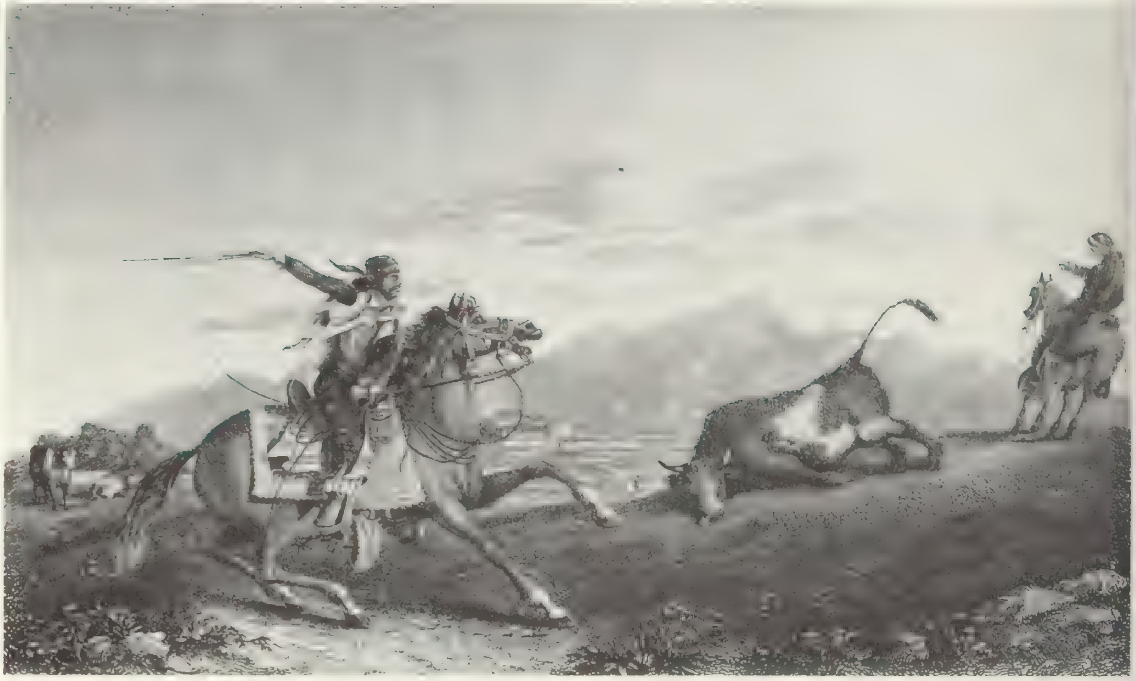
William Simmons's essay, "Indian Peoples of California," provides a succinct discussion of indigenous linguistic diversity. California was and remains geographically diverse. California Indian communities reflected that diversity in the resource base on which their economies and cultures were structured. Drawing on native categories and indigenous memories, Simmons brings attention to the centrality of human-animal relations and by so doing allows us to understand better why Indians thought that the first Europeans they encountered were beings from the spirit world.

Indian agency and the logic of native cultural categories forms the substance of Antonia Castañeda's essay, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769–1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family." Here readers will learn how California's Indians organized their gender and sexual systems, and particularly how those systems were assaulted, resisted, and transformed. Attention is given to the resistance strategies Indian women crafted to protect their status in native society and to assure that their cultures endured despite Spanish assaults. Castañeda also asks us to reassess the nature and extent of biological mixing that occurred when Spanish men raped Indian women, thus creating the beginnings of mestizo California.

Indigenous resistance strategies are also at the core of James Sandos's essay, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848." Seeking to understand how California's Indians resisted and often subverted their own domination, Sandos explores the "hidden transcripts" of Indian life, those often overt and covert folktales, graffiti, rumors, and actions that reveal native agency in the darkest moments of colonial domination. As readers will note from this and other essays, California's Indians both before and after conquest were not passive, silent observers of their own conquest and subordination. In the history presented here, they are historical actors; the complexity of their cultures before and under colonial rule is explained; and their long-silent voices are heard with particular clarity.

A second set of essays addresses the complex motivations that led to the conquest and colonization of California, the structure of the colonial economy, church-state conflicts over the place of the Indians in that scheme, and the tenor of daily life in Spanish and Mexican California. American exceptionalism often colored previous interpretations of the Spanish/Mexican past. Here, California is examined as one of many colonial outposts of imperial Spain, and thus a part of a much larger whole, encompassing both Europe and the Western Hemisphere, with all that entailed with respect to church-state relations, government, fiscal reform, and the institutions of daily life. For much too long, historians have wrongly assumed that the Enlightenment and the Bourbon Reforms had no impact on Spanish California. These essays profoundly revise that mistaken impression.

Iris Engstrand's essay, "Seekers of the 'Northern Mystery': European Exploration of California and the Pacific," begins the section of this volume that addresses the



Vaqueros at Mission San José lasso cattle with their *reatas* in an engraving based on a watercolor made in the 1820s by William Smyth, an admiralty mate who visited California with a British exploring expedition. Expert horsemen, legendary for their skill in working cattle, the California vaqueros captured the imagination of travelers and became a symbol of provincial Hispanic life on a distant Pacific shore. From Frederick W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait* (London, 1831). *Courtesy California State Library.*

European arrival and its impact on California as a land and on its native inhabitants. Engstrand explains the complicated motivations that brought Europeans to California. First were the dreams of wealth and discovery, then came population movements motivated by defensive concerns, reconnaissance, and scientific discovery. Extensive attention is given to the scientific journeys, which originate in Enlightenment curiosities and Bourbon economic imperatives. Each of these types of exploration devoted attention to geographic features, fauna and flora, native languages and cultures, and natural products that eventually became coveted trade items.

William Preston's essay, "Serpent in the Garden: Environmental Change in Colonial California," studies the devastating impact of European diseases on Native Californians through human and nonhuman vectors, such as lice, mosquitoes, and fleas. Preston also documents the spread of foreign seeds and weeds and the impact of European livestock on indigenous flora and fauna, which together worked a literal revolution in California's life forms. Since Californians, both native and European, depended on the natural environment for their existence, Preston's account of the intended and unintended consequences of biological exchanges is a particularly important one.

Bourbon defensive policy in New Spain, most notably the protection of northern Mexico's silver mines from possible British and Russian encroachment, was the motive for colonizing Alta California, according to Steven Hackel in his essay, "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California." Since this was Spain's primary interest in California, Spanish desire to invest in the area was marginal, never amounting to more than meager military salaries and church subventions. California's colonial economy thus developed a self-sufficiency through agricultural and livestock production and ancillary products, some of which found their way to markets in central Mexico. Production depended on Indian labor, and on this topic Hackel brings our attention to several forms that are rarely mentioned: the compensated use of non-mission Indians for prearranged tasks and the periodic contracting of mission Indians. After 1821, the Californios believed that Mexican independence would bring greater governmental attention to their province, but it did not. Under Mexican rule, California prospered somewhat, nonetheless, primarily because the lifting of trade restrictions quickened mercantile activities in local products, especially cattle hides.

Douglas Monroy's essay, "The Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society," begins with an insightful analysis of the politics of previous interpretations of the Californio past, colored as they were by the preoccupations of each age. Whereas early romanticizers characterized the Californios as Spanish Europeans, Monroy's own interpretation highlights the fundamentally hybrid, or mestizo, nature of the society created when Indians and Spanish colonists came together in California. Particularly important is Monroy's analysis of the caricatures of Indians the colonists crafted, which bore little relationship to the complex spiritual and productive lifeways Native Americans created even under the harshest conditions on the missions and on their ancestral lands. Unlike the Indians, who imagined a relationship of reciprocity between themselves and the natural environment, the Spanish attitude toward land was one of ownership and command. Monroy describes the culture and customs that such attitudes encouraged, including how life was produced and reproduced.

Church-state conflict over Indian labor forms the core of Michael González's essay, "The Child of the Wilderness Weeps for the Father of Our Country." This is an intellectual and political history of imperial Spanish debates about the place of the Indian in the Americas, and more specifically, how those contests were played out on the bodies of Indians for whom California's friars and soldiers competed. Like Steven Hackel, whose essay ends with the secularization of the missions under Mexican rule in the 1830s, González addresses secularization in the context of central Mexican intellectual currents.

The final two chapters of this volume chronicle the changes that transpired under Spanish and Mexican rule because of growing foreign influences. The essays address how foreigners entered California in larger numbers after 1821, how some of them intermarried with the Californios, how their economic activities profoundly shifted the direction and geography of trade, and finally, how the U.S.-Mexico War was fought and lost.

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., in his essay, "Alta California's Trojan Horse: Foreign Immigration," displaces standard interpretations about the role of Manifest Destiny in bringing California into the American republic. Nunis describes the nature and motivations behind the initial visits to Spanish California by French, Russian, and British travelers. With Mexican independence after 1821, the pace of visitation quickened, led increasingly by Anglo-American traders who married Californio women to gain access to large amounts of land and business opportunity. Indeed, the presence of many citizens of Britain and the United States in an enclave distant from Mexican military control created the conditions for secessionist movements that culminated in the U.S.-Mexico War from 1846 to 1848.

The acquisition of California from Mexico was one of the largest spoils of that war. Lisbeth Haas's essay, "War in California, 1846–1848," provides a sweeping overview of the personages, motives, and war campaigns in California. What is particularly noteworthy in her essay is the discussion of Californio responses to their displacement by Anglo-Americans both before and after 1848. What is still sorely needed to reach a fuller understanding of the war and its impact is more study of how the Indians allied themselves, and what thoughts and actions may have shaped the reactions of ordinary Californios. We know the details of the war and its aftermath primarily from the perspective of the victors. The voices of the vanquished have still not been heard in their polyphonic complexity. This is one of the challenges Haas offers us in her essay.

In addition to the innovative historical research gathered in these pages, this volume is also extensively illustrated with some of the earliest and rarest images of California. Anthony Kirk gathered the illustrations for this volume, and in his essay, "Picturing California," he draws our attention to California's iconographic history before 1848. Beginning with Native American pictographs, Kirk shows just how important the natural environment has been in shaping human perceptions of California. From the early Spanish maps to drawings of the area's flora and fauna by French explorers, from Russian watercolors of Fort Ross to the American drawings of the Klamath River, the objective has been the same: to depict California as a land of abundant wealth and natural variety awaiting human exploitation.

The thirteen essays collected in this volume represent a full range of interpretations about California's past from prehistoric times to 1848. Natural and human ecology are given equal weight. California's long historiographic traditions and its uncharted terrains are all laid bare. Our hope is that by examining what is new in California history and what still remains to be studied and written, this volume will be generative, giving readers the leading questions and historiographic resources necessary to pursue these topics further on their own.

NOTES

1. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

2

A World of Balance and Plenty

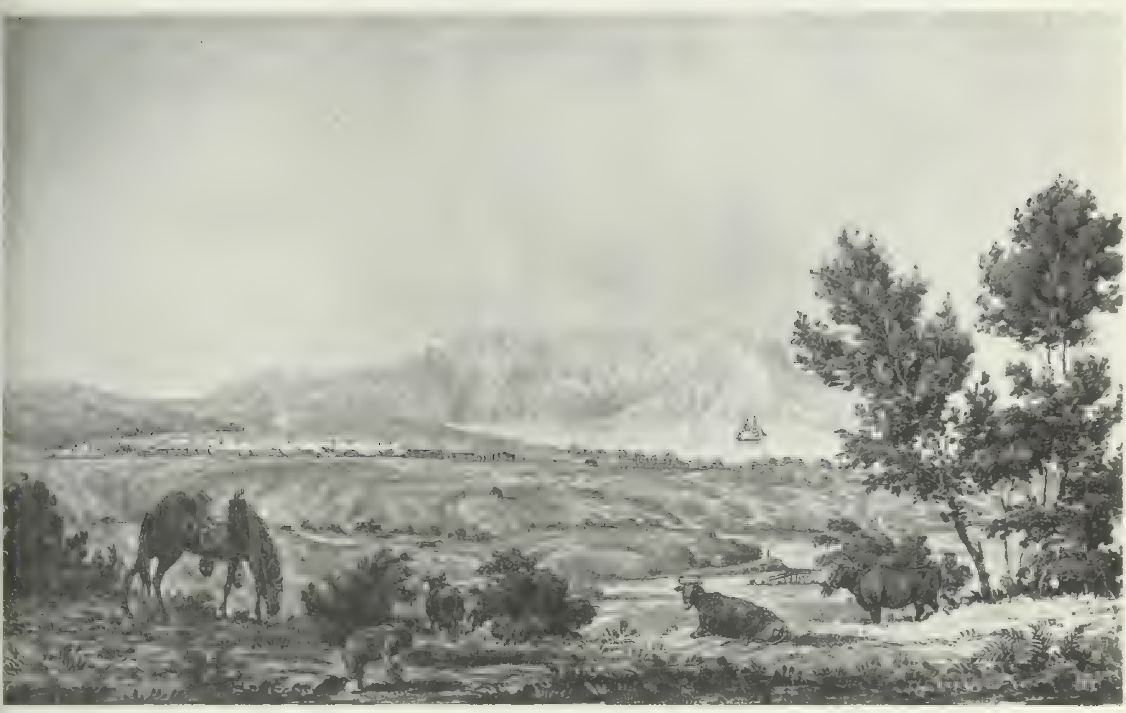
Land, Plants, Animals, and Humans in a Pre-European California

M. Kat Anderson, Michael G. Barbour,
and Valerie Whitworth

California has environmental diversity and richness unparalleled anywhere in the world. The state's geographic undulations encompass the lowest and the highest points in the conterminous United States. Spanning more than ten degrees of latitude and extending over one hundred million acres, California is a bridge between cool-temperate, foggy, dimly lit rainforests and open, parched, hot, sun-bathed subtropical deserts. This astounding array of California vegetation exists in close juxtaposition, spilling and swirling in patterns created by elevation, climate, soil, and bedrock.

From a distance—as from a jet aircraft flying over the state at great elevation and speed—California's vegetation cover today might still appear continuous and healthy and relatively unchanged from 1848. However, only isolated areas of pre-European vegetation types in oak woodlands, desert scrub, montane forests, chaparral, woodland, and grassland still exist. Urban areas, agriculture, clearcuts, weeds, and pavement have replaced much of the former vegetation. Except for small areas that are rare examples of prior landscapes, the vegetation types that remain are not the same as the ones that Native Californians lived in 150 years ago.

Many factors have influenced the land over the last 150 years. Desert scrub is degraded by overgrazing and off-road sport vehicles. Because of fire suppression and weakened overstories from drought, insects, and atmospheric pollutants, montane forests have flammable, dense understories. Once, small lowburning fires cleared this underbrush out, keeping firehazard low and forests healthy. Many square miles of chaparral have been converted to grassland or homesites, coastal scrub to suburbs, and perennial grasslands to weedy annual pastures or farmland. Only a small per-



A sailing ship glides past the old Mexican presidio and into San Francisco Bay in Richard Beechey's charming watercolor of coastal California, executed in 1826, when the talented young English midshipman first visited the province. Contributing to the Golden State's complex mosaic of diverse landscapes, the San Francisco peninsula enjoys a temperate climate of cool, wet winters and warm, dry summers, with the long sunny days of May through September subject to the rhythmic incursion of chilling sea fogs. *Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. Henry Dakin. Photograph courtesy North Point Gallery.*

centage of old-growth forests such as riparian, coast redwood, mixed conifer, and Douglas fir remains. Less than a fragmented 10 percent of coastal wetlands and a meager 2 percent of interior wetlands are still intact. Furthermore, the quality of remaining fragments has been compromised by adjacent development, which turns the fragments into unstable islands. About six hundred plants (10 percent of the native species) and three hundred vertebrates (30 percent of the native species) are declining in numbers and are in danger of extinction. Some 17 percent of all plants in California are non-native, most of which were introduced after 1848, and some 40 percent of our inland fish species are similarly non-native.[1]

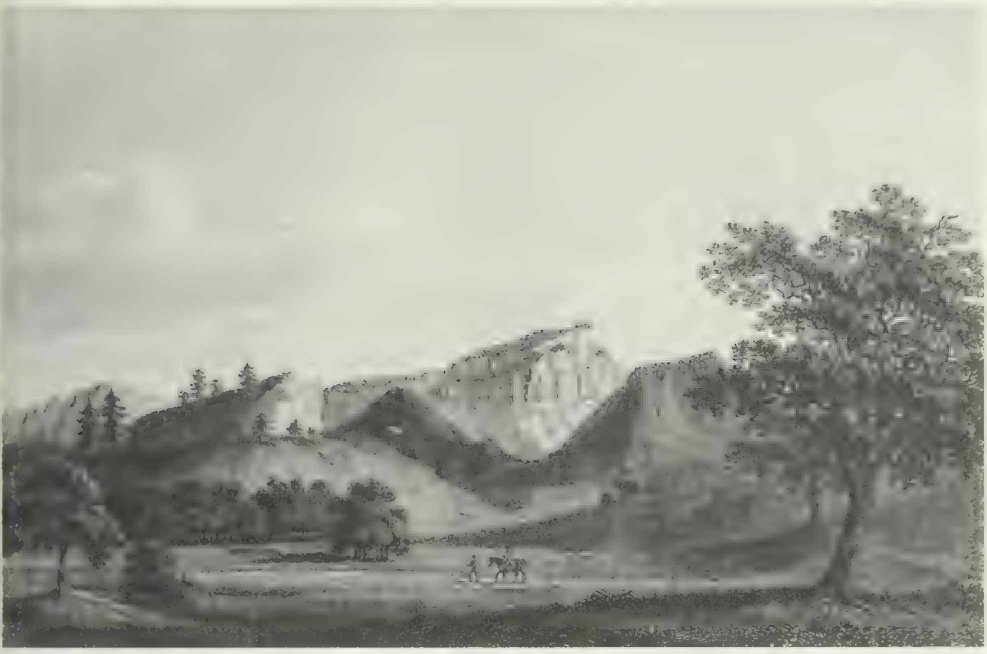
This decline did not occur because California was suddenly overwhelmed with human inhabitants. For millennia before Europeans arrived, California was an inhabited land. Every part of the region had long been discovered, walked, or settled by native people by the time Spaniards first landed on the shores of San Diego Bay in

1542.[2] At the time of Euro-American contact, California was more densely populated than any area of equal size in North America, north of central Mexico. Long before Europeans mapped the region, California's tallest mountain peaks, its largest lakes, its longest rivers, and its oldest trees all had names. The state's promontories, declivities, and unusual rock formations were infused with human meaning. What is labeled as "wilderness" in today's popular imagination and on current topographic maps actually harbored human gathering and hunting sites, burial grounds, work sites, sacred areas, trails, and village sites. Today's wilderness was then human homeland.

Native American manipulations in California were conducted in a manner that allowed certain plants to regenerate so completely that virtually every Euro-American explorer, gold miner, and missionary was fooled into thinking that the land was a wilderness—unaffected by humans. Environmental historian William Cronon says that "one of the most striking proofs of the cultural invention of wilderness is its thoroughgoing erasure of the history from which it sprang."[3] In California, that history is rich with cultural phenomena: the long-term interactions between Native Americans and landscapes.

Ironically, the adjectives and adverbs used by the first non-Indian visitors and settlers in describing the countryside often hinted of human intervention. Analogies early commentators used to describe California landscapes were human-modified environments—such as gardens, parks, or orchards. For example, William Bryant, an emigrant and newspaper editor from Kentucky, wrote in his journal in 1846 of the landscape near San Luis Obispo: "The hills and plains are verdant with a carpet of fresh grass, and the scattered live-oaks on all sides appearing like orchards of fruit-trees, give to the country an old and cultivated aspect."[4] J. D. Borthwick in the early 1850s described the countryside near Placerville: "gradually ascending . . . we came upon a comparatively level country, which had all the beauty of an English park. . . . The oaks of various kinds, which were here the only tree, were of an immense size, but not so numerous as to confine the view; and the only underwood was the mansanita, a very beautiful and graceful shrub, generally growing in single plants to the height of six or eight feet. There was no appearance of ruggedness or disorder; we might have imagined ourselves in a well-kept domain. . . . "[5]

Behind these awe-inspiring landscapes, unseen by the culture-bound foreigners, were native gardeners. They tended the land in ways that often mimicked nature—similar to the changes caused by floods, fires, gopher activity, and tree windfalls. For example, when the Western Mono lit hillsides on fire to encourage the growth of young redbud shrub shoots for basketry, they simulated lightning fires. When the Washoe pruned willow, they mimicked the natural pruning caused by river flooding. Deliberate burning was the major management tool used to shape California's landscapes. Natives frequently lit surface fires in many areas, effectively precluding the kinds of holocaust fires that regularly devastate large areas of California today. Fire



Based on a watercolor made in 1794 by John Sykes, a master's mate on George Vancouver's great voyage of discovery, *A Remarkable Mountain near the River of Monterrey* testifies to the land-management techniques of California Indians two hundred years ago. The natives maintained the open foothill woodlands through systematic burning, which promoted the growth of useful plants and kept the ground free of woody underbrush. Vancouver first encountered a cultivated California woodland such as this while riding horseback from San Francisco to Santa Clara and compared it to "a park" that had been "planted with the true old English Oak." From George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* (London, 1798). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30521.*

scientists Robert Martin and David Sapsis estimate that between 5.6 and 13 million acres of California burned annually under both lightning and indigenous fire regimes.[6] By a host of other horticultural methods—including weeding, pruning, irrigating, sowing, selective harvesting, and tilling—native peoples influenced the land in more subtle dimensions.

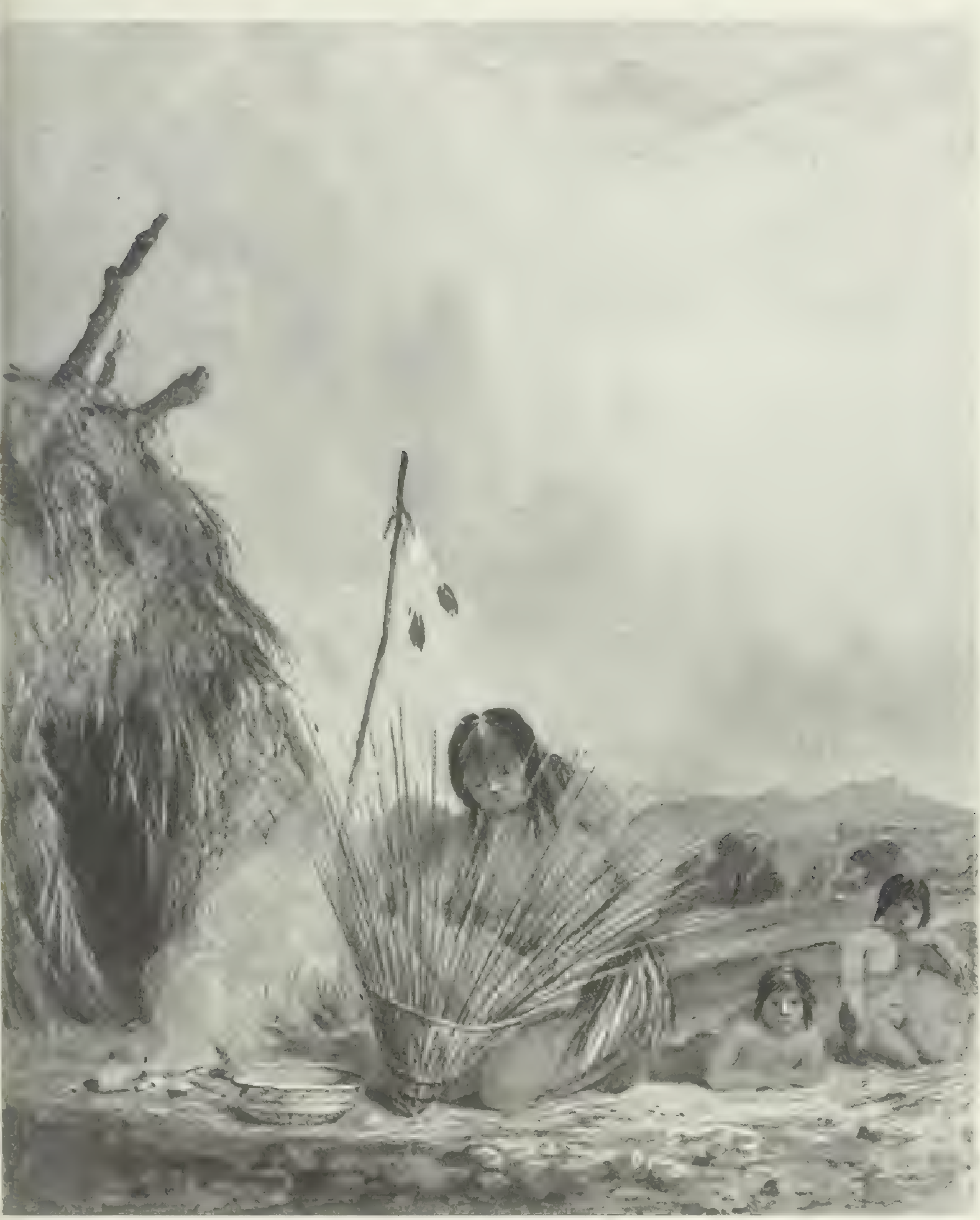
Cultivating favored plants in different patches was common among all of the tribes. Through different methods, Native Americans augmented plant populations and reshaped the boundaries of various types of plant communities, in some cases creating anthropogenic landscapes of unique form and character. Pomo women weeded sedgebeds to loosen the soil and remove impediments to rhizomes radiating from each plant, promoting the untangled, long underground stems desirable for basketry material.[7] The Owens Valley Paiute artificially irrigated love grass, wild rye, and blue dicks to encourage their growth and abundance.[8] The Pomo, Cupeño, Diegueño, Kumeyaay, and other tribes burned fields of edible seed plants to improve their productivity.[9] The Cahuilla planted the seeds of the desert fan palm and other plants at various desert oases in southern California.[10] Gathering sites were subjected to the same competitors as a modern-day orchard, agricultural monoculture, or vineyard: insects, diseases, and weeds. Human management kept these competitors in check and stimulated qualities that were culturally valued. The Choinumni Yokuts and Indians along the Klamath River fired older stems of shrubs to encourage thick berry crops and reduce insects;[11] beargrass and hazelnut (highly valued by Northwest coast basketmakers) were fired to encourage proper growth;[12] the Karok lit annual fires in forests to curtail tree diseases.[13]

GATHERING THE MOUNTAINS, VALLEYS, DESERTS, AND COASTS

The Native Californians were not simply *in* California; they *were* California. They were an integral and essential agent in the creation of a balance of land, vegetation, and animal life. When modern landscapes, climates, and biological communities began to emerge, with the close of the Ice Age about ten to fifteen thousand years ago, the people had arrived and were interacting with and shaping the land, plants, and animals. By listening to the land's daily rhythms, scheduling activities according to its seasonal cycles, and always adjusting to California's continually changing environment, Native Americans transformed their status from newcomer to native and in doing so transformed the land and lifeforms as well. Being native to the land also meant taking the time to understand all of nature's denizens and tapping the latent potential usefulness of California's flora and fauna—valuable in as yet undreamed of dimensions. Native American men fished for amphibians, fish, and mollusks in California's crystal streams.[14] They hunted birds, small and large mammals, and reptiles in fertile forests, shrublands, and grasslands. Native women's hands gathered juicy fruits, pinched leaves, snipped pods, and plucked flower stalks in an intimate relationship with individual plants.[15] Animal and plant parts were transformed into beautiful and useful objects, attesting to the ingenuity of indigenous cultures.

Tribal territories often spanned several elevational zones, encompassing a variety of plant communities. Every plant community type was visited by gatherers—from beach and dune to coastal scrub, evergreen forest, sagebrush steppe, valley grassland, and pinyon-juniper woodland. A diversity of plant and animal resources was obtained by following an annual cycle of population movements that coincided with seasonal availability of specific resources.[16] The repertoire of subsistence activities included gathering, hunting, fishing, firewood use, and toolstone quarrying. Hundreds of plant and animal species were useful in the economies of each tribal group.

Gathering sites had very old usage. For example, acorn-bearing oaks were pri-



Working from a field drawing made about 1847 by the expeditionary artist Edward Kern, Seth Eastman several years later produced this handsome watercolor of a Sacramento Valley Indian, probably an Eastern Miwok, fashioning an ornately designed seed-gathering basket. Through the burning and pruning of shrubs, native women promoted to the growth of long, straight, flexible shoots, which allowed them to produce basketry of the highest distinction. *Courtesy W. Duncan MacMillan.*

vately owned by the Coast Miwok. Bark was peeled off in a special pattern to indicate ownership.[17] Subsistence foods of the Yurok were gathered in family-owned plots or the same location year after year.[18] Many places were comfortably inhabited because of the sensory and memory ties to those special areas. A cordage gathering site, a pinyon collection area, or a fishing rock would be known through use, and represented in song, ceremony, and stories.

Gathering in a place where your grandmother, great-grandmother, and great-great-grandmother had gone before showed deep respect for the old ways and was a poignant commentary on the sustainability of human harvesting practices. Knowledge of the natural history of places grew out of watching those places for hours, days, years, lifetimes, and generations. A gatherer, hunter, or fisherman carried the inherited memory of an ancient, organic, incalculably valuable body of knowledge that was passed down, added to, and then passed again through many generations of elders.[19]

Because the California Indian cultures were oral-tradition cultures, this passing of knowledge occurred through social interaction and custom. The rapid European intrusion and the destruction that accompanied it splintered the native knowledge of the local landscapes. The native population of perhaps three hundred thousand in 1769 plummeted to thirty thousand by 1860.[20] Introduced diseases, starvation, relocation, and outright homicide caused this decline.[21] The decline of population created a decline of knowledge that was accompanied by a steady intrusion of non-native plants, activities that devastated local plants, and people who failed to appreciated the role the native population had played in maintaining the landscape before. The landscape we know today is well removed from the landscape the native population tended 150 years ago. To appreciate the previous landscapes, it is necessary to understand the climates, soil composition, and zonation that supports the vegetation of California.

UNCOMMON ENVIRONMENTS: DRY SUMMERS, NATURAL WILDFIRE, AND DIVERSE SOIL TYPES

Most of California has a climate called *Mediterranean,* similar to that of lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea.[22] Winters are cool and wet; summers are hot and dry. Hard frost and snow in winter are rare, and summer temperatures may approach one hundred degrees, one cloudless, arid day after another. More than two-thirds of the ten to thirty inches of annual rain falls in the winter months of October through March, which is the beginning of the growing season. The end of the growing season occurs late in the summer period of drought. California's low elevation landscapes are typically green in winter, brown in summer.

It is a rare climate found in only three other parts of the world besides California and the Mediterranean rim: central Chile, the Cape region of South Africa, and southern and western parts of Australia. Only certain types of vegetation are associated with it. These types—chaparral, foothill woodland, coastal scrub, montane evergreen forest—recur in every Mediterranean climate region.

Within California, the Mediterranean climate is moderated along three gradients: one from west to east, another from north to south, and a third from low to high elevations. Along the immediate coast there is little temperature change from day to night or from season to season. This is because the ocean releases heat to the air in the winter and absorbs it in the summer. In addition, a cold offshore current cools summer air, forming fog banks that shield the land and its vegetation from direct sunlight. Coastal climate is a maritime version of the Mediterranean climate. If one moves inland less than one hundred miles, the moderating effect of the ocean is lost. Daily and seasonal oscillations of temperature become much greater and rainfall declines markedly.

In a second gradient, rainfall declines from north to south. Crescent City, in the northwest, is drenched by six feet of rain a year, but San Francisco receives only twenty-five inches, and San Diego in the southwest gets merely ten inches. The length and intensity of the summer-dry period also increases to the south.

Both temperature and rainfall are affected by the third gradient, elevation. Mountain ranges force air moving east to rise, cooling as it does so and dropping moisture in the form of rain in summer or snow in winter. Temperatures fall about three degrees for every one thousand feet of elevation rise. Annual precipitation (the sum of rain and snow), in contrast, increases about seven inches for every one thousand feet of rise, up to eight thousand feet elevation. Above this, most of the moisture has been wrung out of the air and precipitation lessens. The high peaks of California mountains, then, are cold deserts. Patches of snow and ice remain there all summer because of cold summer temperatures, not because of heavy precipitation. Finally, the westerlies clear the mountain tops and descend along eastern flanks, heating and drawing moisture from soil and vegetation. Eastern California lies in a dry rainshadow cast by the mountains. This is the region of desert scrub; elevations below five thousand feet receive less than ten inches of moisture a year.

An important component of Mediterranean climates is fire. Mediterranean climates are fire climates characterized by lightning strikes not followed by rain. A fraction of these strikes set fire to the vegetation because air humidity is low, fallen twigs and leaves on the ground are dry, and winds are sufficiently strong to carry the flames forward. Until Californians adopted a fire-suppression policy eighty years ago, late summer and early fall fires were an expected natural event in many California vegetation types below six thousand feet elevation. The same acre of ground could be expected to burn every ten to fifty years. Fire was uncommon only in wetlands, deserts, and at high elevations. California plants evolved with fire as a natural environmental factor over millions of years. As a result, not only do many Californian species survive fires, but some require fire in order to complete their life cycle or to remain vigorous. Native Californians knew this and, prior to the European intrusion, set low cool ground fires to maintain the understory plants in forests and the grasses in meadows.

California has all eleven of the world's major soil groups and 10 percent of all of the named soil types in the United States.[23] The bedrock of California has come from many sources: volcanic ejections of lava and ash; wind-blown sand; faulting and uplift, which brought ocean-floor sediments and deformed crustal rock to the surface; glaciers that carved valleys and dropped loads of rock; and erosion that left deposits of coarse sand and fine clay. Each substrate has its own chemical and physical characteristics, so the soils that weather from them are diverse.

Some of these soils are exceptionally old, up to half a million years. Many are chemically unique, being high in toxic elements, low in essential nutrients, or extremely acid or basic. A number of well-known California plants are endemic to special soils. Examples include the small but colorful herbs gold fields (*Lasthenia* species) and meadow foam (*Limnanthes* species) on hardpan soils of the Central Valley where vernal pools fill with water in winter and spring, the pygmy bolander pine (*Pinus contorta* subspecies *bolanderi*) of Mendocino County on ancient, acidic sandstone, shore pine (*Pinus contorta* subspecies *contorta*) on the far north coast on droughty coastal sand dunes, picturesquely twisted Sierran mountain junipers (*Juniperus occidentalis* var. *australis*) on solid granite outcrops, massive valley oaks (*Quercus lobata*) in the Central Valley on deep, well-drained, structureless sediment within thirty feet of groundwater, and stands of oddly branched ghost pine (*Pinus sabiniana*) on island-like outcrops of chromium- and nickel-laden serpentine soil amidst a sea of foothill brush.

LANDSCAPES ARE COMPOSED OF VEGETATION TYPES

Not only do individual species faithfully follow their substrates, but so do entire groups of species. These groups make up the vegetation type of which each species is a part. For example, shrubby, fire-prone foothill chaparral—consisting of dozens of species of shrubs—typically grows on coarse, shallow soils; valley grassland—with a hundred species of grasses and forbs—occurs on finer, deeper soils; high elevation conifer forest—with a rich suite of tree, shrub, and herb species—occupies young, relatively unweathered soils; coastal marshes and mountain meadows are on anaerobic, organically rich soils; and lowland riparian forests cover natural levees built from centuries of flood-deposited loam.

Each of these groups of species—each vegetation type—occupies a distinct habitat, with its own soil and local climate. Climate and soil interact in California to create the mosaic of vegetation types that characterizes each of the regional landscapes. California has some fifty types of vegetation.[24] Vegetation can be likened to the clothing over the land. This thin cloth is at once durable and fragile, able to repair and reproduce itself for centuries if the environment remains stable, but subject to irreversible unravelling when environmental stresses become too severe. When vegetation is disrupted, its integrity is fractured. The degraded cover loses ecological relationships, nutrients, and plant and animal diversity.

CALIFORNIA'S VEGETATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN CHANGING

California's landscapes have changed dramatically over the vast panorama of geologic time. The topography and shape of California were modified by sea level fluctuations, periods of mountain building and faulting, advances and retreats of glaciers, and movement of the earth's continents.[25] Sixty million years ago, for example, California was less mountainous and the climate was more tropical. Its location on the globe was approximately where Cuba is today. Rainfall then peaked in the summer, and average annual precipitation near sea level was about fifty inches. About ten million years ago, a semi-arid flora became dominant in the fossil record—close relatives of modern madrone (*Arbutus mensiezii*), live oak (*Quercus* species), pinyon (*Pinus* species), and chaparral and desert shrubs that apparently moved into California from Mexico as our modern Mediterranean climate became more pronounced. Today, descendants of this flora dominate lowlying vegetation throughout much of the state.

Within the past two centuries, explorers and colonists accidentally or purposely brought with them plants from their countries of origin. Approximately one thousand of these species now grow naturally in California, some in such high numbers that they have changed forever the face of the landscape.[26] There is hardly a plant community or habitat left in California unaffected by some introduced plant species.

The pace of recent change is one reason why ecologists have a difficult time reconstructing the California landscape prior to 1848. The earliest detailed accounts of the Californias—diaries of Juan Crespi and Junípero Serra (1769), Juan Bautista de Anza and Gaspár de Portolá (1771–1776), Winceslaus Linck (1776), José Longino-Martinez (1792), and José Joaquin de Arrillaga (1796)—were for the most part botanically naive because they were encountering a flora almost totally different at the genus level from that of the Mediterranean rim.[27] Euro-American influences at low elevations were so enormous and rapid that by the time trained botanists and plant geographers arrived in the late nineteenth century to take photographs, many landscapes had been greatly modified. Ecologists have speculated about the past vegetation of the state, but their reconstructions are based on inferences from climate, soil, known history of land use, and personal intuition. Will Kuchler published a map of pre-contact vegetation of California that remains our best state-wide guess, but many of its suppositions are still argued about, twenty years after its publication.[28] Paying special attention to landscapes most changed since 1848, we begin our survey of California vegetation with the humid western shore and move eastward to the arid desert.

COASTAL MOSAIC OF DUNE, MARSH, GRASSLAND, SCRUB, AND FOREST

California's western edge is a restless interface between land and sea. Landforms along the 1,100-mile coastline are spectacular and diverse: graceful sandy bays, muddy tidal flats, precipitous cliffs, undulating dunes, terraced grasslands, steep shrub-covered hillsides, and dense forests fringing riverine bottomlands. The coastal mosaic of vegetation types covers about 15 percent of California's area.

Beach plants at the leading edge of vegetation must be tough enough to withstand the violent coastal environment—saline salt spray, abrasive sand blast, droughty sand substrate, low soil nitrogen, and high light intensity. As a result, beach vegetation is open and prostrate, made up of only a handful of species at any one location. In 1848, the dominant plant was American dune grass, which formed a scattering of tall leafy stems over the sand surface. Today, the dunes north of Big Sur are dominated by European beachgrass, brought here in 1869 to stabilize sand dunes in San Francisco. This grass has had a drastic effect on dune topography and vegetation. It traps more sand than native Pacific beachgrass (*Elymus mollis*), creating much taller foredunes covered with dense stands of beachgrass instead of open vegetation with many more species. Few Californian plant species can tolerate the shade and competition within European beachgrass stands, thus biotic diversity plummets as the European grass continues to extend its dominance. Native Pacific beachgrass has retained a hold only along small stretches of Point Reyes National Seashore and within the privately protected Lanphere-Christensen Dunes near Arcata.[29]

Prior to 1848, between four and five million acres of wetlands existed in California. The term "wetland" does not stand for a single vegetation type nor a single plant community. It is a legal term that presently applies to any habitat where the soil surface is saturated with water to within eighteen inches of the surface for a period of at least one week a year. Today, less than a fragmented 10 percent of coastal wetlands and a meager 2 percent of interior wetlands survive, and much of what remains is degraded. It is no coincidence that 25 percent of all plant and 55 percent of all animal species designated by state agencies as either threatened or endangered have wetlands as their essential habitat.[30]

Cliffs, terraces, and rolling hills have surfaces away from tide, surf, and moving sand. This is the region of coastal prairie and coastal scrub. North of Big Sur, uplifted marine terraces provide deep, moist, well-drained soils that once supported a rich assortment of perennial grasses and showy, broad-leaved herbs, some of which extend well north of California. Prior to 1848, Oregon hairgrass (*Deschampsia cespitosa* subspecies *holciformis*), Idaho fescue (*Festuca idahoensis*), California oatgrass (*Danthonia californica*), and as many as twelve other grass species formed a two- to three-foot-tall canopy that glistened with droplets of summer fog. These native perennials are called bunchgrasses because they do not have spreading rhizomes and they tend to grow in clumps. Today they are rare and can be found only occasionally, usually in protected areas.

The arrival of Euro-Americans brought fire suppression, invasive weeds, and heavy, year-round grazing by cattle and sheep. The coastal prairie was in most places transformed into a grassland of introduced species such as velvet grass (*Holcus lanatus*), sweet vernal grass (*Anthoxanthum odoratum*), soft chess (*Bromus mollis*), Italian ryegrass (*Lolium muitiflorum*), wild oats (*Avena* species), and wild barley (*Hordeum* species). In the absence of fire, weedy herbs, particularly those such as thistles, which cattle find unpalatable, spread indiscriminantly over millions of acres of former coastal prairie.[31] Efforts to revegetate some grasslands with bunch grasses have started in several locations in northern and southern California.

Shrub-dominated vegetation (scrub) covers steep slopes and invades some margins of coastal prairie on terraces and in valleys. Northern coastal scrub extends north of Big Sur. It is a dense, two-storied assemblage of shrubs, vines, herbs, and grasses. Dominant plants are coyote-brush (*Baccharis pilularis* subspecies *consanguinea*), salal (*Gaultheria shallon*), California coffee berry (*Rhamnus californica*), cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*), and bush lupines (mainly *Lupinus arboreus*). This vegetation has also been modified in the past century by introduced plants, especially pampas grass, gorse, Scotch broom, and *Eucalyptus*. Southern coastal scrub extends south of Big Sur. A simpler, more open community than northern scrub, it is dominated by pungent-smelling, drought-deciduous sage (*Salvia* species) and sagebrush (*Artemisia californica*). Near the Mexican border, succulent plants become an added element. In this century, many gentle hills and terraces of this vegetation have been converted into housing and commercial developments, and invasive grasses have contributed to a further decline in shrubs.[32]

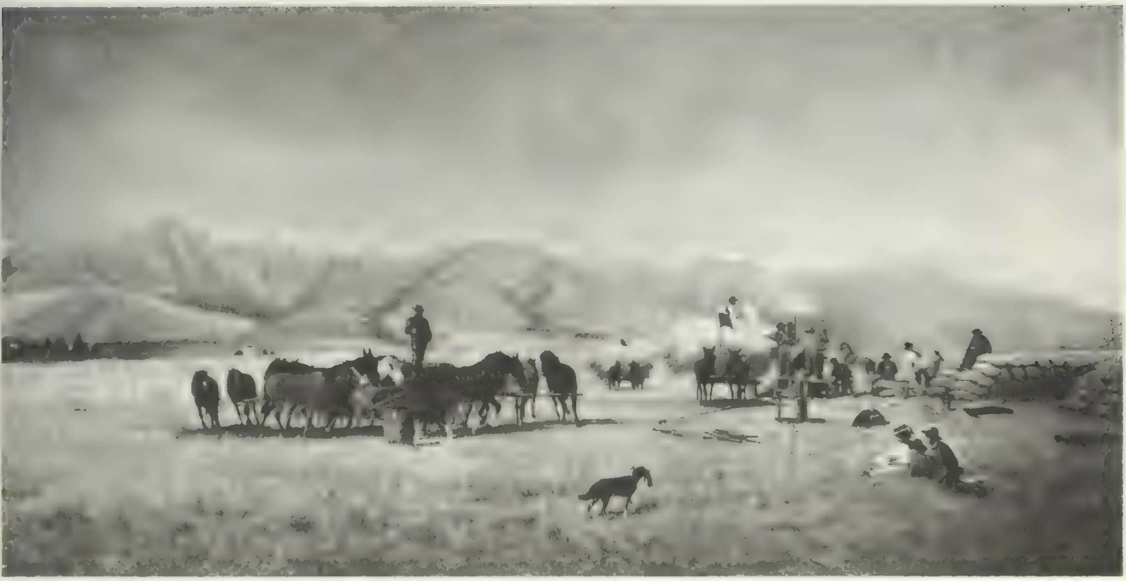
A series of coastal forests that include redwood and Douglas fir occupy lowland pockets and mountain slopes somewhat away from the ocean. These are unique forests, relicts from ancient climates, coddled by the moderated maritime environment in a pool of fog. Conifer trees here have the fastest growth rates of any in the world. The most famous of these is the redwood forest, which forms the southern tip of a magnificent conifer forest that blankets a strip of coastal slopes and flats from Alaska to Monterey County.

Though the forest seems placid, violent episodes of fire and flood sweep through it every century.[33] Mature redwoods (*Sequoia sempervirens*) survive such trauma, thanks to a unique root system and an insulating layer of bark. Seedlings germinate on the fresh, flood-deposited soil; redwoods are also capable of stump-sprouting should the above-ground portion of the tree burn or topple, and in this way the parent plant is survived by a clone of genetically identical offspring. In the absence of fire and flood, saplings of Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), tanbark oak (*Lithocarpus densiflorus*), Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*), and grand fir (*Abies grandis*) will grow beneath the redwood canopy and eventually replace the redwoods. Management of redwood parks now must permit or even create fire and flood, in order to maintain the pre–European-contact forest landscape. Old-growth redwood forests are uncommon today. Only 5 percent of an original two million acres still remain, mainly in state and federal parks. The rest has been logged once or twice and supports second-growth redwood forest or young forests converted to faster-growing Douglas fir.

Above the redwood forest, on steeper, warmer, and higher slopes, is a mixed evergreen forest. It grows at elevations of one thousand to four thousand feet in northwestern California and 3,500 to 5,700 feet in southwestern California. Dominant trees include conifers and broad-leaf evergreens. Conifer species change with latitude: typically they are Douglas fir in the north and Coulter pine (*Pinus coulteri*) and big-cone Douglas fir in the south. The conifers form an incomplete canopy one hundred to two hundred feet tall that allows full sun to reach down between the trees. The sunlight is intercepted by a continous layer of broad-leaved trees, standing forty to sixty feet tall, including evergreen tanbark oak, madrone, bay (*Umbellularia californica*), coast live oak (*Quercus agrifolia*), interior live oak (*Q. wislizenii*), and canyon oak (*Q. chrysolepis*). Some winter-deciduous species are also members of this understory layer. Most of the original old-growth Douglas fir phase of the mixed evergreen forest has been cut for timber, because Douglas fir is an important lumber species. The results of a century or more of such harvest are a post-contact landscape of dense stands of pole-size hardwoods, especially tanbark oak and madrone, since they are capable of stump-sprouting following disturbance. Thus, young second-growth modern forests are not ecologically the same as old-growth pre-contact forests. They create, for example, an insufficient habitat for such animals as spotted owls, marbled murelets, and red tree voles that nest in or on large Douglas firs or dead snags.

INTERIOR MOSAIC OF GRASSLAND, CHAPARRAL, AND WOODLAND

Inland from the fog fence—the Coast Ranges—summer heat becomes more extreme and a typical Mediterranean climate prevails. The texture of interior foothills



By the mid-1870s, when William Hahn captured a characteristic California wheat-ranching scene in *Harvest Time,* the Central Valley had undergone astounding environmental alterations. Beginning early in the century, wild oats and other exotic annuals had spread through the interior with astonishing swiftness, supplanting the native perennial bunchgrasses of the vast inland prairies. Then in the decades following the Gold Rush, as much of the valley was planted to wheat, the landscape was once again transformed. *Courtesy The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; gift of Mrs. Harold R. McKinnon and Mrs. Harry L. Brown.*

and valleys is a mosaic of woodland with scattered trees of pine and oak, or chaparral with densely rigid shrubs, or open grassland that collectively covers one-third of California's area. The borders between vegetation patches are often narrow and abrupt, capable of being walked across in a few paces.

While all three vegetation types occur within the same climatic and elevational zones, they sort themselves out according to such local variations as soil depth, soil texture, slope face, and fire history.[34] Grassland tends to occupy the gentlest slopes with deepest and finest-textured soils, and, under natural conditions, it would burn every several years. Chaparral tends to cover the steepest slopes, with shallowest and coarsest soils, and it would burn with an intermediate frequency of fifteen to twenty-five years. Foothill woodland grows on intermediate slopes and soils and would burn at intervals of twenty-five years or more.

The original interior grassland blanketed much of the Central Valley and low elevations along the central and southern coast. It covered more than thirteen million acres and an additional nine to ten million acres underneath oaks in the foothills, for a total area representing one-fourth of California. Before European colonization, that grassland supported large herds of pronghorn, deer, tule elk, and an extensive native human population. The interior grassland was dominated by several species of bunchgrasses—in particular, purple and nodding needle grasses (*Stipa pulchra* and *S. cernua*). Between the grasses were some annual and perennial herbs that grew lush and colorful in spring. In summer, most grazing animals moved upslope, out of the grassland, and returned only when winter rains brought new germination and growth. Natural fires ignited by dry-lightning strikes and fires purposely started by Indians were probably an annual event. Both types of fire favored the native grassland vegetation. Fires stimulated regrowth in the following wet season and also prevented woody plants from invading.

This grassland no longer exists, except in tiny preserves that show only a portion of the pre-1848 panorama. Beginning in the nineteenth century, livestock were kept at high numbers, year-round, in fenced pastures; some grassland was plowed and farmed; fire was controlled; and weed seeds were accidentally and intentionally introduced. In a dramatically short time, the bunchgrass prairie was converted to an annual grassland of introduced European species such as filaree (*Erodium* species), soft chess, wild oat, ripgut (*Bromus diandrus*), ryegrass, foxtail (*Hordeum* species), fescue (*Vulpia* species), and bur clover (*Medicago polymorpha*).[35]

To the majority of Indian groups in 1848, the foothill woodland was the most important vegetation type. It was home to a greater number and density of humans than any other vegetation type. The acorn was a critical dietary staple of these peoples, its abundance and storability permitting the establishment of large, year-round settlements. The foothill woodland is a two-storied vegetation, with an open tree canopy partially shading a carpet of grasses and forbs beneath. Close to the coast, the dominant trees in the north are Oregon white oak (*Quercus garryana*) and California black oak (*Q. kelloggii*), and in the south, the coast live oak (*Quercus agrifolia*), mesa oak (*Q. engelmannii*), and California walnut (*Juglans californica*) Along interior, drier foothills, the dominant trees are blue oak (*Quercus douglasii*), interior live oak (*Q. wislizenii*), foothill pine (*Pinus sabiniana*), and buckeye (*Aesculus californica*). The large trees are a mix of evergreens and deciduous hardwoods. Some of the deciduous species seem to be in decline. Few young trees have become established in the last century.[36] If this pattern continues for another century, mature oaks will have reached the end of their natural life spans, and these oak woodlands will either become grasslands or denser woodlands dominated by evergreen oaks. The causes for this decline may include exploding populations of root-eating pocket gophers, browsing deer and cattle that devour seedlings, competitive, introduced annual plants, and modern fire suppression. In addition to the decline in reproduction, about 10 to 20 percent of the woodland has been converted since 1848 into treeless pasture and range or into urban housing.

Chaparral comes from Spanish words for "low-growing, treeless vegetation."

Early Spanish explorers were impressed with the tightly intertwined and close-fitting canopy that covered the hills as uniformly as a shirt over the human torso, and they were reminded of a similar scrub in the hills of Spain. Chaparral vegetation is a single layer of impenetrable shrubs, four to eight feet tall, with intricately branched, interlacing evergreen canopies. The most common shrubs in northern California are chamise(*Adenostoma fasciculatum*), scrub oak (*Quercus dumosa*), Christmas berry (*Heteromeles arbutifolia*), California coffeeberry, and more than twenty species each of manzanita (*Arctostaphylos*) and *Ceanothus. Yucca,* red shank (*Adenostoma sparsifolium*), laurel sumac (*Malosma laurina*), and lemonade berry (*Rhus integrifolia*) are additional elements in southern California. The ground is nearly bare of plants, and only an occasional bay tree, clump of cypress, or pine rises above the shrub layer.

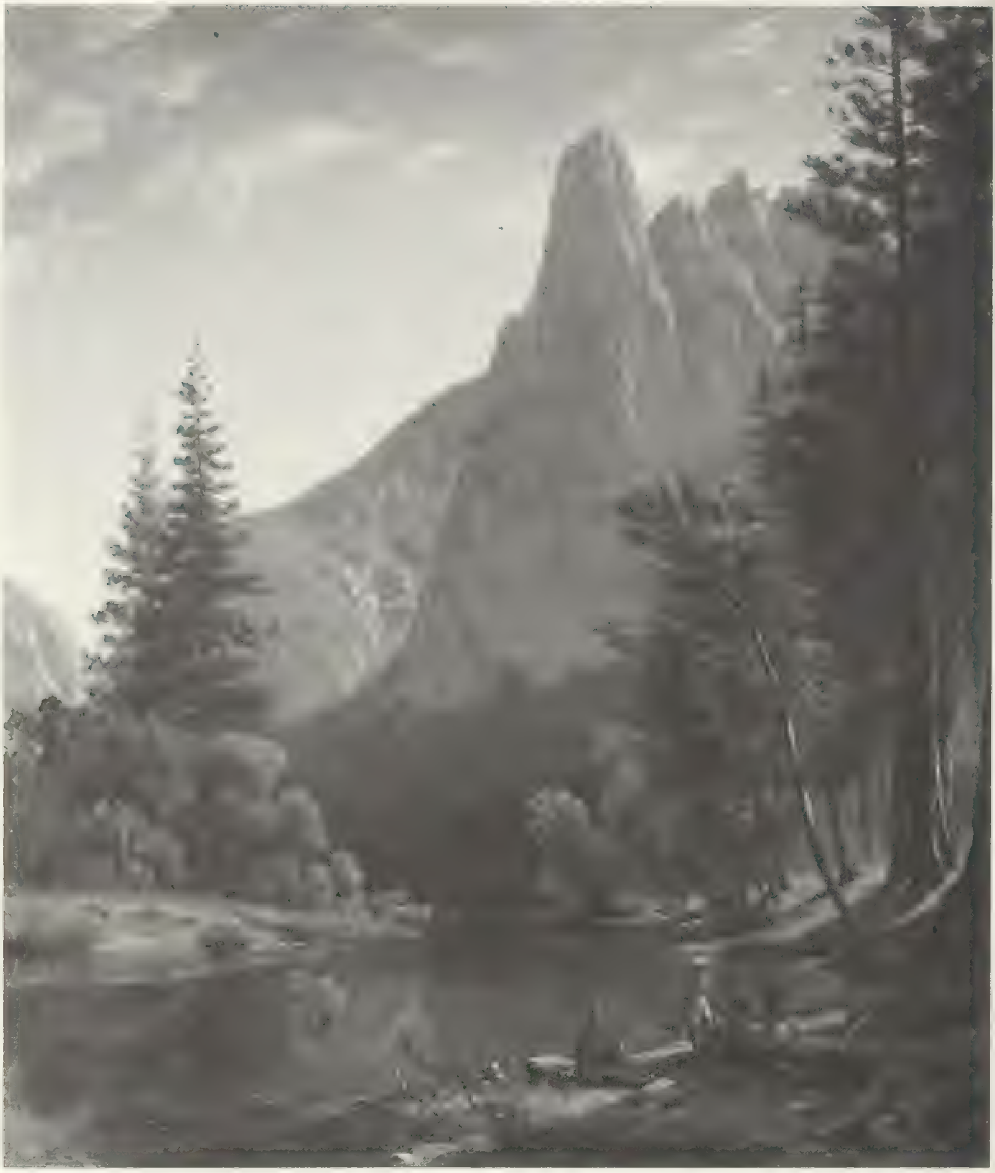
Chaparral is a fire-dependent vegetation that burns very hot in all-consuming crown fires expected to occur naturally every twenty to twenty-five years.[37] It is rare to find an unburned chaparral stand older than sixty years. After fire, only the skeletons of shrubs and trees remain above-ground, together with a thick layer of ash on the soil surface. Shrub seeds and roots deeper than a few inches below the surface survive the fire, however, and these germinate and sprout during the following wet season. Shrub growth is rapid for a few years, then slows for the next thirty to forty years. With time, most of the nutrients essential for growth become locked up in the woody biomass and so are unavailable to support new growth. Fire releases the nutrients as ash, triggering a renewal of growth.

MOSAIC OF MONTANE VEGETATION TYPES

California mountains are not uniformly covered with one continuous, monotonously unvarying forest. Instead, the landscape is a mosaic of oak-filled canyons, brushy ridges, meadows in wet flats, riparian woods, and conifer-forested slopes. Only about half of the montane region, which covers 20 percent of California, supports conifer forest. Four zones of climate and vegetation exist in California mountains, sequentially replacing each other with increasing elevation: lower-montane, upper-montane, subalpine, and alpine. Every thousand-foot climb in elevation is equivalent to moving three hundred miles north, and the vegetation varies accordingly.[38]

The mixed conifer forest occupies much of the lower-montane zone, which lies between two thousand and five thousand feet elevation in northern mountain ranges and five thousand to eight thousand feet elevation in southern ranges. Six conifers—ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), sugar pine (*P. lambertiana*), white fir (*Abies concolor*), Douglas fir, incense cedar (*Calocedrus decurrens*), and giant sequoia—coexist and shift in importance from stand to stand, and for this reason the community is not named for any one of them, but is instead called the mixed conifer forest.

John Muir, among other early naturalists, commented on "the inviting openness"



A tourist party enjoys a leisurely moment by the Merced River in Virgil Williams's 1863 painting of Yosemite Valley, *Along the Mariposa Trail.* The rich riparian growth portrayed by Williams composes one of several typical plant communities associated with what is perhaps the most famous of the state's geomorphic provinces, the Sierra Nevada. *Courtesy California Historical Society; gift of A. K. Browne. Photograph by M. Lee Fatherree.*

of this forest, where trees "stand more or less apart in groves, or in small irregular groups, enabling one to find a way nearly everywhere, along sunny colonnades and through openings that have a smooth, park-like surface."[39] The forests that Muir saw, and that Native Americans lived in prior to 1848, are rare today because of 150 years of logging and 100 years of fire-suppression. Three-fourths of the original acreage of the mixed conifer forest has been clear-cut or select-cut at least once. Second-growth forests are more crowded, with smaller overstory trees.

Furthermore, in the absence of ground fire, white fir has grown up densely beneath the older trees, creating potential fire ladders that convert ground fires into destructive crown fires. Ponderosa pine, in contrast, has few juveniles because its seedlings require bare mineral soil to establish themselves on—and only fire clears the litter and provides such a surface. This modern second-growth forest casts a denser shade, and no longer has the park-like atmosphere Muir described. Adoption of a prescribed burning policy by the U.S. Forest Service, the California Departments of Forestry and of Parks and Recreation, and the National Park Service has had some success in reversing the trend. The success is limited, however, because the practice remains controversial and managers must be overly cautious in controlling fire, thus the kind of fire produced is unusually cool-burning. Too few young white fir trees are killed in such fires, and the pristine openness of the forest is not reclaimed. Furthermore, the number of acres actually burned by prescribed fire so far has only been a small fraction of the total acreage of the forest. Another stress affecting the lower-montane zone, unknown in 1848, is air pollution,[40] which damages conifer needles and slows tree growth in mixed conifer forests (particularly the ponderosa pines) that lie many miles from and thousands of feet above the sea-level cities that produce this smog.

The upper-montane is the zone of maximum snowfall throughout California. About 80 percent of all precipitation during the year falls as snow, which builds snowpacks eight to thirteen feet deep that stay on the ground for two hundred days of the year. Saplings successful in the upper-montane must tolerate winter burial under snow for decades until they are tall enough to reach above the snowpack.[41] Upper-montane forests are simple, with just two canopies: an overstory tree layer and a scattered herb layer. Common trees are lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta* subspecies *murrayana*) and Jeffrey pine (*P. jeffreyi*) throughout the state, joined by red fir (*Abies magnifica*) and western white pine (*P. monticola*) in northern California. Ancient, twisted mountain juniper trees (*Juniperus occidentalis* subspecies *australis*) seem to spring full-grown out of solid ridge rock. Quaking aspen (*Populus tremuloides*) and black cottonwood (*Populus balsamifera* subspecies *trichocarpa*) cover narrow riparian corridors. Fire plays a less important role in this zone than in the lower-montane. The trees, shrubs, and herbs are neither especially tolerant of fire, nor is their survival enhanced by fire. Fires occur, but at intervals twice as long as in lower-elevation forests.[42]

Forests thin with elevation, just as the air itself thins. Groves of trees in the subalpine zone (above nine thousand feet elevation in the south, above eight thousand feet in the north) become restricted to patches protected from the sweep of cold air and drying wind. Pruned by winter ice blast, trees are stunted, twisted, and multiple-trunked. This is a place of short, open forest at the very limit of tree growth. As one moves higher, even these bonsai-like remnants fail to grow, and the herbaceous alpine tundra replaces the land of wood.

Few tree species are able to tolerate the special stresses of the subalpine zone.[43] Lodgepole pine and western white pine continue upslope from the upper-montane, and are joined by mountain hemlock (*Tsuga mertensiana*) and the five-needled whitebark (*Pinus albicaulis*), limber (*P. flexilis*), foxtail (*P. balfouriana*), and bristlecone pines (*P. longaeva*), which are found only in the subalpine. Not all of these species occur together on the same mountain. In some places, a single species will dominate; in others they mix together. For this reason the vegetation is called mixed subalpine woodland.

Not much is known about the climate of this zone because few long-term weather stations are located here. Average precipitation is less than in the upper-montane, probably averaging thirty inches, mostly as snow. Average temperature over the entire year is just a few degrees above freezing. Soils are shallow and rocky, so they hold little moisture. Because the growing season is so stressful, subalpine trees rarely become established as seedlings. Once established, however, they grow slowly for centuries. Average tree life spans are five hundred to one thousand years. Foxtail pines attain ages greater than three thousand years, and the well-known bristlecone pines of the White Mountains of far east-central California can exceed five thousand years.

The alpine zone is a thin fringe of green near the limits of all forms of plant life. The growing season is measured in weeks and days, not months: six to ten weeks long, or forty to seventy days. Even during the growing season, frost can occur nightly. Plants tend to hug the ground and to sequester most of their stored food underground in root or rhizome systems.

Alpine tundra is a meadow-type of vegetation rich in sedges (*Carex* species), rushes (*Juncus* species), grasses, and perennial broad-leaf herbs. Woody dwarf willows (*Salix* species) and white and mountain heather (*Cassiope mertensiana* and two *Phyllodoce* species) are present, but not dominant. Away from wet basins and snowmelt areas, the environment becomes drier, and tundra gives way to a fell-field of scattered bunchgrasses and "cushion plants"—herbs with tiny, densely arranged leaves pressed against the soil surface. Alpine plants are small, but they are tenacious and their life spans are twenty to fifty years.[44]

In California, about 40 percent of the total number of alpine species are widespread, ranging north into other North American mountain chains or all the way to the polar tundra. Another 15 percent are endemic to California, and so must have evolved in place as the mountains rose during the past ten million years. These endemics probably evolved from desert plants downslope.

Alpine tundra is relatively intolerant of disturbance from humans and their grazing animals. Trampling along trails rapidly thins out the vegetation, and plants are slow to recover from over-grazing. During the nineteenth century, heavy, uncontrolled grazing by sheep (John Muir called them "hoofed locusts") permanently degraded many alpine meadows. Grazing by sheep, cattle, and pack horses continues today, although it is much more carefully regulated, and environmental damage persists.[45]

A GRADIENT OF DESERT VEGETATION: COLD, WARM, AND HOT

Eastern, desert-facing slopes of California mountains are steep, rocky, and more arid than western slopes at the same elevation. The eastern rainshadow intensifies as elevation drops, and by the six-thousand-foot elevation, trees reach a second kind of timberline—a low-elevation timber line. This timberline, the last gasp of montane trees before the aridity and desert scrub below, is an open woodland of Utah juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*) and several pinyon pines (*Pinus edulis, P. monphylla, P. quadrifolia*). Despite the pinyon pine's short stature, slow growth rate, and small cone size, its seeds are large and produced in great numbers. Pinyon seeds ("nuts") were an important food of Native Californians before the European conquest, and some native families continue to harvest them today. Flour made from pinyon seeds has a higher fat content and caloric value than modern wheat flour and a protein concentration higher than corn flour. Annual fall trips were made to the pinyon woodlands by many mountain and desert tribes.

Beyond the pinyon-juniper woodland is desert scrub vegetation, occupying about one-fourth of California's land area. Desert climate and vegetation are not uniform within such a vast region, and as a result there are three types of desert in California: cold, warm, and hot. The cold desert, or Great Basin Desert, is a high desert lying above the four-thousand-foot elevation between the Sierra-Cascade axis on the west and the Wasatch Mountains of Utah on the east. Winters are cold, with most precipitation falling as snow; summers are dry and hot. It is a land characterized by dark volcanic rock, pronghorn, and pungent sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*).

Associated plants include several small shrubs, a diversity of bunchgrasses, and a number of annual plants. The annuals germinate in wintertime, grow slowly to spring, then bolt, flower, and set seed by early summer. Cacti are uncommon because most succulent species are frost-sensitive, thus winter temperatures are too cold for them here. Cottonwood trees (*Populus fremontii*) line intermittent waterways, and saline basins support such salt-tolerant shrubs as fourwing saltbush (*Atriplex canescens*) and greasewood (*Sarcobatus vermiculatus*). Cold desert vegetation has been significantly modified since 1848 by overgrazing, the accidental introduction of aggressive weedy species such as cheatgrass (*Bromus tectorum*), and an increased frequency of wildfire.[46] Enormous populations of sheep and cattle selectively removed most bunchgrass cover, and purposeful burning killed sagebrush. Sagebrush does not stump sprout. In order to reestablish itself, it must germinate from seed, and as a seedling it is a poor competitor with cheatgrass and other introduced annuals whose numbers may exceed one thousand plants per square yard.

The warm Mojave Desert lies just south of, and at elevations below, the cold Great Basin Desert. The meeting ground of the two deserts is the place of Joshua tree woodland and blackbrush scrub, east and northeast of the Los Angeles basin. Farther east, as elevation drops, the landscape becomes dominated by creosotebush (*Larrea tridentata*), burrobush (*Ambrosia dumosa*), brittlebush (*Encelia farinosa*), more than twenty species of cacti, and a great diversity of winter annual wildflowers. Localized habitats such as sand dunes, saline basins, and desert washes support rarer plant species.

The hot Colorado Desert occupies the southeastern corner of California at elevations below one thousand feet. The region is far enough east to escape the California rainshadow, far enough south to receive summer rains from subtropical storms and low enough in elevation to be frost-free. As a result, the Colorado Desert is home to a greater variety of plant growth forms and species than the other two desert types. Winter-deciduous small trees, arboreal cacti, evergreen and drought-deciduous shrubs, rosette-shaped leaf succulents, subshrubs, small cacti, and winter- and summer-active annual wildflowers all grow here. The overwhelmingly dominant species are creosotebush and burrobush.[47] Wash vegetation is also rich, with fifteen-foot-tall desert willow (*Chilopsis linearis*), palo verde (two species of *Cercidium*), and honey mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora* variety *torreyana*) as scattered individuals or as woodland thickets. Oasis stands of California fan palm (*Washingtonia filifera*) occur along faultlines where breaks in the bedrock allow natural springs to surface.

Even here, in the hottest and most arid part of California, invasive plants have modified the pre-European landscape. Salt cedar, native to Europe and Asia, was introduced by Spanish explorers and settlers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Today it colonizes washes, river banks, and basin margins, sometimes forming impenetrable thickets hundreds of yards deep. Springs and subterranean water sources can literally be sucked dry by such thickets, exterminating wetland habitats previously occupied by native plants and animals. Another post-conquest disturbance to the warm and hot deserts has been soil compaction and vegetation destruction by off-road vehicles (ORVs). Long-term studies of ghost town streets, homesteads, military exercise routes, utility service roads, and ORV trails indicate that significant vegetation recovery requires more than sixty years.[48]

When examined at a closer proximity and in some detail, pre-contact landscapes, like the deserts, have been profoundly and permanently changed. Without the tradition and understanding derived through observation and traditional practice, there has been little intervention and much destruction of the formerly highly useful and sustainable landscapes. How were those pre-contact landscapes lived in, interpreted, used, and managed by Native Californians?

CONSERVING THE EARTH

There were types and scales of human harvesting that meshed with wilderness. Sophisticated taxonomies, taboos, and harvesting strategies for key resources evolved and were widespread among native communities. Conservation practices were developed to combat scarcity of resources. Two overarching maxims that dictated Native American resource use were "do not waste resources" and "do not hoard resources." Indigenous folklore is rich with messages concerning the dire ecological consequences of excessive consumption of resources. According to many tribal legends, inappropriate human behavior toward nature through greed, wastefulness, or disrespect for other lifeforms causes the world to go out of balance. Signs of this imbalance were natural catastrophes such as enormous wildfires, droughts, floods, and twisters.[49]

Native Americans skillfully gathered plants over long periods in different habitats without depleting their populations to the point of extinction. This required intimate knowledge of each species' life characteristics. Plants were gathered with regard to at least six variables: season, frequency, appropriate tool, pattern, scale, and intensity.[50] If plants were gathered too often, or at an inappropriate season, or at an extreme intensity without sparing individual plants, the population could easily be extinguished, even with low levels of technology. For example, natives gathered edible mushrooms while being careful not to disturb the soil mycelia in order to ensure future production;[51] basketry shrubs were pruned in the late fall or winter during the dormant period, when such disturbance is least detrimental to the plants' vital processes. Subterranean foods such as lilies, wild onions, yampah, and blue dicks were harvested in great quantities, but bulblets and cormlets were deliberately left behind in the loosened earth to grow the following year.[52]

CALIFORNIA: AN ENGENDERED LAND

Through interacting with nature for millennia, Native Americans left their signature in the vegetation. That imprint is still visible in the scars on juniper trees in eastern California harvested sustainably by the Paiute and Western Shoshoni for bow staves.[53] Certain creosote bushes in the Colorado Desert, now thousands of years old, were picked centuries ago by Indian hands to treat nausea, intestinal discomfort, and chest infections. Four-hundred-year-old sugar pines (*Pinus lambertiana*) in Sequoia National Park are marked with fire-scars from fires set by Indians. These trees were harvested by Native Americans for their delectable sugar, oozing from fresh wounds caused by the fires. Humans also acted as dispersal agents carrying seeds from place to place, deliberately or inadvertently. This is obvious in the clusters of useful plant species that populate Indian middens, graves, temporary camps, and other archaeological sites.

Scholars have more recently produced more accurate reconstructions of interactions between indigenous people and the natural environment in California through interdisciplinary research that combines knowledge of social, physical, and biological sciences as well as the humanities.[54] For instance, nature keeps a historical record of environmental changes in the growth rings of trees, plant remains in a preserved packrat's nest, plant and animal fossils and charcoal in the soil, and plant pollen laid down in layers in bog sediments. Scientists using microscopes, molecular dating methods, and other techniques can retrieve this information, incorporating it into a comprehensive framework for interpretation and giving us a remarkably clear window to the past. Finally, a recognition among university scholars that Native American elders are the keepers of ancient knowledge and remember details of former burning and other horticultural practices of their ancestors has resulted in an integration of this information into university sources.

Only recently have scientists ceased to pigeonhole Native Americans into one of two limited categories: hunter-gatherer *or* agriculturalist. To earlier scholars, Mohave and Yuman tribes in southeastern California grew domesticated plants—corn, beans, and squash—and were labeled "agriculturalists," while the myriad of other tribes were tagged "hunter-gatherers." Modern scholars, on the other hand, maintain that both stereotypes are merely opposite ends of a continuum of human-nature interactions that represent a much more complex and rich set of interactions than that portrayed in older history books and ecology and anthropology texts. The vast knowledge and understanding that the traditional Indian people had of the California landscape prior to the European contact is only beginning to be fully recognized. Most likely, however, we will never completely recover all the information lost during the destructive post-contact years.

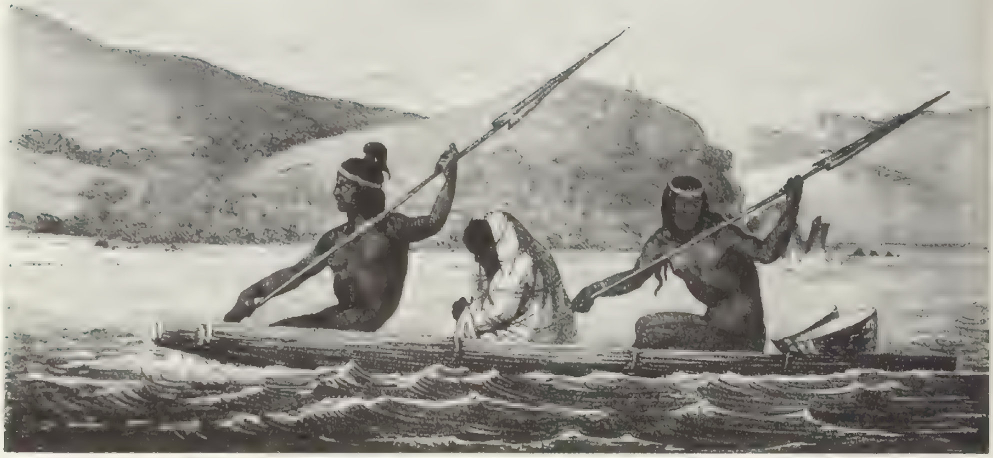
The sustainability of native practices allowed natural vegetation and human inhabitation of the landscape to exist and continue over hundreds of years. From the coastal prairies of northwestern California to the palm oases in the southeastern part of the state, indigenous traditional management systems have influenced the size, extent, pattern, structure, composition, and genetics of the flora within select areas of a multitude of vegetation types.[55] Native-induced changes, however, unlike those of the last two hundred years dominated by European attitudes, sustained the vegetation and allowed generational use of the same species.

Mosaics of Vegetation and Location of Ecotones

Native peoples played a major role in the maintenance and enhancement of biological diversity by introducing disturbances that promoted mosaics of vegetation found within different landscapes in California. They enhanced ecosystem diversity in California through the maintenance of heterogeneous vegetation that would have disappeared in the absence of human influence, including coastal prairies, freshwater marshes, and dry montane meadows. Forest ecologist Susan Bicknell has recently been involved in a series of studies of particular locales along the northern California coast, and has utilized opal phytoliths in conjunction with other evidence to demonstrate that much of the coastal aboriginal prairie habitat was anthropogenic in nature, maintained with frequent fires set by local tribes and that it reverted to woody vegetation after Euro-American settlement of the area and with the cessation of fire and ungulate grazing.[56]

Similarly, to encourage growth and harvest of a smorgasbord of plant species, the Wukchumni Yokuts and the Timbisha Shoshone burned freshwater marshes to remove old growth, provide emergent plants for animal forage, and stimulate the production of long, straight, new tules.[57] Burning cleared out reed-choked marshlands, reducing the density and creating an edge effect, allowing space for waterfowl movement and nesting activities and increased light to the soil floor at the peripheries of marshes and springs, thereby heightening plant species diversity.[58] Studies have shown that controlled burning can reduce the invasion of woody vegetation and enhance wetland habitats for wildlife.[59] Native Americans understood that fires in conjunction with the recurrent changes in water level blocked plant succession and were the basis for these enduring systems.

Strings of meadows in the Sierra Nevada, the Cascades, and other California mountain ranges formed the resting places, pantry, and trade grounds for numerous tribes. These open spaces with grasses and forbs break up the monotonous mixed-conifer forests. Ecotones, where forest and meadow merge, also contain unique plant life and attract animals as well. Native Americans set fires in the ecotone areas surrounding the meadows to decrease the more wet-tolerant lodgepole pine or other conifers and keep them from encroaching into meadow areas, thus maintaining and perhaps, in some cases, enlarging meadow areas. Periodic purposeful burning also occurred within the meadow boundaries, influencing the composition, density, and frequency of native plant and animal populations. Certain meadow plants such as deergrass, yampahs, and clovers were favored through burning.[60] Natives also set fires in and around meadows to drive game and catch grasshoppers.[61] In recent times, cessation of Native American burning and the modern policy of suppressing lightning fires have caused forest and brush to encroach on meadows throughout the mountains.



Costanoan (Ohlone) men use double-bladed paddles to negotiate the waters of San Francisco Bay in a balsa, or boat, constructed of tules bound together with vines. Based on a watercolor made in 1816 by Louis Choris, this lithograph is from the artist's *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30512.*

Indian burning also opened up forests and woodlands so the sun could fall free to the earth in many places. Pre-contact California had abundant park-like forests of oaks and conifers, with large-diametered trees that were widely-spaced, unlike the overstocked, disease- and insect-infested second-growth forests of today. Frequent Indian-set fires in lower and mid-elevation mixed-conifer forests favored fire-tolerant species such as black oak, giant sequoia, and ponderosa pine, and a biologically diverse understory vegetation of native grasses and forbs.[62] An uncluttered coniferous forest or oak woodland could also be walked through by Native Americans with ease, without hacking vegetation, and without being scratched by shrubbery. The people could see far ahead in all directions and avoid surprise by grizzlies, black bears, mountain lions, or human enemies. The earth between the trees fostered many blooming and edible plants, rather than a seemingly lifeless mass of thick layers of decomposing leaves and twigs, characteristic of many forests today.[63] This rich understory vegetation attracted small and large mammals, birds, and many types of insects. The interior of the human-tended forest was full of life. Journalist Stephen Powers took note of this bounty: "In the mountains they [Yokuts] used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already

Wintu Indians Rosa Charles and Billy George pause from gathering yampah to pose for the legendary ethnographer John P. Harrington, who made this photograph in 1931. Yampa fields were regularly burned by Native Californians in order to recycle nutrients, reduce plant competition, and prevent the encroachment of forests on meadows. *Courtesy Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.*

roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra."[64]

Human-tended plant gathering sites dotted the land, creating a quiltwork pattern of openings within different plant communities. The visual effect of encouraging populations of plant species at numerous gathering sites was a high degree of "patchiness" reflecting plant species in varying successional stages within more homogeneous naturally occurring plant community types. When the Europeans arrived in California, many populations of plants and associated animals persisted in different areas as a result of the Native Americans' clearing the engulfing vegetation by hand-weeding and burning.

The Range and Distribution of Plant and Animal Species

Native Americans also widened the ecological amplitude of native animal and plant species by introducing them to new areas. Dispersal through human agency often took place over relatively short distances and thereby gave the appearance that the normal distribution was somewhat more extensive than was actually the case. This appearance may have influenced, in turn, the conclusions of later plant and animal scientists, leading them to consider the extended range as the normal range.

Some authorities have noted plants established in association with historical sites of human occupation, but for the most part, this topic has not been explored. Native American protection of volunteer plant species, actual sowing of seed, or transplanting of valuable or preferred plants are all possible explanations for the occurrence of uncharacteristic native plant populations and the repeated appearance of the same plant species at former sites of human occupation. The native tobacco (*Nicotiana clevelandii*) may have been planted or established itself in the enriched soils of the Indian middens around the camps of the Chumash in Santa Barbara. Tobacco also occurs on Santa Cruz Island and is often associated with midden deposits,[65] and ethnobotanist Jan Timbrook believes that it was probably brought there by the Chumash. Archaeologist Schumacher noted that he always found elderberry shrubs in the neighborhood of ancient settlements or near graves.[66] Jimsonweed, an important ceremonial plant to many tribes, is often associated with aboriginal habitation sites in San Diego County. Willis Jepson in the 1920s noted that California black walnut trees occurred readily on "old Indian camps-sites" in central California in what are now Walnut Creek, Walnut Grove, and Napa Range above Wooden Valley.[67] Vertebrate zoologist Paul Collins, using the archaeological record and morphometric analysis, has concluded that Indians were responsible for establishing island foxes on San Clemente, Santa Catalina, and San Nicolas islands from northern Channel Island populations.[68]

RESTORATION OF THE ABORIGINAL LANDSCAPE WITH HUMANS INCLUDED

As a truer picture of California's first human inhabitants comes into clearer focus, a very different world emerges—a world where humans were more than mere external visitors to nature. California was not "wild." The tribal territories were filled with places that were comfortably inhabited and stewarded. Judicious gathering, hunting, and fishing deepened human interactions with the land. Using nature sustainably, Indians inhabited that middle ground between true wilderness and the domesticated garden. Early settlers' diaries, missionaries' notes, and explorers' logs describe California as unsurpassed in beauty and biological wealth. But, unknowingly, Euro-Americans were in many cases really describing the successful results of the stewardship of Native Americans in fostering this fecundity. What is compelling about this shift in perception of California Indians from hunter-gatherers into wildland managers is its demonstration that it is possible for humans to tend and use wildland resources *and* coexist as part of sustainable and diverse ecosystems.

Native American tribes of today have endured threats to their cultural survival for over two hundred years. Yet with the influx of large human populations from outside the region and the steady degradation of California's landscapes, native gatherers, hunters, and fishermen have increasingly faced barbed-wire fences, "no trespassing" signs, scarce resources, water pollution, and pesticide residues in their attempts to continue their traditions.[69]

The decline of natural systems in the state is intimately tied with the diminishment of the native cultural heritage. This cultural wealth—the vast experience of native cultures in how to use, manage, respect, *and* coexist with these other lifeforms—is valuable and could be part of serious conservation and restoration efforts towards nature.[70]

Among public lands agencies, there is increasing interest in Native American traditional ecological knowledge. Those professionals who are most interested in restoration of California's fire-type natural landscapes are finding that knowledge of past land management—indigenous burning, for example—is imperative before alternatives for preservation and management of plant communities can be designed. Scholarship by ecologists, archaeologists, and biologists, in partnership with Native Americans, is beginning to unravel the complexities of these former wildland management systems.

Simulating some native practices in a series of long-term field experiments will give scientists and managers a more accurate sense of the impact of aboriginal activities on vegetation in different regions. Such experimentation will also disclose the extent to which ecosystem health in the areas of soil productivity, gene conservation, biodiversity, landscape patterns, nutrient cycling, and an array of ecological processes is tied to former indigenous economic and management activities.[71] Contemporary tribal cultures are still practicing some of these traditional techniques. These ongoing traditional practices may serve as analogs for testing alternative wildland management strategies. They may be used to restore endangered ecosystems and species, as well as to enhance the productivity and biodiversity of wildlands, while maintaining culturally significant plant resources for the perpetuation of indigenous cultural traditions and future scientific endeavors.[72]

NOTES

1. D. A. Jensen, et al., *In Our Own Hands: A Strategy for Conserving California's Biodiversity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); M. W. Skinner and B. M. Pavlik, *Inventory of Rare and Endangered Vascular Plants of California*, 5th ed. (Sacramento: California Native Plant Society, 1994); and C. G. Thelander, ed., *Life on the Edge: A Guide to California's Endangered Natural Resources: Wildlife* (Santa Cruz: Biosystems Books, and Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1994).

2. Men Sailing under Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo were the first documented Europeans to

set foot in California. See Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1986).

3. William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature,* William Cronon, ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1995), 69–90. Other important articles that question the authenticity of the traditional "wilderness" idea include Paul Faulstich, "The Cultured Wild and the Limits of Wilderness," in *Place of the Wild,* D. C. Burks, ed. (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1994), 161–74; A. Gomez-Pompa and A. Kaus, "Taming the Wilderness Myth," *Bioscience* 42 (1992): 71–279; and S. M. Wilson, "That Unmanned Wild Countrey," *Natural History* (1992):16–17.

4. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 377.

5. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1948), 114.

6. Robert E. Martin and David B. Sapsis, "Fires as Agents of Biodiversity—Pyrodiversity Promotes Biodiversity," in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Biodiversity of Northwestern California, October, 1991,* Richard R. Harris and Donald C. Erman, eds., Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources, University of California, 1992.

7. David W. Peri and Scott M. Patterson, "The Basket Is in the Roots, That's Where It Begins," in *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians,* T. C. Blackburn and K. Anderson, eds. (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1993), 175–94.

8. Harry W. Lawton, et al., "Agriculture Among the Paiute of Owens Valley," in Blackburn and Anderson, *Before the Wilderness,* 329–78.

9. Philip Drucker, "Culture Element Distributions, V: Southern California," *University of California Anthropological Records* 1, no. 1 (1937):1–52. Florence C. Shipek, "An Example of Intensive Plant Husbandry: The Kumeyaay of Southern California," in *Foraging and Farming: The Evolution of Plant Exploitation,* David R. Harris and Gordon C. Hillman, eds. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 159–70.

10. Biologist James Cornett has spent twenty years studying desert fan palms, and his research elucidates indigenous people's major role in shaping the ecology of the palms in California. See his publications: James W. Cornett, *Desert Palm Oasis* (Santa Barbara: Palm Springs Desert Museum and Companion Press, 1989); "The Desert Fan Palm—Not a Relict," abstract, in *Mojave Desert Quaternary Research Center, Third Annual Symposium Proceedings,* C. A. Warren and J. S. Schneider, eds., San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1989; "Indians and the Desert Fan Palm," *Masterkey* (1987): 12–17; "A Giant Boring Beetle," *Environment Southwest* (1987): 21–25; James W. Cornett, "Reading Fan Palms," *Natural History* 94 (1985):64–73.

11. K. R. Jack, "An Indian's View of Burning, and a Reply," *California Fish and Game Journal* 2 (1916): 194–96; M. Kat Anderson, "Indian Fire-Based Management in the Sequoia–Mixed Conifer Forests of the Central and Southern Sierra Nevada," paper submitted to the Yosemite Research Center, Yosemite National Park, July 1993, United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, Cooperative Agreement Order Number 8027-002.

12. Kathy Heffner, "Following the Smoke: Contemporary Plant Procurement by the Indians of Northwest California," paper submitted to Six Rivers National Forest, Eureka, 1984.

13. Sara M. Schenck and Edward W. Gifford, "Karok Ethnobotany," *University of California Anthropological Records* 13 (1952):377–92.

14. For an overview of fishing techniques, see Alfred L. Kroeber and Samuel A. Barrett, "Fishing Among the Indians of Northwestern California," *Anthropological Records* 22 (1960): 1–156; and Sean L. Swezey and Robert F. Heizer, "Ritual Management of Salmonid Fish Resources in California," in Blackburn and Anderson, *Before the Wilderness,* 299–328.

15. For a compendium of indigenous plant uses of the California flora, see Sandra S. Strike, *Ethnobotany of the California Indians: Aboriginal Uses of California's Indigenous Plants* (Champaign, Illinois: Koeltz Scientific Books, 1994), vol. 2; George R. Mead, *The Ethnobotany of the California Indians: A Compendium of the Plants, Their Uses and Their Users* (Greeley, Colorado: University of Northern Colorado Press, 1972). For an ethnobotanical bibliography, see Beatrice M. Beck, *Ethnobotany of the California Indians, Volume 1: A Bibliography and Index* (Champaign, Illinois: Koeltz Scientific Books, 1994).

16. Michael J. Moratto, *California Archeology* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984).

17. Mary E. T. Collier and Sylvia Barker Thalman, *Interviews with Tom Smith and Maria Copa* (San Rafael, Calif.: Miwok Archaeological Preserve of Marin, 1991), 37.

18. Arnold R. Pilling, "Yurok," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians,* Volume 8, *California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 137–54.

19. The eminent biologist E. O. Wilson maintains that indigenous ecological knowledge is in fact "true scientific knowledge." See E. O. Wilson, *The Diversity of Life* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 44. In a cover article for *Time* magazine, the author E. Linden likens the loss of this knowledge to the burning of the great library of Alexandria. See E. Linden, "Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge," *Time,* 138, no. 12 (1991):46–56.

20. For a review of California Indian population estimates, consult Sherburne F. Cook, "Historical Demography," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8: California.*

21. Albert L. Hurtado, "Introduction," in *The Destruction of California Indians,* ed. Robert F. Heizer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974). Other graphic descriptions of harsh treatment of Native Americans by Europeans include George H. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Van H. Garner, *The Broken Ring: The Destruction of the California Indians* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1982); and Rupert Costo and Jeannette H. Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987).

22. H. H. Aschmann, "Distribution and Peculiarity of Mediterranean Ecosystems," in *Mediterranean Type Ecosystems: Origins and Structure,* F. di Castri and H. A. Mooney, eds. (New York: Springer, 1973), 11–19; Aschmann, "A More Restrictive Definition of Mediterranean Climates," *Bulletin, Botanical Society of France, Actual Botany* 2, 3, and 4 (1985):21–30. Fire is included by ecologists as a component of the California climate, as most completely described by *Proceedings, California Tall Timbers Fire Ecology Conference,* ed. E. V. Komarek (Tallahassee, Florida. Tall Timbers Research Station, 1968).

23. California has about 11,000 soil series, an unusually high diversity for the state's area. H. Jenny, R. J. Arkley, and A. M. Schultz, "The Pygmy Forest Podzol Ecosystem and its Dune Associates of the Mendocino Coast," *Madrono* 20 (1969):60–74; A. Kruckeberg, "California Serpentines," *University of California Publications in Botany* 78 (1984): 1–180. A more general reference on geologic substrates is R. M. Norris and R. W. Webb, *Geology of California,* 2nd ed. (New York: Wiley, 1990).

24. There have been several efforts to map and classify California vegetation. These have divided California into as few as 29 and as many as 375 units. Full references are as follows:

Anonymous, *California Vegetation* [a map] (Sacramento: Teale Data Center, 1991); W. L. Colwell, Jr., "The Status of Vegetation Mapping in California Today," in *Terrestrial Vegetation of California, M. G. Barbour and J. Major, eds. (Sacramento: California Native Plant Society, 1988), 195–220; C. B. Goudey and D. W. Smith,* Ecological Units of California: Subsections (Albany: USDA Forest Service, PSW-map, 1994); R. F. Holland, *Preliminary Descriptions of the Terrestrial Natural Communities of California* (Sacramento: California Resources Agency, California Department of Fish and Game, 1986); S. C. Hunter and T. E. Paysen, *Vegetation Classification System for California* (Berkeley: USDA Forest Service, Gen. Tech. Rep. PSW-94, 1986); H. A. Jensen, "A System for Classifying Vegetation in California," *California Fish and Game* 33 (1947):199–266; A. W. Kuchler, "The Map of the Vegetation of California," in *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* ed. M. G. Barbour and J. Major, 909–38; W. J. Matyas and I. Parker, *CALVEG, Mosaic of Existing Vegetation of California* (San Francisco: USDA Forest Service, Regional Ecology Group, 1980); K. Mayer and W. Laudenslayer, *A Guide to Wildlife Habitats of California* (Sacramento: California Resources Agency, Department of Forestry and Fire Protection, 1988); P. A. Munz and D. D. Keck, *A California Flora* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1959); J. O. Sawyer and T. Keeler-Wolf, *A Manual of California Vegetation* (Sacramento: California Native Plant Society, 1995).

25. We recommend four reviews of the climate and vegetation of California during the past 2 to sixty million years: D. I. Axelrod, "Evolution of Madro-Tertiary Geoflora," *Botanical Review* 24 (1958):433–509; D. I. Axelrod, "History of the Coniferous Forests, California and Nevada,"*University of California Publications in Botany* 70 (1976):1–62; D. I. Axelrod, "Outline History of California Vegetation," in *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 2nd ed., M. G. Barbour and J. Major (Sacramento: California Native Plant Society, 1988), 139– 92; A. Graham, "History of the Vegetation," in *Flora of North America,* vol. 1, Flora of North America Editorial Committee (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 57–70.

26. According to James Hickman's recent state flora, California encompasses 5,862 species and 1,169 subspecies or varieties, for a total of 7,061 taxa. Some 1,023 of these taxa have been introduced but now grow wild (that is, they are called "naturalized"). This list does not, then, include introduced plants that only survive where tended in gardens, orchards, farms, etc. About 30 percent of our native taxa are endemic to California, found nowhere else in the world except where they have been introduced. J. C. Hickman, ed., *The Jepson Manual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

27. Richard A. Minnich and E. Franco-Vizcaino, *Land of Chamise and Pines: Historical Descriptions of Northern Baja California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, in press for 1997 publication).

28. Kuchler, "Map of Vegetation of California."

29. Barbour and Johnson, "Beach and Dune," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 223–61; B. M. Pavlik, "Nutrient and Productivity Relations of the Dune Grasses *Ammophila arenaria* and *Elymus mollis,* I: Blade Photosynthesis and N Use Efficiency in the Laboratory and Field," *Oecologia* 57 (1983):227–32, "II: Growth and Patterns of Dry Matter and N Allocation as Influenced by N Supply," 233–38, and "III: Spatial Aspects of Clonal Expansion with Reference to Rhizome Growth and the Dispersal of Buds, "*Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* (110):271–79. See also Pavlik, "Water Relations of the Dune Grasses *Ammophila arenaria* and *Elymus mollis* on the Coast of Oregon, USA," *Oikos* 45 (1985):197–205.

30. Jensen, et al., *In Our Own Hands.*

31. H. H. Heady, T. C. Foin, M. M. Hektner, D. W. Taylor, M. G. Barbour, and W. J. Barry, "Coastal Prairie and Northern Coastal Scrub," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 733–60.

32. W. E. Westman, "Factors Influencing the Distribution of Species of Californian Coastal Sage Scrub," *Ecology* 62 (1981):439–55, and "Diversity Relations and Succession in Californian Coastal Sage Scrub," *Ecology* 62 (1981):170–84; Richard A. Minnich and R. J. Dezzani, "Historical Decline of Coastal Sage Scrub in the Parris Plain, California," in *Proceedings of the Symposium on the California Gnat Catcher,*ed. T. A. Scott and J. T. Rtenberry, (San Francisco: Cooper Ornithological Society, in press for 1997 publication).

33. Redwood trees tolerate floods by generating new roots near the soil surface, within the layer of flood-deposited silt that suffocates the deeper roots of other species. Redwood seedlings also survive much better when they germinate on bare mineral soil (flood-deposited silt) than when they germinate on litter. Redwood trees tolerate ground fires because their thick bark insulates the living cambium from high temperatures. Fires and floods recur in redwood forests on the average of once a century. See P. J. Zinke, "The Redwood Forest and Associated North Coast Forests," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 679–732. Also Jerry Franklin, "Pacific Northwest," in *North American Terrestrial Vegetation,* 2nd ed., eds, M. G. Barbour and W. D. Billings (New York: Cambridge University Press, in press for 1997 publication), ch. 4. A more recent, lay-oriented summary of coast redwood ecology is *The Coast Redwood: A Natural and Cultural History,* ed. J. Evarts (Los Olivos: Cachuma Press, in press for 1997 publication).

34. The mosaic of woodland, grassland, savanna, and chaparral seems to be caused by differences in topography, soil depth, and fire frequency. M. G. Barbour, B. M. Pavlik, F. R. Drysdale, and S. A. Lindstrom, *California's Changing Landscapes* (Sacramento: California Native Plant Society, 1993), and Elna Bakker, *An Island Called California,* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

35. Vegetational, floristic, and land-use changes in California's central prairie have been described by W. J. Barry, *The Central Valley Prairie* (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1972); H. F. Heady, "Valley Grassland," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 491–514; and L. T. Burcham, "Historical Background of Range Land Use in California," *Journal of Range Management* 9 (1956):81–86.

36. M. G. Barbour and R. A. Minnich, "Californian Upland Forests and Woodlands," in Barbour and Billings, *North American Terrestrial Vegetation,* ch. 5; M. I. Borchert, F. W. Davis, J. Michaelsen, and L. D. Oyler, "Interactions of Factors Affecting Seedling Recruitment of Blue Oak (*Quercus douglasii*) in California," *Ecology* 70 (1989):389–404; D. R. Gordon and K. J. Rice, "Competitive Effects of Grassland Annuals on Soil Water and Blue Oak (*Quercus douglasii*) Seedlings," *Oecologia* 79 (1993):533–41; P. C. Muick and J. W. Bartolome, *An Assessment of Natural Regeneration of Oaks in California* (Sacramento: California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection, 1987); B. M. Pavlik, P. C. Muick, S. Johnson, and J. Popper, *Oaks of California* (Los Olivos: Cachuma Press, 1991); and J. M. Welker and J. W. Menke, "The Influence of Simulated Browsing on Tissue Water Relations, Growth, and Survival of *Quercus douglasii* (Hook and Arn.) Seedlings Under Slow and Rapid Rates of Soil Drought," *Functional Ecology* 4 (1990):807–817.

37. T. L. Hanes, "California Chaparral," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 417–69; and J. Keeley, "Chaparral," in Barbour and Billings, *North American Terrestrial Vegetation,* ch. 6.

38. A lapse rate is the rate of change in some environmental factors in relation to elevation. Jack Major, "California Climate in Relation to Vegetation," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 11–74. The mean elevational displacement of all tree species between Lassen and Yosemite national parks is steeper than for any other temperate zone mountain range. A. J. Parker, "Latitudinal Gradients of Coniferous Tree Species, Vegetation, and Climate in the Sierran-Cascade Axis of Northern California," *Vegetatio* 115 (1994):145–55.

39. John Muir, *The Mountains of California* (New York: Dorset Press, 1988), 141–42. The impact of natural ground fires on the structure and species composition of mixed conifer forest has been discussed by many authors, most recently Chi-ru Chang, "Ecosystem Responses to Fire and Variations in Fire Regimes," in *Status of the Sierra Nevada,* vol. 2, ed. SNEP Science Team (University of California, Davis: Wildland Resources Center Report 36, 1996), ch. 39; B. M. Kilgore, "Fire in Ecosystem Distribution and Structure: Western Forests and Scrublands," in *Fire Regimes and Ecosystem Properties,* ed. H. A. Mooney (Washington, D.C.: USDA Forest Service, General Technical Report WO-26, 1981), 58–80; R. A. Minnich, M. G. Barbour, J. H. Burk, and R. F. Fernau, "Sixty Years of Change in California Conifer Forest of the San Bernardino Mountains," *Conservation Biology* 9 (1995):902–14; R. A. Minnich, M. G. Barbour, J. H. Burk, and J. Sosa-Ramirez, "Californian Conifer Forests under Unmanaged Fire Regimes in the Sierra San Pedro Martir, Baja California, Mexico," *Ecological Monographs* (in review for 1997 publication); P. W. Rundel, D. J. Parsons, and D. T. Gordon, "Montane and Subalpine Vegetation of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Ranges," in Barbour and Major, *Terrestrial Vegetation of California,* 559–99; and T. W. Swetnam, "Fire History and Climatic Change in Giant Sequoia Groves," *Science* 262 (1993):885–90.

40. Air pollutants that affect vegetation in the mountains are primarily those released in automobile exhaust or that result from exhaust fumes interacting with oxygen in the presence of sunlight. Major phytotoxicants are ozone, nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons such as PAN, and sulfur dioxide. Ozone appears to be the most important phytotoxicant in this complex. G. G. Bradford, A. L. Page, and J. R. Straughan, "Are Sierra Lakes Becoming Acid?" *California Agriculture* (May– June 1981):6–7; T. A. Cahill, J. J. Carroll, D. Campbell, and T. E. Gill, "Air Quality," in *Status of the Sierra Nevada,* vol.2, ch. 48, and P. R. Miller, "Biological Effects of Air Pollution in the Sierra Nevada," in *Status of the Sierra Nevada,* vol.3, ed. SNEP Science Team (University of California, Davis: Wildland Resources Center, 1996), 885–900.

41. M. G. Barbour, N. Berg, T. Kittel, and M. Kunz, "Snowpack and the Distribution of a Major Vegetation Ecotone in the Sierra Nevada of California," *Journal of Biogeography* 18 (1991):141–49.

42. Very little is known about fire behavior and fire frequency in upper montane forests. M. G. Barbour and J. A. Antos, "Age Structure and Fire History of Old-Growth Red Fir Stands in the Northern Sierra Nevada, California," *Conservation Biology,* in press for 1998 publication; C. B. Chappell and J. K. Agee , "Fire Severity and Seedling Establishment in *Abies magnifica* Forests, Southern Cascades, Oregon," *Ecological Applications* 6 (1996):628–40; D. C. Pitcher, "Fire History and Age Structure in Red Fir Forests of Sequoia National Park, California," *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 17 (1987):582–87; A. H. Taylor and C. B. Halpern, "Structure and Dynamics of *Abies magnifica* Forests in the Southern Cascade Range, USA," *Journal of Vegetation Science* 2 (1991):189–200; and A. H. Taylor, "Fire History and Structure of Red Fir (*Abies magnifica*) Forests, Swain Mountain Experimental Forest, Cascade Range, Northeastern California," *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 23 (1993):1672–78.

43. M. G. Barbour and R. A. Minnich, "Californian Upland Forests and Woodlands," in Barbour and Billings, *North American Terrestrial Vegetation,* ch. 5; and *Forest Cover Types of the United States and Canada,* F. H. Eyre, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Society of American Foresters, 1980); the upper limit of tree distribution—that is, the limit between subalpine woodland and alpine tundra—appears to be linked with warmth during the growing season. H. A. Mooney, R. D. Wright, and B. R. Strain, "Field Measurements of the Metabolic Responses of Bristlecone Pine and Big Sagebrush in the White Mountains of California," *American Midland Naturalist* 72 (1964):281–97. Timberline elevation has shifted up and down with warm and cold centuries during the past 6,000 years. R. S.Anderson, "Holocene Forest Development and Paleoclimates Within the Central Sierra Nevada, California," *Journal of Ecology* 78 (1990):470–89; L. J. Graumlich, "Subalpine Tree Growth, Climate, and Increasing CO_2: An Assessment of Recent Growth Trends," *Ecology* 72 (1991):1–11; and L. J. Graumlich, "A 1000-Year Record of Temperature and Precipitation in the Sierra Nevada," *Quaternary Research* 39 (1993):249–55.

44. W. D. Billings, "Adaptations and Origins of Alpine Plants," *Arctic and Alpine Research* 6 (1974):129–42; and B. F. Chabot and W. D. Billings, "Origins and Ecology of the Sierran Alpine Flora and Vegetation," *Ecological Monographs* 42 (1972):163–99.

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3

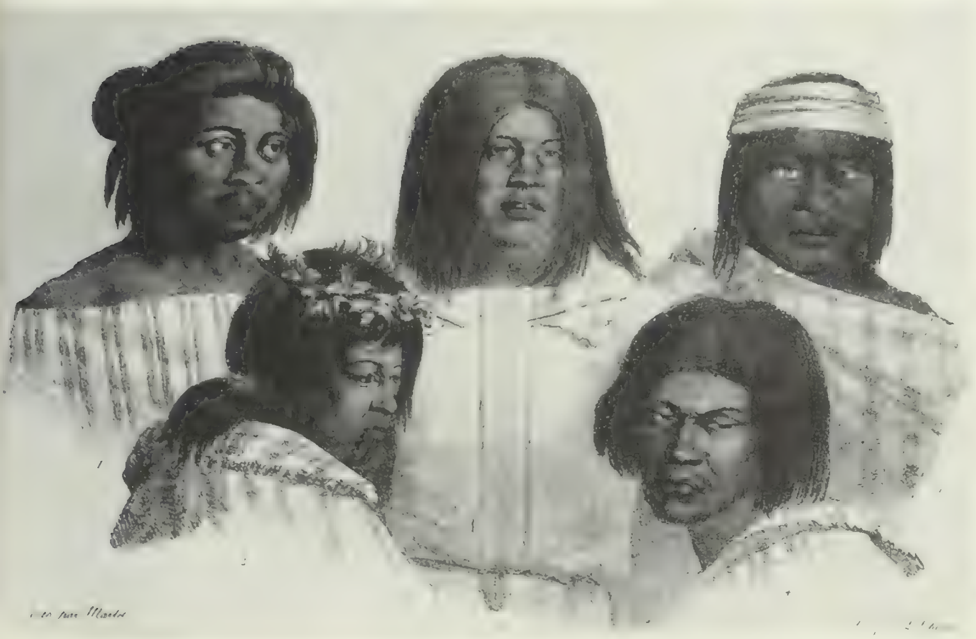
Indian Peoples of California

William S. Simmons

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a glimpse of certain key aspects of California Indian life shortly before and after the beginning of European colonization. Although it includes the entire area encompassed by the present-day state of California, the focus primarily is on the peoples who inhabited the north and south Coast Ranges, the Sacramento and San Joaquin river valleys, and the western Sierra. In selecting and depicting the topics to be emphasized, I have tried to present a balance between a comparative approach that suggests the great diversity of native California peoples, certain shared characteristics of their cultures, and specific details of particular local communities. In constructing this account, I have given substantial attention to the actual voices of those Native Californians, missionaries, anthropologists, linguists, and others whose testimonies have shaped the understanding of California Indian life at the threshold of the historic period.

Native Americans had been living in what is today known as California for perhaps fifteen thousand years before explorers from New Spain first visited by ship and gave the area its present name. In the three centuries between 1542, when the expedition of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo reconnoitered the California coast, and 1849, when immigrant gold miners flooded the remote waterways of the Sierra, all California Indians had been exposed to and overwhelmed by colonists seeking labor, land, furs, and gold. According to the most reliable estimates, the indigenous population numbered around 310,000 persons who spoke perhaps as many as one hundred mutually unintelligible languages. By the late nineteenth century the native population had declined to a low point of some twenty thousand survivors, and many language communities had begun to disappear. While the California Indian population has been growing steadily through the twentieth century, the number of spoken languages has declined to perhaps half of the original figure, and most of these persist only among a few elderly people.



The faces of five native men drawn by Louis Choris at San Francisco in 1816 compose a poignant and powerful image of California mission Indians in the final years of Spanish rule. Choris, who served as the official artist of a Russian exploring expedition commanded by Otto von Kotzebue, created the most sensitive and significant pictorial record of California Indians under Hispanic rule extant. *Habitants de Californie,* one of a dozen lithographs made from Choris's watercolors, appeared in the artist's *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde,* published in Paris in 1822. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30510.*

An understanding of California Indian life before European colonization is complicated by at least four factors. First, California has an unusual history in the sense that it was colonized in different areas at different times in the course of four frontier expansions: Spanish, Russian, Mexican, and American. For those natives who lived in the path of initial Spanish settlement, the colonial period began in 1769 with the establishment of the mission and presidio at San Diego. For groups that lived outside the orbits of Spanish, Russian, and Mexican influence, in the foothills and remote valleys of the Sierra, colonization began in the American period after the discovery of gold in 1848. The second factor is the extreme geographical diversity of native groups, which makes it difficult to generalize about their many cultures. The speakers of the approximately one hundred languages lived in as many as five hundred autonomous land-owning communities, often referred to as tribelets, which differed regionally in their environments, material cultures, myths, and social practices. The third factor is that, prior to colonization, Native Californians did not possess knowledge of writing and therefore did not document their own experiences through the written word. Modern interpreters of pre-colonial life have drawn heavily upon accounts written about Indians by others such as missionaries, soldiers, miners, journalists, travelers, historians, linguists, and anthropologists, and upon the independent work of archaeologists. Fourth, the written sources pertain mainly to the period after colonization, when the native peoples had been influenced to varying degrees by their relationships with the foreigners who settled in their territories. Although a few sources directly reflect the perspectives of Native Californians who were living at the time of initial colonization, most are "downstream" accounts, written at a later date and based on the experiences, memories, and traditions of persons who lived after the Spanish, Mexicans, Russians, and Americans had long been present. Such downstream accounts, taken with appropriate caution, and combined where possible with archaeological testimony, are an important key to deciphering and envisaging the "upstream" world of California Indian life as it existed in the pre-colonial period.[1]

RESEARCH TRENDS

The Spanish, Mexicans, Russians, and Americans who initially colonized California represented the final stage of their respective frontier movements. All had encountered and subdued many native peoples (some wealthier, some more powerful than the Native Californians) in the course of their territorial expansions. They also brought with them a legacy of increasing disinterest in the cultural lives and languages of native peoples, which contributed to a widely shared belief that Native Californians were among the world's least cultured people. This negative cultural stereotype of California Indians, which originated in rationalizations of the various outsiders who displaced them, persisted throughout the historical period and is still commonplace today. Hubert Howe Bancroft, for example, saw California's natives as almost without culture by comparison with other North American Indians: "The missionary Fathers found a virgin field whereon neither god nor devil was worshiped."[2]

Historians, anthropologists, and linguists interested in pre-colonial Indian life in California long ago discarded the evolutionary framework evident in Bancroft's work and in the assumptions of numerous late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century writers, in favor of more ethnographically descriptive and less evaluative approaches based on the analysis of material data, field research, and the firsthand testimonies of living people. Even Bancroft, to his considerable credit, was responsible for the collection of important personal testimony from former mission Indians. The earliest ethnographers and linguists, such as Roland B. Dixon, Pliny Earle Goddard, Alfred L. Kroeber, C. Hart Merriam, Constance G. Du Bois, John Alden Mason, John Peabody Harrington, Samuel A. Barrett, and Edward Winslow

The Chumash Indian Kitsepawit, better known by his Hispanic name, Fernando Librado, was born early in the nineteenth century and lived well into the following century. It was from natives such as Librado, who spent his early years at Mission La Purísima, that Alfred Kroeber, John Harrington, and other pioneer anthropologists learned much about California Indian language, history, and culture. *Courtesy Lompoc Valley Historical Society, Lompoc, Calif.*

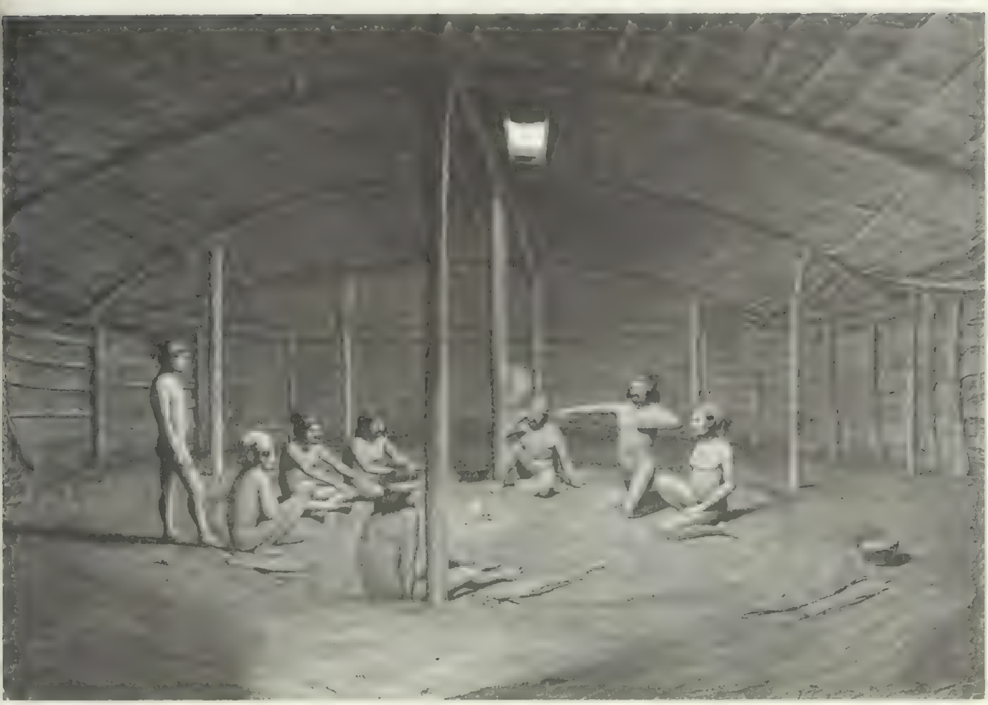
Gifford, focused intensively on the "memory culture" of those individuals who were thought to be most knowledgeable about life as it existed before colonization or during the initial historic period. Interest in the past, what Kroeber once described as "the purely aboriginal, the uncontaminatedly native," dominated research on Native Californians until the 1930s, when anthropologists in general turned away from "conjectural history" to the study of how communities functioned in the present and how they fared in the course of change.[3] Although the value of memory culture research among present-day Native Californians has by no means been exhausted, its potential for illuminating pre-colonial or early colonial Indian life becomes more attenuated with succeeding generations.

The cumulative early ethnographic achievement in California, largely inspired by the influence of Alfred L. Kroeber, and published in the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnography* and in the *Anthropological Records,* is a remarkable source for Native Californian personal testimony, particularly by comparison to what is available for other regions of North America. These earlier monographs and the associated unpublished fieldnotes continue to reward anthropologists, historians, natives, and others in their ongoing efforts to better understand the character of indigenous life in California. An array of recent work demonstrates the sophisticated ways in which California hunter-gatherers managed their diverse plant and animal habitats to sustain population densities extraordinary for hunting-gathering societies, including those with limited agriculture. In a recent overview of complex hunter-gatherer societies of the Pacific coastal region, including California, Kent Lightfoot suggested that the "late prehistoric and early contact period societies in the Pacific represent the upper range of sociopolitical development supported by hunter-gatherer economies."[4] Scholars continue to explore and debate the actual levels of political hierarchy and extents of territorial authority that formerly existed. Other new work advances the interpretation of such topics as the long-term development of craft specialization, gender identities and relationships, population health and disease, mythical and other oral narratives, religious belief and organization, and world-view, in late prehistoric and early historic times.[5]

CULTURE AREAS

Early, as well as recent, scholars, in their attempts to describe the geographical diversity of California Indian communities, have tended to follow a "culture area" approach that originated in the theoretical interests of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century anthropologists. Kroeber, for example, proposed six such areas (northwest, northeast, central, southern, Great Basin, and lower Colorado) based on language groupings and what he described as culture element distributions.[6]

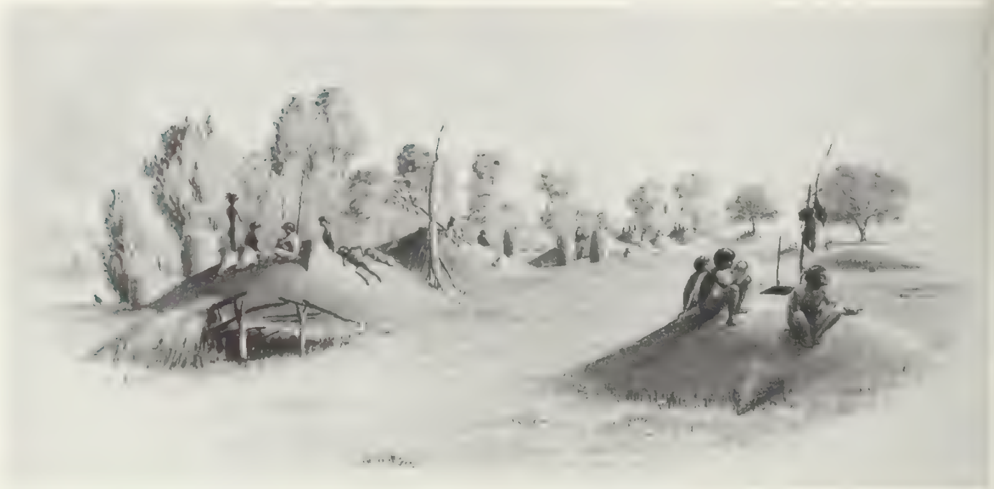
Central California, considered by Kroeber to be the most distinctively Californian culture area, included a vast expanse of the north and south coasts, as well as the adjoining Coast Ranges, the Sacramento and San Joaquin river valleys, and the foothills and high valleys of the northern and southern Sierra. Although the hunting and gathering economies of this area varied according to the availability of local resources, most communities had access to salmon, acorns, deer, elk, pronghorn, rabbits, and waterfowl, as well as to insects, roots, berries, and seeds. Coastal groups depended on a variety of marine resources, including shellfish and sea mammals, in addition to fish. Languages indigenous to this area included Pomo, Miwok, Wintun, Maidu, Yana, Yuki, Ohlone (also known as Costanoan), Esselen, Salinan, Western Mono or Monache, and Yokuts. The rich ceremonial life of the central California area centered on the roundhouse, a large wood-framed structure that was built of posts and rafters over an excavated pit and then covered with earth. As noted by Robert Heizer and Albert Elsasser, family dwellings over much of central California were essentially small versions of the larger ceremonial houses. Villages of such houses, warm in winter and cool in summer, looked like little clusters of hills with smoke rising from openings at the top. Another widespread dwelling type, particularly in mountainous and forested areas, was the conical house constructed of redwood or pine boards and bark slabs. Although women throughout Native California made fine basketry, specific groups differed in their weaving techniques and decorative styles. The Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Ohlone of central California were particularly distinguished for the feather and shell bead decorating techniques they



Native men play a game of chance in their ceremonial roundhouse near the head of the Sacramento Valley. Henry B. Brown, who made the field sketches for this composition near Tehama in the spring of 1852, relied on traditional aesthetic principles in turning his original studies into finished drawings, as did other artists of the day. "I procured two portraits there," he wrote of the creative process that produced the image, "and an interior of a large council house 39 feet in diameter and twelve feet high, into which I shall put a group gambling from studies taken on the spot, a singular & striking scene with a Rembrandt effect of chiar'oscuro." *Courtesy John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.*

applied to the exteriors of their baskets. Knowledge of pottery vessel manufacture, while not widespread, had diffused from the eastern Sierra to the Western Mono and to a few foothill Yokuts tribelets, and to the ancestors of the Plains Miwok in the lower Sacramento Valley.[7]

The southern area from north to south includes the Chumash, Gabrielino; Luiseño, and Kumeyaay (or Diegueño) of the coast, and the Serrano, Cupeño, and Cahuilla of the interior. Earliest explorers along this coast, particularly in the Santa Barbara Channel area, found large, populous villages of hunters and gatherers with sea-going plank canoes, who harvested sea mammals and ocean fish in addition to abundant shellfish. Recent archaeological research in this region suggests a tendency toward sociopolitical ranking and increasingly larger chiefdoms, as well as craft specialization, shortly before the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth cen-



A typical Konkow Maidu village in the upper Sacramento Valley as depicted in 1852 by Henry B. Brown. Scattered about the subterranean dwelling houses are acorn granaries, where the natives stored the nuts that composed one of their basic food sources. *Courtesy John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.*

tury.[8] Acorns, while less available than they were in some moister areas of central California, were nevertheless an important staple. The Chumash, in addition to being capable mariners, also perfected the skill of stoneworking to produce elegant flat-bottomed sandstone mortars, graceful long stone pestles, steatite animal effigies, and steatite bowls. The southernmost groups in this area (Kamia, Kumeyaay, and Cahuilla) made pottery vessels, a culture element that they shared with the greater Southwest culture area of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico. These same groups and their immediate neighbors may have practiced a limited "kitchen garden" type of agriculture that appears to have originated from more developed practices among Colorado River peoples.[9]

In the northwest area, which included such language groups as Hupa, Yurok, Karok, and Wiyot, riverine and coastal food resources and heavy redwood timber abounded. Their rich material culture included an array of fishing and sea hunting technologies as well as woodworking tools such as adzes, mauls, and wedges for constructing dugout canoes and substantial houses. Wealth and status differences were more pronounced here than in most other areas of California, and local leaders tended to be the wealthiest men, but their influence was mainly over their own kin, and a village might have several such leaders. The peoples of northwest California shared a number of cultural affiliations with their coastal hunting and gathering neighbors to the north and for this reason are generally considered to be a periphery of the Pacific Northwest Coast culture area that extends from northwest California to Alaska.

The northeast culture area of California, home to speakers of the Modoc, Achomawi, and Atsugewi languages, was considered by Kroeber and others to be a periphery of the interior Columbia-Fraser Plateau culture area to the north. Economic life in this area centered on hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild roots and seeds. Late prehistoric inhabitants of the Pit River drainage are known to have manufactured pottery bowls, most probably for serving food.

The Great Basin culture area of California extended along the eastern watershed of the Sierra and included some of the interior regions of southern California. Here lived mainly desert hunting and gathering groups such as the Northern Paiute, Washo, Mono, Owens Valley Paiute, and Chemehuevi, who are considered to be a western periphery of a much larger culture area that extends into Nevada and Utah. Although the economy of Great Basin peoples was heavily dependent on rabbit hunting and gathering seed and root crops (particularly pine nuts, but also acorns), the Owens Valley Paiute developed a distinctive agricultural practice that required communal labor to prepare ditches and dams to irrigate and thus increase the productivity of wild plants.[10]

The lower Colorado River groups included the Yuma, Mohave, and Halchidhoma, who were the primary California hunters and gatherers to also practice subsistence farming. Situated at the western periphery of the greater Southwest culture area, with its agricultural peoples such as the Hopi, Pima, and Havasupai, they regularly cultivated several varieties of maize and beans, as well as pumpkins, on the floodplains of the Colorado River. The Yuma and Mohave were also among the few California groups to manufacture pottery vessels, another element that they shared with cultures of the greater Southwest.

Kroeber and others who initiated the culture-area classifications did so in part to better understand the prehistoric formation of and relationships among California native cultures. Prior to the discovery of accurate dating techniques such as carbon-14, obsidian hydration, and tree-ring dating, scholars tried to determine the relative antiquity of specific cultural elements by investigating their distributions among contemporary people. The more widespread an element, for example, the more ancient it might be. Their efforts to map culture element distributions also reflected early interest in the relationship between cultural adaptation and environment.

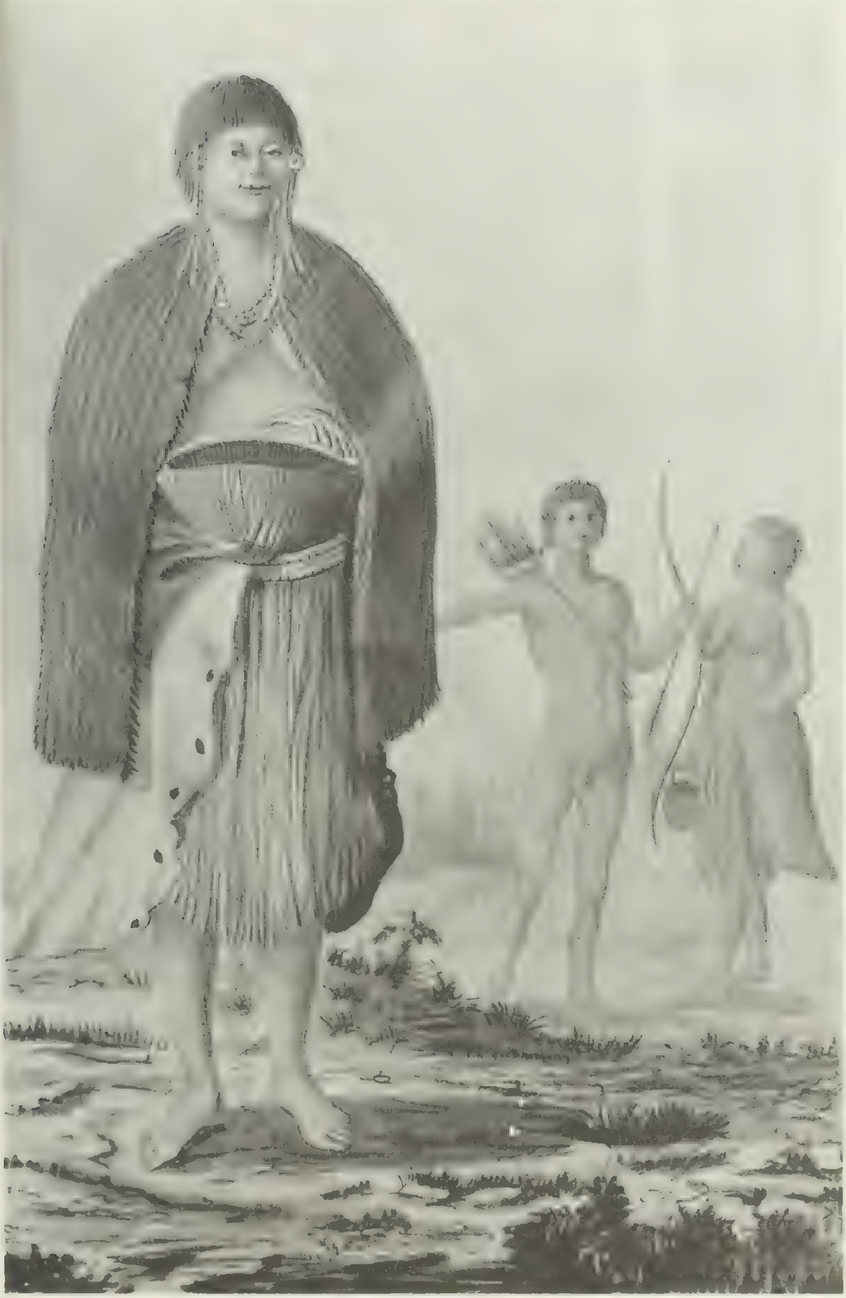
While the relation of material culture to environment continues to be an essential interest, much of the theoretical purpose to constructing culture-area classifications has passed out of fashion in anthropology. The regional classifications that Kroeber formulated, however, remain in widespread use as a conventional, if imprecise, way to talk about and summarize the regional diversity of California peoples. The boundaries of such units are nevertheless often blurred. The Achomawi people of the northeast culture area of California are considered to be a fringe of the Columbia-Fraser Plateau area, yet they intermarried with and shared elements of material culture and mythology with their Maidu neighbors of the central California area to the south. Again, the several groups such as the Yurok and Hupa in the northwest culture area of California, considered to be the southern fringe of the Pacific Northwest Coast area, shared mythological elements with central and northeastern California.

LANGUAGES

California is one of the most linguistically diverse areas in the world. Linguists tend to classify California languages by means of a four-level system of stock, family, language, and dialect.[11] When anthropologists and linguists speak of California "tribes," they generally mean language families or languages, not actual social groups with territorial boundaries and unifying political leadership. Recent classifications suggest that all California languages derive from one of seven stocks known to linguists as Hokan, Penutian, Utian, Algic, Na-Dene, Uto-Aztecan, and Yukian. The Hokan stock, for example, includes several families, one of which is Pomoan, which in turn includes seven distinct languages (Northern, Northeastern, Eastern, Central, Southeastern, Southern, and Kashaya Pomo). To speak of the Pomo "tribe," therefore, is really to speak of a large family of languages, not of an actual social group with a leadership structure. The Penutian stock divides into the Wintun and Maidun families, the latter of which includes Northeastern Maidu, Konkow, and Nisenan. Utian comprises such well-known families as Miwokan (eight languages: Lake Miwok, Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, East Central Sierra Miwok, West Central Sierra Miwok, Southern Sierra Miwok), Costanoan or Ohlone (eight languages: Karkin, Chochenyo, Tamien, Ramaytush, Awaswas, Rumsen, Mutsun, Chalon), and Yokutsan (seven languages: Choynumni, Chukchansi, Dumna, Tachi, Wukchumne, Yowlumni, Gashowu). Languages may in turn be divided into dialects. The northeastern Maidu, for example, lived in four regions, Susanville, Big Meadows, Indian Valley, and American Valley, each with its local dialect.

TRIBELETS

Most California native people, particularly in the central, northeastern, and southern areas, lived intimately with perhaps two to five hundred persons in small well-defined territories under the traditional authority of a leader who almost always was a male. Kroeber and others since have referred to these autonomous land-owning groups as "tribelets," or as village-communities.[12] In most cases, the residents of such communities lived independently of any authority other than that of the local chief or headman, whose primary responsibilities were to oversee the economic



Drawn by José Cardero, an artist with the Spanish voyage of discovery that visited California in 1791 under the command of Alejandro Malaspina, *India y Indio de Monterey* depicts Esselen or Rumsen Costanoan natives encountered at the presidio or Mission Carmel. One of the earliest images of California Indians derived from direct observation, it shows the woman wearing the traditional native costume of braided tule skirt, buckskin rear apron, and sea-otter skin robe. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

life of the group, assist in settling disputes, and represent the group to outsiders. Among the Ohlone or Costanoan of the San Francisco Bay Area, these tribelet territories extended some eight to twelve miles in diameter and contained populations of some two hundred to four hundred individuals. Where resources were particularly abundant, as in the Pomo territories around Clear Lake, and in the coastal Chumash areas, population densities tended be high and the overall territory claimed by the tribelet might be relatively compact. The entire Pomo-speaking population lived in some seventy-two tribelets, ranging in population from about 125 to about 1,500 persons each and occupying an average territory of perhaps one hundred square miles. Achomawi tribelet communities of northeast California needed larger territiories to support their more dispersed hunting and gathering activities.

Although a great deal of regional variation existed, tribelets tended to include a central village where the headman lived and that served as the political and religious center for several smaller settlements nearby. Headmen had more power, and in general status differences tended to be more pronounced, in tribelet areas particularly favored by abundant food resources and materials sought by other groups in trade. Yet there was variation. The Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Foothills lived in an area of abundant food resources, but appeared to Anna Gayton as egalitarian in their social and property relationships:

> Though wealth was regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attendants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated.[13]

Among the Yurok of the northwest, an area characterized by abundant maritime resources and large, sedentary villages, an aristocratic social stratum existed, and property differences between the *peyerk,* or "aristocrats," and the "commoners" were pronounced.

Given the smallness of many tribelet territories, the lower end of the range being around fifty square miles, the inhabitants knew each other, their terrain, resources, and boundaries exceedingly well. Robert Heizer once commented that "California Indians, while perhaps knowing individuals in neighboring tribelets, for the most part lived out their lives mainly within their own limited and familiar territory. Nothing illustrates more the deep-seated provincialism and attachment to the place of their birth . . . than the abundantly documented wish for persons who had died away from home to have their bodies (or their ashes . . .) returned for burial at their natal village."[14] In some cases, as among the Pomo and Yokuts, tribelet boundaries appear to have been somewhat flexible. Among the Maidun peoples of the Sacramento Valley and the Sierra, wrote Roland Dixon, "the area owned by each ommunity was very definite, and its exact limits were known and marked. . . . Each ribe or group of communities kept its boundary-lines constantly patrolled by men, who were to see that no poaching took place, and that the rights of each tribe were respected."[15] Stephen Powers recorded an extraordinary early account of how Mattole mothers of northwest California imparted the significance of tribelet boundaries and geography to their children:

> Besides the coyote stories with which gifted [women] amuse their children, and which are common throughout all this region, there prevails among the Mattoal a custom which might almost be dignified with the name of geographical study. In the first place, it is necessary to premise that the boundaries of all the tribes on Humboldt Bay, Eel River, Van Dusen's Fork, and in fact everywhere, are marked with the greatest precision, being defined by certain creeks, canyons, bowlders, conspicuous trees, springs, etc., each one of which objects has its own individual name. It is perilous for an Indian to be found outside of his tribal boundaries, wherefore it stands him well in hand to make himself acquainted with the same early in life. Accordingly the [women] teach these things to their children in a kind of sing-song. . . . Over and over, time and again, they rehearse all these bowlders, etc., describing each minutely and by name, with its surroundings. Then when the children are old enough, they take them around to beat the bounds . . . and so wonderful is the Indian memory naturally, and so faithful has been their instruction, that the little shavers generally recognize the objects from the descriptions of them previously given by their mothers.[16]

Although tribelet communities knew their boundaries and often were protective of them, neighboring groups had many customary understandings by which they could visit nearby areas for hunting, gathering, and trade. Thomas Jefferson Mayfield, a white man who was raised in a Choynumni Yokuts tribelet in the 1850s, recalled two long tule rafting trips to the territory of a Tachi Yokuts tribelet on Tulare Lake, where they hunted ducks and rabbits and caught fish:

> After I had been with the Indians periodically several months the time came for them to make one of their annual pilgrimages to Tulare Lake. I am sure that it was their habit to go there yearly. The lake shore was held by the Tachi tribe, but the tribe I was with was quite friendly with the Tachis, and they made no objection to our using the lake shore. . . .
>
> Occasionally we met or saw Indians from other tribes along the river. They were all friendly and seemed to take our trip as a matter of course. I remember that once a party of three of these Indians rode with us all day.
>
> At the lake we made a permanent camp on some high ground along a slough. I believe that they had used this place before, as one of the mokees [women] dug up a mortar and pestle that had been buried there previously.

> We found the lake Indians near us living in some ways quite differently from the Indians at Sycamore creek. They talked enough of our language that we could understand them readily, but the rest of their life differed more than the language.[17]

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The chief or headman throughout most of California was generally responsible for overseeing the production, distribution, and conservation of food and other material resources in his kinship, village, or tribelet domain. Although most such leaders were male, exceptions did occur, one of which Cabrillo reported among the Chumash in November of 1542: "The chief of these towns is an old Indian woman who came on board the ships and slept two nights . . . many others doing the same."[18] The chieftainship was usually hereditary, passing generally from father to son but, as in the case of the Northern Sierra Miwok, sometimes to a daughter in lieu of a son, or in the case of the Central Pomo of the Yokaya tribelet, "from a man to his sister's son."[19] In some cases, including the Central Pomo and Eastern Coastal Chumash, several chiefs might exercise authority in a particular territory. All groups, even those that emphasized hereditary succession, allowed room for the selection or deselection of particular individuals.

Particular headmen were known to invite the members of nearby tribelet communities for special occasions such as the completion of a new roundhouse, but despite gatherings initiated by tribelet chiefs for celebrations, for ritual events, and for trade, leadership was primarily local, without formally structured political alliances like the famous League of the Iroquois, which extended over a vast area centered in northern New York. Nevertheless, Lowell Bean and others have cautioned against overlooking the degree of intertribelet organization that could be documented in the post-contact period: "Two or more tribelets were sometimes federated under a single political authority," as among the Shasta, Miwok, Chumash, Gabrielino, Tipai-Ipai, and Salinan, although local groups generally "were interconnected by temporary, nonformalized economic exchanges and by formal secular associations such as the trade feast partners."[20] When Lieutenant José María Estudillo visited the Yokuts headman, "Captain" Joasps, in 1819, he found at least 2,600 people from numerous surrounding tribelets who had assembled in his village for a mourning feast:

> I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. . . . Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out . . . in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherias. The master of the

> fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer meat, venison . . . and antelope . . . that there are in abundance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.[21]

By such gatherings, influential local chiefs cultivated good relations with their counterparts in other autonomous tribelets, thus raising their currency at home while also facilitating marriage and trade relations and therefore neighborliness between these groups.

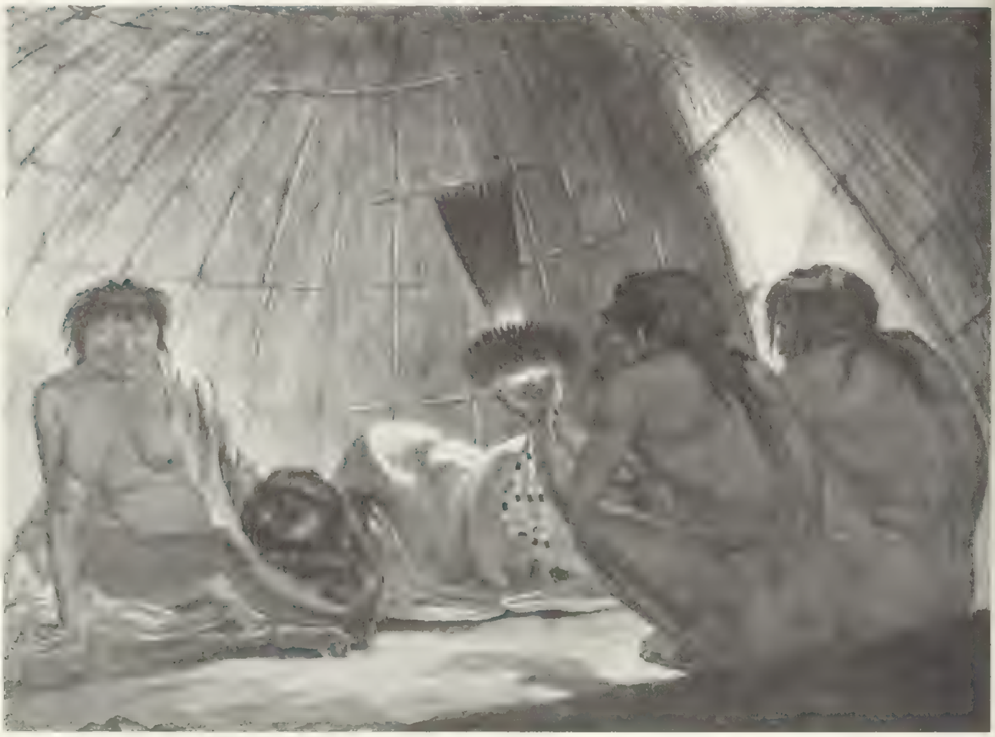
SHAMANS

Throughout California, as elsewhere in North America, communities recognized individuals, generally men but often women, who had particularly strong rapport with spirits that in turn imparted distinctive abilities to their human allies, such as the power to cure or to cause illness or death, to predict the future, to influence outcomes in hunting and war, to control weather, plant production, and natural events, and to transform themselves into spirit forms. Such individuals, referred to by anthropologists as shamans, helped reinforce conformity to community expectations through their ability to cause and cure illness. To behave poorly was to invite misfortune. Gayton's account of Yokuts shamanism describes beliefs and practices known throughout most of California:

> The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.[22]

Roland Dixon wrote of the Maidu in 1905 that "the shaman was, and still is, perhaps the most important individual. . . . the word of the shaman has great weight: as a class they are regarded with much awe, and as a rule are obeyed much more than the chief."[23]

All shamans owed their power to a dream helper, often perceived as an animal, who came invited or uninvited in a dream or vision to give them a particular mandate and who also could take it away. Depending upon the particular tribe, the ability to become a shaman could be more or less influenced by a hereditary predisposition. In the case of the Northern Maidu, for example, "if either of a man's parents is a shaman, he must inevitably be one also," typically after the parent died.[24] Maidu women also could inherit this predisposition. The dream spirits that appeared to both male and female shamans had been dreamed of by their parents and stayed in



A Pomo shaman conducts a curing ceremonial in a watercolor executed at Bodega Bay in 1818 by the Russian artist Mikhail Tikhanov. One of a series of drawings produced by Tikhanov while serving on a round-the-world expedition commanded by his countryman, V. M. Golovnin, the picture is rich in carefully observed ethnographic detail and is the earliest-known image of a Native California shaman. *Courtesy Art Research Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Image courtesy Anchorage Museum of History and Art.*

their families for generations. As the following account of the Maidu Henry Shipes's dream will attest, people with shamanistic powers might not welcome the call:

> In this dream Henry Shipes realized that the shamans had discovered that he was possessed of great supernatural power, and that they were trying to kill him because he had repulsed their efforts to coerce him [to join them]. In his dreaming he prayed for good luck so that no shaman could force him to become one, and for good luck against witchcraft. After this a Maidu shaman from Genessee appeared in his dream. The shaman came to his bed and stood over him. He told Henry Shipes that he was going to die. Henry did not answer him, but he knew certainly that this man was an enemy. . . . When the shaman left the room, a white man with a long white beard reaching to his knees appeared in the corner of Henry Shipes's room. This man was Dr. Sun. Dr. Sun came across the room to Henry and lifted him from the bed. This to Henry

> was a sign that he would become well. . . . Dr. Sun killed the shamans who were threatening Henry Shipes. The dream ended; Henry recovered from his illness, and went about his normal life.[25]

Such helpers could assist the shaman in curing or injuring others and in protecting themselves from attacks by other shamans.

In addition to being assisted by their dream helpers who spoke through them, shamans sometimes spoke in the voices of the intruding enemy spirits. In the Wintu case, an intruding spirit might speak another Indian language that an interpreter would translate for the patient and for others present at the curing ritual. Chiefs and shamans often worked together to reinforce each other's interests. Gayton noted that "In every tribe [among the Western Mono and Yokuts of the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin Valley] a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief." George Dick, who was of both Yokuts and Western Mono descent, told Gayton that "If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango [dance], the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick" by a magical "air-shot."[26] The shaman would then be called to cure the afflicted individual and divide with the chief the obligatory pay for his services. Fear of illness caused by shamans thus worked as a social sanction, in this case against tribelet members who did not contribute to the chief's social activities.

THE PERSON

Given the small territories and the close ties of kinship and marriage that connected tribelet members through succeeding numbers of generations, Native Californians knew each other and their physical landscapes intimately. In her effort to understand what may be described as the sense of self, or the person, among Wintu speakers of the northern Sacramento Valley, Dorothy Lee observed that individuals tended to identify themselves in the context of, rather than apart from, the group:

> When speaking about Wintu culture, we cannot speak of the self *and* society, but rather of the self *in* society.[27]
>
> A study of the grammatical expression of identity, relationship and otherness, shows that the Wintu conceive of the self not as strictly delimited or defined, but as a concentration, at most, which gradually fades and gives place to the other. Most of what is other for us, is for the Wintu completely or partially or upon occasion, identified with the self. For example, the Wintu do not use *and* when referring to individuals who are, or live or act together. Instead of analysing the *we* into: *John and I*, they say *John we*, using the John as a specification. Only when two individuals who are not already in relatedness are brought together, is the *and* used.[28]

When Lee asked Sadie Marsh, a Wintu woman, to speak of her life story, Marsh framed her account in terms of her relationships in a cross-generational community:

> When I asked Sadie Marsh for her autobiography, she told me a story about her first husband, based on hearsay. When I insisted on her own life history, she told me a story which she called, "my story." The first three quarters of this, approximately, are occupied with the lives of her grandfather, her uncle and her mother before her birth; finally, she reaches the point where she was "that which was in my mother's womb," and from then on she speaks of herself, also.[29]

Anthropologists Burt and Ethel Aginsky interviewed Tom Jimerson, a Pomo man who in 1935 was said to be 112 years old, and therefore lived during the periods of early Russian, as well as Mexican and American, colonization. He confirmed in a different way the point made by Lee about the strong identification of self with community:

> What is man? A man is nothing. Without his family he is of less importance than that bug crossing the trail, of less importance than spit or dung. At least they can be used to help poison a man. A man must be with his family to amount to anything with us. If he had nobody else to help him, the first trouble he got into he would be killed by his enemies because there would be no relatives to help him fight the poison of the other group. No woman would marry him because her family would not let her marry a man with no family. . . . Each person was nothing; but as a group, joined by blood, the individual knew that he would get the support of all his relatives if anything happened. He also knew that if he was a bad person the head man of his family would pay another tribe to kill him so that there would be no trouble.[30]

As one without a family was nothing, so one who left the community had in a sense died. A nineteenth-century Nisenan chief of Auburn known as Captain Tom conducted a funeral burning ritual for his son after he was arrested and taken away to prison for ten years. Captain Tom and his family "mourned for Dick as for one dead," then proceeded to gather together "all the things that had ever belonged to him, carried them out to the family burning-ground, erected a pyre, and placed them on it." When Dick's brother died a few years later, they sprinkled his ashes on Dick's funeral pyre that the brother's 'spirit' might carry the remains of Dick's burned possessions to wherever he had been conveyed.[31] Once the mourners cremated or buried the body, the spirit might remain in the area for a brief time then depart to a distant homeland for the dead. For the Coast Miwok this home was in the ocean beyond Point Reyes toward the west, "All [the dead] went there, good and bad." They were said to "go to be with Coyote where the sun goes down."[32] Although the dead might return in forms such as owls, coyotes, foxes, and whirlwinds, their relatives feared and generally did not welcome them. So great was the separation be-ween the worlds of the living and dead that people would not even mention the names of the deceased. Father Juan Amoros wrote of the Ohlone at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in 1814:

> these natives consider it very disrespectful to talk about their deceased parents and relatives. Thus a boy whose parents have died when he was quite young has no one to tell him the names of his father, grandfather or kinsfolk. In the course of a quarrel for greater vituperation they exclaim: "Your father is dead," and the flame of their fury grows greater. So they have no means of remembering their ancestors. When someone dies his clothing and belongings are burned.[33]

Similarly, "If some one in a group of merry talkers . . . inadvertantly mentions the name," wrote Powers of the Wintu, "there falls upon all an awful silence. . . . shuddering and heart-sickening terror . . . at the utterance of that fearful word."[34]

Details regarding the behavior, final journey, and destinations of the dead vary greatly in detail from one region to another. C. Hart Merriam recorded an Eastern Sierra Miwok account of the soul's movements and transformations:

> When a person dies, *Oo'leus* the heart-spirit remains in the dead body for four days. During these four days everyone is quiet and the children are not allowed to run about or make a noise. On the morning of the fourth day the people sprinkle ashes on the ground over the buried basket of burnt bones—or over the grave if the corpse were buried instead of burned. On that day the heart spirit leaves the body in the invisible form of *Hinnan Soos* the Wind Spirit, or *Soo-les'-ko* the Ghost, and proceeds westward. That night it may come back in *Soo-koo'-me* the Owl, or in some other animal; so look out.
>
> Some Ghosts are good, others bad. At last they all go to the ocean and cross over on a long pole to the Roundhouse of the dead, where they remain.[35]

THE NATURAL WORLD

Native Californians knew the sounds and habits of neighboring wildlife and understood animals to participate in the social life of humans, the dead, and numerous other personages known particularly through myth. When stalking deer, for example, hunters throughout California knew how to imitate the appearance and movements of their prey and a variety of ways to circumvent the deer's ability to smell humans. Mayfield's early account of Choynumne Yokuts portrays one widespread stalking technique:

> When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over them. The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter. A short stick

> was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand. They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing his horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game. Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer.[36]

Across North America, including all of California, native people believed themselves to be capable of communicating with animals through speech, thought, and dreams. Shamans, as we have seen, could speak the language of their dream helpers and of hostile spirits whom they confronted in curing ceremonies. Others, too, had animal spirit helpers, as well as the ability to communicate with various living creatures. Maria Copa, a Coast Miwok, recalled that "My grandmother used to say that when you saw a snake, it would talk. . . . She would say to it, 'Go on, don't bother me.'"[37] Roxie Peconom, a Maidu woman born near Susanville in the mid-nineteenth century, would talk with a particular kind of bird (killdeer) each morning to start the day. The killdeer would tell her how old and unattractive she was, and she would praise its singing and beauty.[38]

The Sierra and Coast Miwok, Mono, and some Yokuts groups classified people according to their relationships to animal species. The Central Sierra Miwok of Tuolumne County, for example, were divided into two groups based on descent through the father. One was known as the "water" side and the other was known as the "land" or "dry" side. All persons belonged to one or the other following from the side of their father. Those whose fathers belonged to the "water" side were "bullfrog people," and those born into the "land" side were "bluejay people." This binary classification embraced all of nature, including people, animals, and places. For reasons derived from events in their creation mythology, coyote, deer, antelope, beaver, otter, quail, dove, goose, crane, minnow, clouds, rain, and other entities belonged to the "water" side, while tree squirrel, dog, mountain lion, raccoon, raven, flicker, sky, and clear weather, among others, belonged to the "land" side. The grandfather or another near relative named the child shortly after birth with a permanent name that had an implied or actual reference to the creatures or other phenomena that belonged to the child's side. Although the rule was not always followed, people tended to select mates from the side of their mother and would not marry someone from the father's side. By this comprehensive system that included marriage, descent, and certain ritual responsibilities, the Sierra Miwok related themselves to their biological and physical surroundings.[39]

The Miwok also used this binary classification as a way to map space. The Southern Sierra Miwok of Yosemite Valley, for example, referred to all villages and camps north of the Merced River as the "land side" (and also the "grizzly bear side"), and all villages and camps to the south as the "water side" (and also the "coyote side").[40]

In addition to being the source of most food and other material resources, the tribelet territory was alive in a sense through stories told by adults to children. Particular trees, bodies of water, rock formations and other natural features had histories that connected them to the activities of preceding generations of tribelet ancestors and to an even earlier period of non-human occupancy. Frank Latta, a self-defined ethnographer and folklorist who worked extensively with the Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley, recorded one such account from a Wukchumne husband and wife (I'-chow and Wah-nom'-kot) who were born and raised near Lemon Cove in eastern Tulare County. This legend explains the origin of certain local rock formations including one rock that resembles and once was a giant conical burden basket of the type used by Yokuts women for gathering acorns:

> Long before the *Wuk-chum'-nees* came to *Ti-up'-in-ish,* the old-time bird and animal people lived at the old beginning village of *Sho-no'-yoo* near Lemon Cove. Each year they used to go to *Too-chee'-oo,* which the white people call Squaw Valley, and to *Tah'-low,* now Dunlap Valley. They used an old trail from Woodlake North the same way that the Badger Road leads to General Grant Park.
>
> One time, so long ago that we do not know when, those old-time people named a place near Stokes Mountain. . . . They called it *Ahng'-ush-in,* place of the Acorn Carrying Basket.
>
> Both the old-time people and the *Wuk-chum'-nees* all wanted to be buried at the old village where they were born. Even if they died fifty miles away their people would carry them home to bury them.
>
> Once a man from *Tah'-low,* now Dunlap, died at *Sho-no'-yoo* near Lemon Cove. His people started to carry him to *Tah'-low.* They were scattered along the trail in a line. . . .
>
> Two people were carrying the dead person. One was at his feet and the other at his head. When they came to an Oak tree close to where General Grant Park Road is now, the dead person came alive again. He rose up. All of the people were frightened and turned to stone. The man who had died turned to stone, too.
>
> You can still see the line of rocks where the people were walking along the trail. Our people, the *Wuk-chum'-nees,* have always said that those rocks are the people who were going back to *Tah'-low* with the dead person. Near the North end of the rocks is a saddle-shaped rock that my people told me was the dead man who had risen up.
>
> One of the party was a young girl. She was ahead of the rest and was carrying *Ahng'-ush,* the cone-shaped Acorn Basket. The basket turned to stone too. A large *Ahng'-ush*-shaped rock stands just West of the road about two hundred yards North of the other rocks. Our people told us that this rock was the basket carried by that old-time girl. Because of this rock, the place has always been called *Ahng'-ush-in.*[41]

Isabel Kelly recorded a similar legend of stones that had once been old-time "people" related by Maria Copa, the Coast Miwok woman with intimate knowledge of Marin County.[42]

Leona Morales, a Maidu of Susanville in the Honey Lake Valley area of Lassen County, learned an extensive creation story from her mother, Roxie Peconom, who was born nearby. As the "Maker" (K'odojapem) proceeded in his original journey over the Sierra to the Honey Lake Valley, he paused on the crest of a hill overlooking the Susan River and said, "I'm going to let some nice water out of this mountain, come down the canyon." He drove his stick deep into the earth, and water came rushing out. The springs that he thereby created for humans were used by local Maidu until the city capped them for public use.[43] Through such legends and myths, Native Californians recognized rock formations, mountains, springs, rivers, soil colors, and other natural features as the signs of their predecessors' activities, inscribed in and imparting ancestral meanings to their physical landscapes.

MYTH

Old people, usually men, told the myths, tales, and legends to audiences assembled at night by firelight, almost always during the winter months. As was the case with language, social organization, and material culture, the several culture areas of California differed in some basic respects in their ideas about the creation of the physical world and the arrival of humans with their distinctive cultures. In northwest California, for example, the myths begin with the physical world already present but inhabited by a human-like immortal race that prepared the earth for humans, then disappeared when humans arrived. In central California, creation myths emphasize "the making of the world . . . embodied in a myth postulating an original world of primeval water, in which an already-existing creator (usually an eagle or another raptorial bird) solves the problem of earth-making by the familiar earth-diver method."[44] A Rumsen Ohlone myth begins with a great flood and three "persons," hummingbird, eagle, and coyote, whose actions initiate the beginnings of human culture:

> When this world was finished, the eagle, the humming-bird, and Coyote were standing on the top of Pico Blanco. When the water rose to their feet, the eagle, carrying the humming-bird and Coyote, flew to the Sierra de Gabilan. There they stood until the water went down. Then the eagle sent Coyote down the mountain to see if the world were dry. Coyote came back and said: "The whole world is dry." The eagle said to him: "Go and look in the river. See what there is there." Coyote came back and said: "There is a beautiful girl." The eagle said: "She will be your wife in order that people may be raised again." He gave Coyote a digging implement of abalone shell and a digging stick. Coyote asked: "How will my children be raised?" The eagle would not say. He wanted to see if Coyote was wise enough to know.[45]

Coyote, an important and widespread figure in California mythology, appears as a trickster, fool, and hero in various regional contexts. One of the finest accounts of

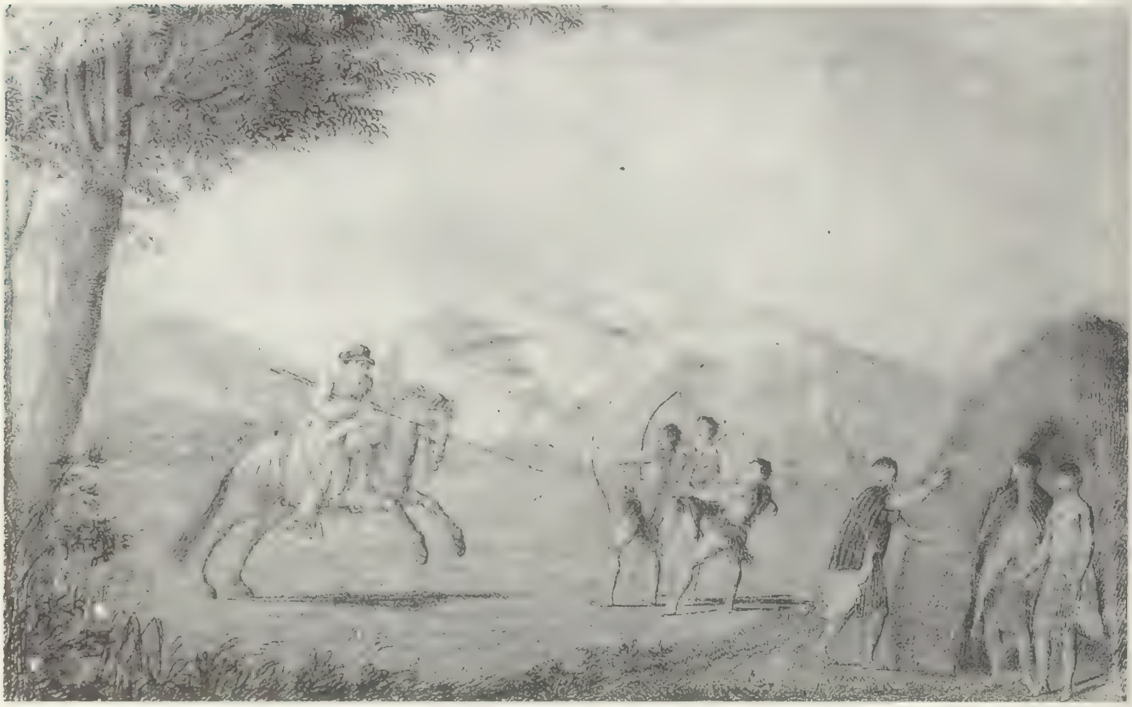
Native Californian Coyote stories and of Coyote's role in the events of creation is William Shipley's *The Maidu Indian Myths and Stories of Hanc'ibyjim.* In this book, Shipley retranslated the Maidu texts recorded at the turn of the century by Roland Dixon from Tom Young, a half Maidu and half Atsugewi man who was then living at Genesee in Plumas County. At the beginning of Tom Young's creation story, Earthmaker and Coyote are floating on an earth completely covered with water, looking for any sign of land where they and others might live. At last they saw "something like a bird's nest," and Earthmaker said, "It would be good if it were a little bigger. . . . I wonder how I might stretch it apart a little." Then Earthmaker stretched it "to where the day breaks. . . . [then] to the south. . . . [then] to the place where the sun goes down. . . . [then] to the North Country. . . . [and finally] to the rim of the world." Coyote and Meadowlark admired what Earthmaker had done and suggested various improvements. Coyote then challenged Earthmaker for advantage, with Coyote getting "the best of Earthmaker" and making him very angry. Earthmaker then "went away from there. . . . because all his work was done."[46]

The long and ongoing contest between Earthmaker and Coyote was not one that can be reduced to good overcoming evil, however. Earthmaker, although creative and benevolent, was often incapable of outwitting or defeating his adversary, while Coyote often mourned his victories, as when he overruled Earthmaker by introducing death into the world and then regretted it when his own son died. Earthmaker and Coyote, although opponents and differing in their respective wisdom and moral weight, are not altogether polarized. Coyote is clever, selfish, self-destructive, and comical, while Earthmaker is more group- than self-oriented and therefore heroic, but also incapable of defending himself at times. It is not difficult to read into their conflicts a morality tale in which Earthmaker, the architect of a benevolent parental order, struggles constantly with Coyote to subdue his selfish desires and ambitions with no expectation that either side will fully carry the day.

PERCEPTIONS OF FOREIGNERS

The first known written account about foreigners by a Native Californian is that by Pablo Tac, a Luiseño neophyte born at Mission San Luis Rey in 1822. During a visit to Rome, where he died in 1837, Tac wrote a record of Indian life at that mission in which he included a tradition of what was probably the arrival of the missionary expedition in 1772:

> When the missionary arrived in our country with a small troop, our captain and also the others were astonished, seeing them from afar, but they did not run away or seize arms to kill them, but having sat down, they watched them. But when they drew near, then the captain got up (for he was seated with the others) and met them. They halted,



A drawing made at Monterey in 1791 by Tomás de Suría, an artist with the Malaspina expedition, *The Indian Manner of Combat* depicts native warriors defending themselves against a Spanish dragoon armed with a lance and a bull-hide shield. The thatched hut and native costumes are typical of those of Rumsen and other Costanoan peoples. Although California Indians often fled in fear when they first encountered Europeans, they also were capable of vigorously defending themselves. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

> and the missionary then began to speak, the captain saying perhaps in his language. . . . "What is it that you seek here? Get out of our country!" But they did not understand him, and they answered him in Spanish, and the captain began with signs, and the Fernandino, understanding him, gave him gifts and in this manner made him his friend.[47]

Beginning with the initial visits of Cabrillo, Francis Drake, Junípero Serra, and Gaspar de Portolá, California Indians responded to foreigners in a variety of ways, often with fear. In some cases, as with the Cabrillo expedition, southern coastal Native Californians communicated through sign language that they already knew of people who looked and were armed like them who were moving through the interior. A Salinan woman named Agueda told the Franciscans at the founding of Mission San Antonio that people dressed like them had flown over their country at an earlier time:

> According to what those friars told me, there was among those Indians a woman named Agueda, so ancient that in appearance she seemed to be about a hundred years old. She came, asking the fathers to baptize her. When they inquired of her why she wanted to become a Christian, she answered that when she was young she heard her parents tell of a man coming to their lands who was dressed in the same habit the missionaries wore. He did not walk through the land, but flew. He told them the same things the missionaries were now preaching.[48]

In several known cases Native Californians interpreted Europeans and other foreigners within the categories of their indigenous mythology. Robert Heizer, for example, speculated that the responses of Coast Miwok people to Drake's presence in 1579 suggest that they "looked upon the English as the dead returned" from their home at sea.[49] Hugo Reid, an early settler near Mission San Gabriel who was married to a Gabrielino woman, wrote that when Indians in that area first saw the Spanish, they "were sadly afraid. . . . Thinking them gods, the women ran to the brush, and hid themselves, while the men put out the fires in their huts."[50] When the Kashaya Pomo first saw a sailing ship on their horizon they thought it was a giant bird that portended the end of the world. Essie Parrish, a Kashaya Pomo healer and prophetess recounted this story as recently as 1958:

> In the old days, before the white people came up here, there was a boat sailing on the ocean from the south. Because before that they had never seen a boat, they said, "Our world must be coming to an end. Couldn't we do something? This big bird floating on the ocean is from somewhere, probably from up high. Let us plan a feast. Let us have a dance." They followed its course with their eyes to see what it would do. Having done so, they promised Our Father [a feast] saying that destruction was upon them.[51]

In 1906, the anthropologist Samuel Barret asked several Wintu, including two shamans who lived in the western foothills of the Sacramento Valley, what they thought of the recent earthquake that had devastated San Francisco. Interestingly, one shaman saw it as a sign that the world was about to be leveled "like the Wintun abode of the dead." The other saw it as a continuation of the stretching process, also present in the Maidu creation story, that made the world large enough for all the people who would live on it:

> The world was originally much smaller than at present. As the Indian population in times past increased, the earth was rent and stretched by Coyote Old Man, the southern Wintun culture-hero, in order to make room for the newcomers. . . . the disturbances were the forerunners of another stretching of the earth, this time in order to make room for the ever-increasing white population. He was of the opinion, however, that immediately all the Indians are dead, which will be very soon, according to him,

> this great catastrophe will totally destroy all things on earth and render it like the Wintun abode of the dead.[52]

A Wintun woman, Kate Luckie, expressed to Cora Du Bois how she understood the physical world to feel as a consequence of having been taken over by a people who did not understand it or treat it well. Her statement conveys how appalled California hunter-gatherers were by the massive environmental upheavals caused by hunting, mining, logging, and agriculture in the American period and how closely and responsibly California hunter-gatherers identified with the animals, plants, and physical terrains of their tribelet worlds. The references to the coming of water predict a return of the flood that began the world and that also will end it:

> When the Indians all die, then God will let the water come down from the north. Everyone will drown. That is because the white people never cared for land or deer or bear. When we Indians kill meat, we eat it all up. When we dig roots, we make little holes. When we build houses, we make little holes. When we burn grass for grasshoppers [for food], we don't ruin things. We shake down acorns and pine nuts. We don't chop down the trees. We only use dead wood. But the white people plow up the ground, pull up the trees, kill everything. The tree says, "Don't. I am sore. Don't hurt me." But they chop it down and cut it up. The spirit of the land hates them. They blast out trees and stir it up to its depths. They saw up the trees. That hurts them. . . . They blast rocks and scatter them on the earth. The rock says, "Don't! You are hurting me." But the white people pay no attention. When the Indians use rocks, they take little round ones for their cooking. The white people dig deep long tunnels. . . . eventually the water will come.[53]

This chapter began with the observation that scholars infer their understanding of California peoples in the pre-colonial past from post-colonial testimonies, from "downstream" accounts written after the Spanish, Mexican, Russian, and American expansions had overrun their lives. Despite the enormous consequences of their physical and social displacement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many communities survived to some degree, consulting their past as they navigated the present. From the first sightings of Europeans until this time near the end of the twentieth century, Native California peoples have continued to think about new and unprecedented historical experiences in ways that are informed by indigenous ideas. Myths, dreams, family memories, legends associated with places, and ideas about illness, health, and the afterlife guide them still in roundhouse gatherings and in the non-Indian world where they now find their way. Some expect that new dreamers yet to be born will seek and find spirit helpers for healing and for direction in the centuries ahead.

NOTES

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I am grateful to Kent Lightfoot and Ottis Parrish for reading and commenting helpfully on the original draft of this essay. I appreciate their suggestions and am responsible for any inaccuracies and misunderstandings that may be found herein.

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4

Seekers of the "Northern Mystery"

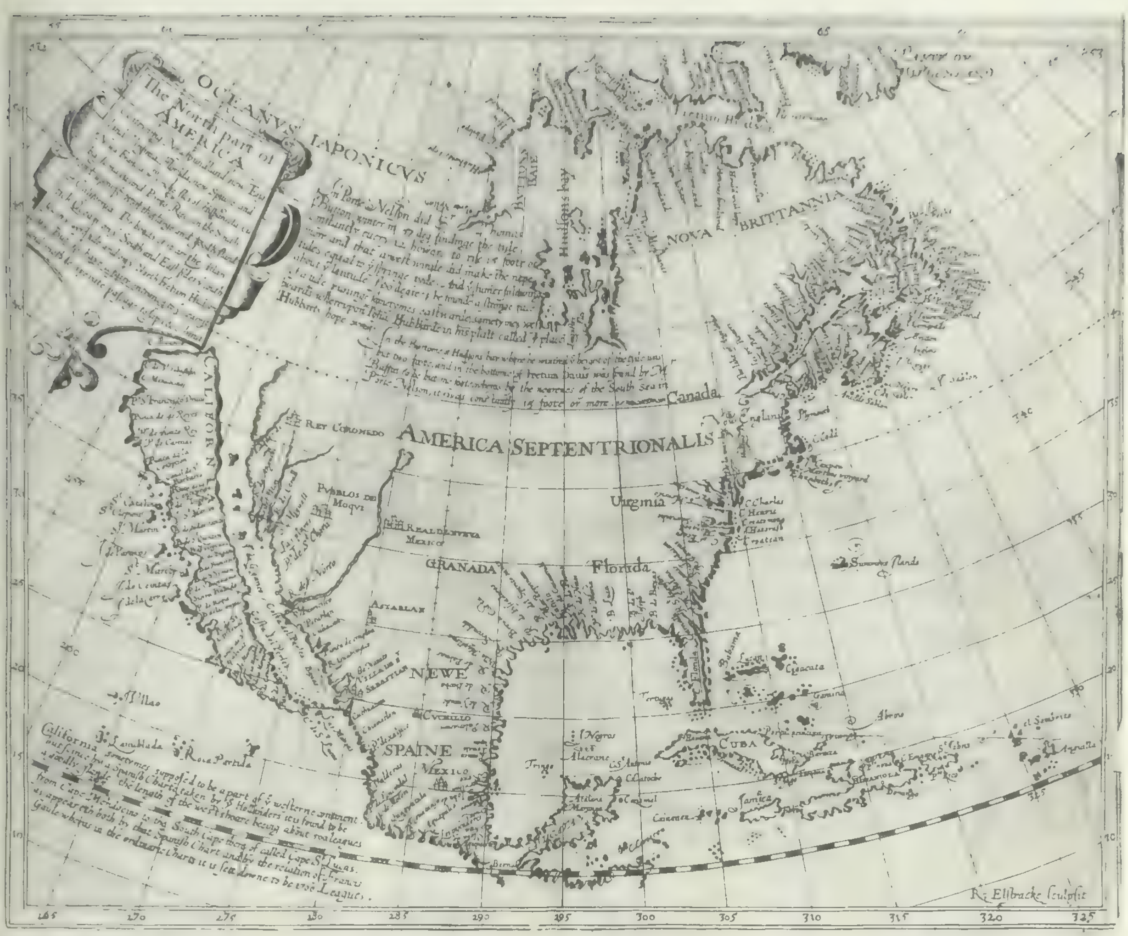
European Exploration of California and the Pacific

Iris H. W. Engstrand

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The history of exploration into the Pacific during the sixteenth century is open for continued investigation. Because the early documentation for this subject is approaching five centuries in age and is often difficult to decipher, few researchers have undertaken the task. The Columbus Quincentenary observances brought about significant gains in the details of the Columbian exchange, but these investigations were mainly concentrated in the Atlantic and Caribbean worlds. Although the first European forays into the Pacific took place with Magellan's epic voyage between 1519 and 1522, a similar concentration of scholarly effort in that area has yet to be realized. No one, for example, has yet updated Henry Raup Wagner's *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, written in 1929. Recently, a major effort to unravel the story of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's life and travels was made by Harry Kelsey (1986), and a number of scholars have worked on the mysteries of Francis Drake's sojourn into the Pacific. W. Michael Mathes has edited a number of primary documents in his *Californiana* series, published in Madrid (1965–1987), but little has been done on the important Manila galleon trade, with the standard work remaining William Lytle Schurz's study of 1939.

Eighteenth-century exploration of the Pacific Coast, on the other hand, has recently received considerable attention from historians in Spain and elsewhere. There is ample documentation concerning these later voyages of explorers such as Juan Pérez, Alejandro Malaspina, and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, which were motivated less by dreams of wealth and discovery than by considerations of defensive expansion, reconnaissance, and scientific investigation. The Spaniards involved dealt with Indians mostly on the simple terms of acquaintance, gift exchange, and acquisition of knowledge. The journals kept by expedition members were carefully written, straightforward accounts of first-hand observations that mainly described


OCEANVS IAPONICVS
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AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS
NOVA BRITTANNIA
Hudsons bay
Canada
Virginia
Florida
GRANADA
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MEXICO
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One of the earliest maps to depict California, Henry Briggs's *The North Part of America* was published in London in 1625. "California," proclaims the legend in the lower left, "sometymes supposed to be a part of ye westerne continent, but scince by a Spanish Charte taken by ye Hollanders it is found to be a goodly ilande." Described as an island in a Spanish romance of 1510, *Las sergas de Esplandián,* more than twenty years before Europeans first sighted the desolate lower peninsula, the two Californias—Baja and Alta—were not generally believed to be part of the mainland until the discoveries of Father Eusebio Kino in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries settled the matter. From *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

rather than speculated about Indian life, customs, or religion. The expeditions devoted to scientific inquiry paid particular attention to geographic features, fauna and flora, native vocabularies, and items of trade as representative of natural products rather than as things to be coveted. The fur trade, particularly interesting to the English, Americans, and Russians, commanded less attention among Spaniards. Although many new works have been published both in English and Spanish on the eighteenth-century voyages, abundant documentation awaits an editor or translator. The Malaspina expedition alone, which has spawned numerous works in Spain since its bicentennial years (1989–1994), still has open avenues of research.[1]

Recent authors have speculated about perceptions of "the other" and about the philosophical differences between Spaniards and their New World counterparts. Still others have contributed their expertise to evaluating descriptions, identifying plants and animals with modern nomenclature, and comparing navigational charts to present-day coastal features and indentations. Unlike the establishment of missions, or the exploitation of Indians, the subject of exploration into the North Pacific is relatively noncontroversial. It lends itself, nevertheless, to discussions over environmental concerns, the changing landscape, and present Indian concerns. Future research could uncover distribution patterns of fauna and flora during the pre-contact period, "disappeared" landing sites of early voyages, and perhaps identify other foreign visitors to California.

FIRST VOYAGES INTO THE PACIFIC

With the subjugation of the Aztec empire completed between 1519 and 1521, Hernán Cortés and his fellow conquerors turned their thoughts toward further exploration.[2] The gold, silver, and jewels of Tenochtitlán naturally led the Spaniards to believe that other areas of Indian wealth must lie to the south and north of the Mexican capital. By 1522, Cortés had reached the Pacific in the region of Michoacán, west of the capital city, and founded the port city of Zacatula. He ordered construction of four ships for northward exploration, but a lack of supplies and skilled labor slowed progress. Essential European items such as ironwork and rigging had to be transported slowly overland from Veracruz. Nevertheless, four ships were completed by 1527, just in time to comply with a royal order sending three of them to the Moluccas to strengthen Spanish claims in the East Indies.

DISCOVERY OF BAJA CALIFORNIA

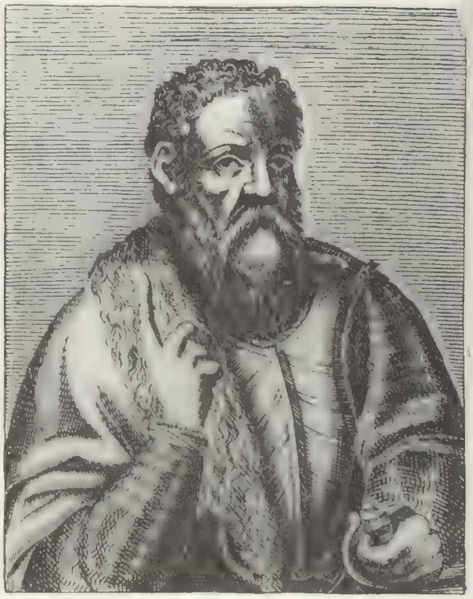
Cortés, hoping to find another city of wealth comparable to Tenochtitlán, as well as the long-sought Strait of Anián somewhere in the north Pacific, authorized Diego

Hurtado de Mendoza as commander of two new ships that sailed from Zacatula in 1532 to pursue these objectives. The expedition ended in mutiny, however, so Cortés outfitted a second Pacific venture under his distant cousin Diego de Becerra, a haughty and disagreeable man who was put to death by his crew. Fortún Jiménez, first pilot and leader of the mutiny, took over command of the ship and, sometime in late 1533 or early 1534, reached what he thought was an island, but was actually the peninsula of today's Baja California. Jiménez anchored in a bay, which he named La Paz, and the Spaniards went ashore. A sudden attack by Indians brought the death of Jiménez and twenty of his men; the rest escaped to the Mexican port of Jalisco. The survivors reported that the natives of their newly discovered island were primitive savages but had collected an abundance of pearls.[3] Pearls alone gave Cortés sufficient incentive to plan his own expedition. He was joined by a rush of volunteers who knew the captain's reputation for finding wealth.

Three vessels under the command of Cortés reached the Bay of La Paz on May 3, 1535. Naming the bay Santa Cruz, Cortés founded Baja California's first nonnative settlement on the dry, rocky coast. Native hostility and a lack of food made it necessary for two ships to return to the mainland for supplies—one of these was wrecked in the Gulf of California, then called the Red Sea of Cortés. On a second attempt to obtain supplies, the ship that Cortés himself commanded made it back across the treacherous, stormy waters to La Paz; in the meantime, twenty-three of his men died of starvation on Baja California's inhospitable shore. Cortés took the one remaining vessel and returned to Mexico to get further relief. Finally, toward the end of 1536, prospects of success seemed so remote that Cortés sent ships to pick up the surviving colonists. Thus ended the first in a long succession of failed attempts to settle California.[4]

ULLOA SEARCHES FOR THE "NORTHERN MYSTERY"

In 1539, Cortés issued instructions to the final expedition that, under his direction, would seek to pierce the mysteries of the north. Three vessels commanded by Francisco de Ulloa sailed from the port of Acapulco in July of that year; one, the tiny *Santo Tomás,* was wrecked in the stormy waters of the Gulf of California before reaching La Paz. Ulloa's fleet, reduced to the 120-ton *Santa Agueda* and its flagship, the *Trinidad,* a 35- to 40-ton vessel not more than 40 feet long, left La Paz and headed across the choppy Sea of Cortés to the mainland shore. Ulloa cruised northward to the port of Guaymas, and farther on expected to find a passage around the "island" of California. Instead, violent tides caused by the Colorado River descending into the sea at the head of the narrow gulf drove Ulloa southward, but he was the first Spaniard to learn that Baja California was not an island.



In 1533 the conqueror of the Aztec empire, Hernán Cortés, organized the expedition that discovered Baja California for Spain. Three years later, he himself led a colonizing expedition to the peninsula, hoping to reap the wealth of the land's fabled pearl beds. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

Ulloa took possession of the land he found "for the Marques [Cortés] in the name of the Emperor [Carlos V], our master, King of Castile" and then sailed along the eastern shore of the peninsula until again reaching La Paz. Ulloa tried to round the southern tip of Baja California at Cape San Lucas, but for eight days violent winds and tempestuous rains kept his ships beating up and down the Gulf coast. The two vessels finally rounded the cape by the end of January 1540, and then sailed up the western shore as far north as the Isla de Cedros (Island of Cedars), so named because "on the tops of the mountains therein, there grows a stand of these Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be."[5] After three months, Ulloa sent the larger *Santa Agueda* home to Acapulco and, before returning, continued his explorations northward in the *Trinidad* to perhaps Point San Antonio, just south of latitude thirty degrees.[6]

Ulloa's expeditions, the last with which Cortés had any official connection, had faced severe storms to explore both the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula. His revelation that Baja California was a peninsula aroused little attention, however, and the "island" of California persisted on maps as late as the mid-1750s.[7] Ulloa's discovery of an island of cedars compensated little for the failure to find the expected cities of gold. Disappointment was great, and Cortés, angered that the new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, had effectively curbed his authority, sailed for Spain in 1540 to regain the king's favor.[8] Years of effort gave him little satisfaction, and finally, in 1547, death claimed the unhappy Cortés, first of the Spanish explorers to open the way to California.

JUAN RODRÍGUEZ CABRILLO: SOLDIER OF THE CONQUEST

Viceroy Mendoza, disillusioned by the meager results of overland expeditions by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and Hernando deSoto into the interior of the continent, resolutely turned to the sea with yet another plan to find the elusive Strait of Anián, or Northwest Passage, which according to legend connected the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Pedro de Alvarado, governor and *adelantado* of Guatemala, had appeared at the port of Acapulco in 1540 with a fleet of thirteen vessels, offering his services to the Crown for Pacific exploration. At his right hand stood Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, navigator, horseman, captain of crossbowmen, and eventual discoverer of Alta California, second-in-command of Alvarado's fleet.[9]

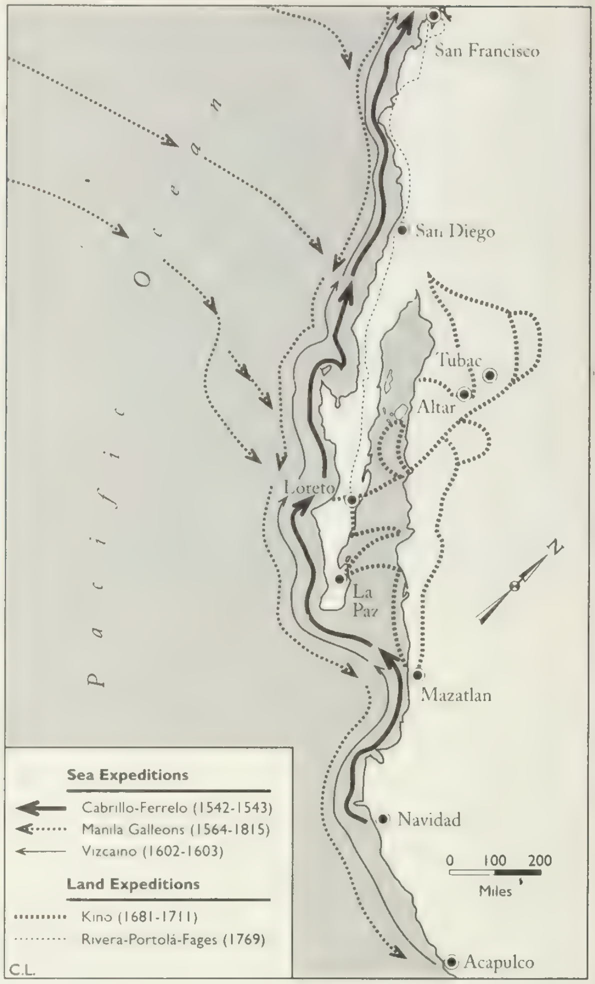
Certain details of the background and life of Rodríguez Cabrillo prior to his arrival in California have come to light in recent years, but his exact age and place of birth are still unknown. Often described as "a Portuguese navigator sailing under the flag of Spain," new information about his early life, although inconclusive, points to his being Spanish. Rodríguez Cabrillo's original journal of exploration has not been found, but documents in the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and in the *Archivo General de Centro América* in Guatemala give an account of his service to Spain, his family and their property in Guatemala, and his activities in California.[10]

Cabrillo first engaged in farming and mining in Guatemala on the estates granted to him by Alvarado. In 1536 he directed construction of a fleet of ships capable of exploring the most dangerous and remote areas of the Pacific. Thirteen ships were finally completed by 1540, although one, the two hundred-ton galleon *San Salvador,* was built by Cabrillo at his own expense. When the vessels were ready to sail, Governor Alvarado asked his master shipwright to join the expedition in his own *San Salvador* as admiral of the entire fleet. Cabrillo agreed, and the ships reached the western Mexican port of Navidad, near Colima, on Christmas Day, 1540.[11]

Viceroy Mendoza and Alvarado entered into a partnership for Pacific exploration. Prior to their departure, however, Alvarado was killed in an Indian uprising known as the Mixton War. Mendoza took possession of Alvarado's fleet and, showing high regard for Cabrillo, commissioned him to sail his own ship, the smaller square-rigged vessel *La Victoria,* and a launch, probably a brigantine called *San Miguel,* northward along the Pacific Coast in search of the Strait of Anián.[12] The remaining vessels were dispatched to the Philippines under command of Ruy López de Villalobos.

CABRILLO OFFICIALLY LANDS IN CALIFORNIA

Cabrillo's expedition, with three vessels of Alvarado's fleet, set sail from the port of Navidad on June 27, 1542, to explore the remote, unchartered areas of the north


Pacific Ocean
San Francisco
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Sea Expeditions
Cabrillo-Ferrelo (1542-1543)
Manila Galleons (1564-1815)
Vizcaino (1602-1603)
Land Expeditions
Kino (1681-1711)
Rivera-Portolá-Fages (1769)
C.L.

Spanish sea and land expeditions to California.

Pacific. They cruised northward along the west coast of Mexico, crossed the Sea of Cortés, and proceeded up the Pacific side of what Cabrillo knew as the California peninsula. His ships entered the Bay of Ensenada, Baja California, on September 17, 1542. The expedition remained there five days and then continued on, facing headwinds and adverse currents that limited daily progress to just fifteen to twenty miles. Within three days they sighted the three Coronado Islands, which Cabrillo called Las Islas Desiertas and mistakenly charted at 34 degrees latitude, about 2 degrees, or 140 miles, too far north. From these waters the Spanish seamen noticed the smoke of coastal Indian fires and, as they approached the mainland, saw a promising green valley backed by high mountains. On September 28, 1542, Cabrillo headed the *San Salvador* and *La Victoria* into San Diego Bay, dropped anchor on the lee side of Point Loma, and formally claimed Alta (Upper) California—as distinguished from Baja

(Lower) California. The Spaniards stepped ashore and were greeted by Indians who "gave signs of great fear" and indicated by signs that men, similarly bearded and clothed, were traveling in the interior. Cabrillo described the natives as well built and clothed in animal skins.[13] The admiral bestowed the name of San Miguel Arcangel on his newly discovered "sheltered and very good port," but in 1602 it was renamed by Sebastián Vizcaíno, who chose to honor San Diego de Alcalá (St. Didacus) instead.

Three Indians timidly approached Cabrillo's ship, communicating by signs that they knew of other similarly dressed white men, carrying crossbows and swords, traveling far inland. Cabrillo understood from their gestures that these strangers (probably a detachment from Coronado's expedition) wielded lances from horseback and had killed many Indians. For this reason the California natives were afraid, but the Spaniards gave them presents to calm their fears. When Indians wounded three seamen on a night fishing party near the shore, Cabrillo ordered his crew not to fire on them but to win their confidence. No further incidents of hostility occurred in this area, which the Indians called Guacamal.[14]

Sailing north from San Diego after six days' rest, the expedition sighted the Channel Islands of San Clemente and Santa Catalina, which they named San Salvador and La Victoria after their ships. Off Catalina the Spaniards searched the shoreline for signs of life. They anchored at one of the coves and the expedition's journal reported:

> They went ashore with the boat to see if there were people; and when the boat came near, a great number of Indians emerged from the bushes and grass, shouting, dancing and making signs that they should land. As they saw that the women were fleeing, from the boats they made signs that they should not be afraid. Immediately they were reassured, and laid their bows and arrows on the ground and launched in the water a good canoe which held eight or ten Indians, and came to the ships. They gave them beads and other articles, with which they were pleased, and then they returned. Afterward the Spaniards went ashore, and they, the Indian women, and all felt very secure.[15]

The *San Salvador* and *La Victoria* headed toward the mainland, and Cabrillo sighted the bay of San Pedro (naming it "Bay of Smokes"). They continued a course along the coast and visited an Indian fishing village, which Cabrillo called Pueblo de Canoas. Heavy winds from the northwest near Point Conception forced the ships to find shelter in a small port (Cuyler's Harbor) of San Miguel Island. On this island, which they named Isla de la Posesión, misfortune marred their enviable exploring record. While going ashore, Cabrillo fell and apparently broke his arm on the rocky beach.[16] Ignoring his wound, Cabrillo ordered his men to continue their mapping and coastal explorations. By mid-November, despite winter storms and adverse winds, they reached an area near San Francisco Bay. Here they again turned southward and set their course for the safety of San Miguel Island. By the end of December gangrene had severely complicated Cabrillo's injuries, finally causing his death on January 3, 1543. The crew buried their leader on the barren, windswept island of La Posesión and renamed it Isla de Juan Rodríguez. Shifting winds and sands have covered all traces of the grave.

Cabrillo's final words reflected the determination of the early Spanish explorers. He instructed his chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrer (or Ferrelo, as he is sometimes known), not to give up their projected reconnaisance of the northern coast. The ships again sailed into the open sea and made their way northward against heavy gales. Finally driven dangerously near the shore at a point somewhere near the present-day California-Oregon border, they prayed for protection and were saved by a sudden change of wind. The expedition's journal describes few recognizable landmarks, making their exact course difficult to follow (their estimated latitude of forty-four degrees was again probably two degrees too high), but the document leaves no doubt that they were charting waters unknown to Europeans.[17]

Cabrillo's crew, weakened from exposure and scurvy, responded gratefully to Ferrer's order that the *San Salvador* and *La Victoria* return home. Praying to the Virgin of Guadalupe for a safe voyage, they reached the port of Navidad on April 14, 1543, bringing the sad news of Cabrillo's death and their discouraging discoveries. Mendoza closely guarded the charts of the explorations, and Cabrillo's own journal, kept a secret, has not yet been found.

THE MANILA GALLEON TRADE

Philip II, King of Spain from 1556 to 1598, inherited the Spanish empire at its most extensive, but he was also left with its most serious problems. While viceroys overseas strengthened Spain's hold in the Indies, the home country lagged behind the rest of Europe in developing new industries. The constant financial drain on the country caused by foreign enterprises, and heightened by frequent English raids on the Spanish treasure fleet, made new sources of income vital. Cabrillo's failure to find the Northwest Passage, and Spain's need for more trade, brought renewed efforts to conquer the Philippines. Discovered by Magellan in 1521, the islands nominally belonged to Portugal according to the Papal Donation of 1493.[18] Ruy López de Villalobos had nevertheless taken possession of the Philippines for Spain in 1542, but, unable to overcome native hostility, he was eventually captured by the Portuguese.[19] None of the explorers had even found a successful return route to New Spain. Vessels sailing eastward from the islands were quickly becalmed; the only certain way was around Africa to the Atlantic. Clearly a return route would have to be found. Therefore, Philip II ordered New Spain's Viceroy Luis de Velasco (1551–1564) to outfit an expedition for Pacific conquest.

The crucial navigational problems of the Philippine route were assigned to Andrés de Urdaneta, an Augustinian priest. The fleet reached the islands in February 1565, and about four hundred ground troops under Miguel López de Legazpi began their conquest on Cebu. Urdaneta, after studying the winds and currents, took three vessels and headed northward to the Japanese currents. He plotted a great circle route reaching the Pacific Coast of North America at about Cape Mendocino. When the vessels sighted California, they turned southward and sailed for Acapulco. Urdaneta received credit for discovering a feasible, although long and difficult, trade route that opened the way for Spain's famed Manila galleons.[20] In the meantime, Legazpi's troops occupied Cebu, overcame native and Portuguese resistance, and eventually took over Luzon. López de Legazpi, given authority by Viceroy Velasco, founded the town of Manila in 1571.

A regular trade route was opened between Manila and Spain via Mexico, across which one or two galleons passed annually. The ships, usually not larger than five hundred tons, carried a crew of about 115 men; they were outfitted at royal expense and commanded by an officer of the king. Profits were high, but miserable conditions on board caused heavy losses from death and desertion. The inadequate water supply often turned brackish, and even the vermin-invested food ran out before shore was reached. Essential provisions were sacrificed for trade goods—silks, velvet, gold and silver brocades, jewelry, perfumes, exotic preserves of orange and peach, cedar chests, fine thread, ornaments of all kinds, and the highly-prized pepper and other spices for the preservation and palatability of meat.[21]

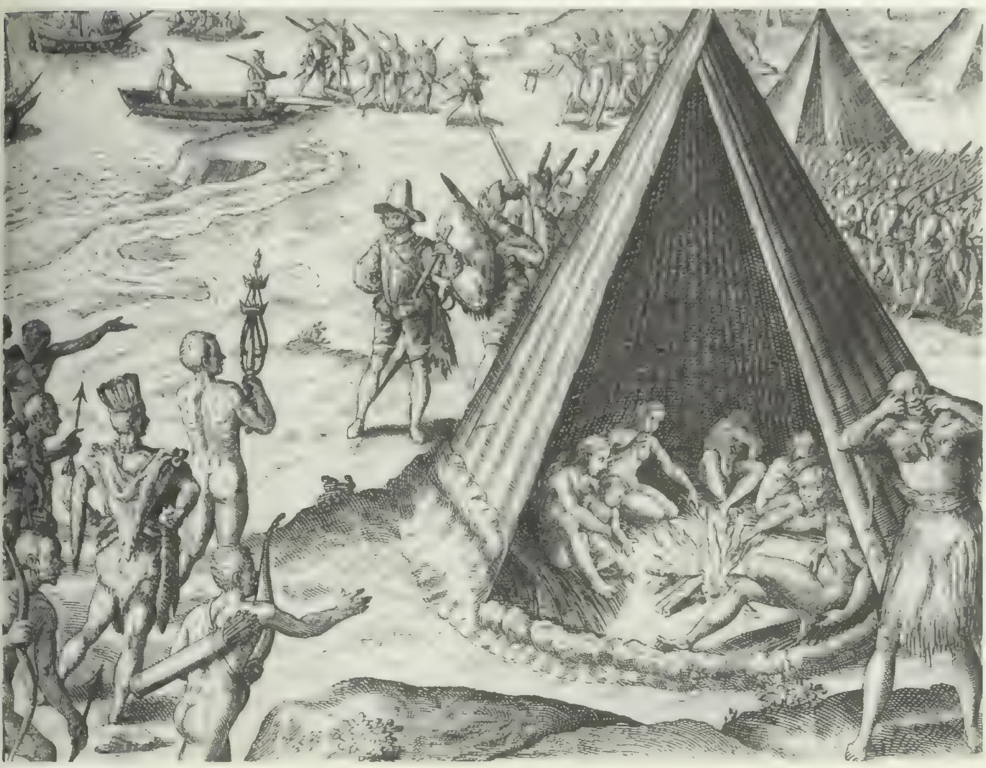
Prices for these Asian commodities were so high, bringing as much as $25,000 profit to the captain on a single trip, that Spanish seamen, given permission to carry a small share of goods, endured incredible hardships. Many, used to the hot Philippine climate, died from the severe cold of the northern latitudes; others, weakened by exposure to wind and rain, were swept overboard by huge waves that threatened to submerge the shaky craft. But the worst danger was disease. Scurvy and beri-beri resulted from the lack of fresh provisions. The cause of these illnesses—lack of necessary vitamins—was not realized for nearly two centuries.[22] The number of deaths often reached 50 percent, and few persons, if any, reached Acapulco without suffering some ravages from these diseases. For this reason the California coast was looked to as a stopping place where the weak and dying galleon crews could obtain relief. Colonial officials suggested that California be explored further to find a suitable natural harbor where a port could be established. These plans, however, were slow in developing.

DRAKE'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA

For 150 years Spain had enjoyed almost uncontested occupation of the Pacific Ocean, but in 1578 Francis Drake, a daring English pirate later knighted for his circumnavigation of the globe, shattered Spanish confidence. Under the clever, energetic, and devoutly Protestant Queen Elizabeth I, England represented a thorny challenge to Philip II's Catholic empire. Drake's expedition, with five ships, sailed from Plymouth harbor in November 1577, originally planning to explore the coast of South America from Río de la Plata around to the frontier of Spanish settlement on the Chilean coast and then to return by the same route. Drake later claimed Queen Elizabeth's special charge was "to annoy the King of Spain in his Indies."[23]

Drake's flagship, the *Pelican,* successfully weathered sixteen treacherous days in the stormy Strait of Magellan, emerging alone into the Pacific.[24] Drake renamed his ship the *Golden Hind* and began a series of raids along the Chilean and Peruvian coasts, capturing unsuspecting Spanish vessels with ease. Finally, the eighty-foot *Golden Hind,* more heavily laden with treasure and provisions than a Manila galleon, sought shelter on the northern Pacific Coast. The English reached the California shore somewhere in the vicinity of San Francisco Bay on June 17, 1579. Because Drake's original journal has disappeared and his chaplain's diary was called unreliable by Drake himself, considerable mystery surrounds the precise location of the English visit.[25] Drake apparently called the country *Nova Albion* (New England) because of "the white bancks and cliffes," which bore a striking resemblance to England's "Seven Sisters of Sussex" on the English Channel coast.[26]

Drake took possession of the country for England, recording his claim on a plate of brass, inlaid with a sixpence by his blacksmith, and nailed to "a great and firm poste." The inscription read in part: "June 17, 1579, by the Grace of God and in the name of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of England . . . I take possession of this Kingdome . . . now named by me and to be known unto all men as Nova Albion. Francis Drake."[27] The Indians with whom Drake seems to have come into friendly and frequent contact were in recent times identified as Coast Miwok, inhabitants of the Drake's Bay region, by the anthropologist Robert Heizer of the University of California, Berkeley.[28] Nevertheless, the uncertainties of Drake's landfall lend credence to arguments advanced for Bodega Bay, Tomales Bay, a cove inside San Francisco Bay, Trinidad Head, or one of the Channel Islands in California. Whale Cove and Coos Bay, Oregon, have also been considered as candidates for the English campsite. This controversy does not, however, obscure Drake's ability. Contemporary accounts agree that he was an exceptional navigator, and his supporters believe that he ranks as one of the greatest of all English seamen. Drake's claim to California, or "Nova Albion," came to represent little more than a token gesture to honor Queen Elizabeth, but the presence of English ships posed a new threat to Spain's Pacific dominions. Knowing the difficulty of returning through the Strait of Magellan and aided by captured Spanish charts, Drake sailed the *Golden Hind* around the world, arriving at Plymouth "safely with joyfull minds and thankfull hearts to God" in the summer of 1580.[29]



Coast Miwok Indians greet the English sea dog Francis Drake in an illustration published in 1599, twenty years after the event, by the Flemish engraver Théodore de Bry. The earliest known image of California, this copper-plate engraving helped shape European conceptions of the distant Spanish possession. In the left foreground a local chief and his attendants, preceded by a native carrying "the Septer or royall mace," approach Drake prior to a ceremony in which a crown of feathers was placed on the head of the legendary navigator. In preparing his drawings of American Indians, de Bry, like other artists of that day, relied on classical sculpture in shaping his subjects' physiques and facial features. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

CAVENDISH, UNAMUNO, AND CERMEÑO

A second English interloper ravaged the Pacific Coast in 1586–1587. Thomas Cavendish, a native of Suffolk, assumed a pirate's role in a series of destructive raids, robbing, looting and burning Spanish ships, and amassing considerable treasure. His greatest prize was the capture of the great *Santa Ana,* a Manila galleon said to have been carrying more than $1 million in gold, to say nothing of its regular cargo of silks, perfumes, jewelry, and other valuable commodities. Cavendish first sighted the galleon off Cape San Lucas, where its pilot, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, set a final course for the run to Acapulco and home. The slow-moving *Santa Ana* fell easy prey and was captured by Cavendish's two ships, the *Desire* and the *Content,* whose crews systematically looted the galleon, put the people ashore (with provisions), and set fire to the "Great St. Ann." Cavendish headed into the Pacific and continued his voyage around the world, returning to England as a swashbuckling hero. The Spaniards rescued the *Santa-Ana's* burning hulk, repaired the hull, and eventually reached Acapulco.[30]

As Cavendish was plying the waters off Baja California, Pedro de Unamuno, another Manila galleon pilot, was searching the Pacific for two legendary islands called Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata—sometimes offered as evidence that Spaniards had discovered the Hawaiian Islands. After a fruitless effort, Unamuno sailed along the coast of California in late October 1587, anchoring in Morro Bay to the north of Santa Barbara. Unamuno's visit provided his crew with "an unlimited quantity of fish of different kinds" and trees suitable for masts and firewood. Unfortunately, unfriendly Indians, who killed two and wounded several Spaniards, cut Unamuno's visit short.[31]

The threat of English piracy gave New Spain's long-delayed plans to occupy California an added thrust. Cermeño, pilot of the tragic *Santa Ana,* was given command of the galleon *San Agustín* and instructed to look for possible California ports on his way back to Mexico from Manila. Cermeño anchored in present-day Drake's Bay (which he named the Port of San Francisco) early in November 1595. Fearful of taking the clumsy galleon too close to the rocky coast, he ordered his crew to assemble a large open sailing launch he had brought on board for detailed exploration. Cermeño, constantly apprehensive about the *San Agustín's* rich cargo, watched a fierce storm wreck his ship on the last day of November. The Spanish seamen completed and provisioned the open launch, christened the *San Buenaventura,* and Cermeño, with all seventy passengers and crew, headed southward. Over constant protest, the captain continued surveying and mapping, noting particularly the entrance to Monterey Bay. When the launch reached Cedros Island, malnutrition, scurvy, and exhaustion finally forced him to stop work. Thankful for reaching the safety of Acapulco, Cermeño recounted his epic tale of hunger, misery, and discouragement, but untouched officials, prejudiced by conflicting stories, reprimanded him for losing the *San Agustín,* while owners of the lost cargo threatened to sue for damages. The result was a royal order that Manila galleons no longer be used for exploration and survey.[32]

SEBASTIÁN VIZCAÍNO, 1602

The voyages of Drake and Cavendish, as well as the formation of the British East India Company in 1600, created further conflict for Spanish merchants in Asia. In the wake of the English came the Dutch, whose ships passed through the Strait of

Magellan at the end of the sixteenth century. With a view toward Spanish needs for protection and supplies on the Pacific Coast, Gaspar de Zúñiga, Conde de Monterey, Viceroy of New Spain (1595–1603), approved a new California expedition under Sebastián Vizcaíno, an experienced participant in the galleon trade, but not a professional mariner. Vizcaíno, an ambitious and capable Basque merchant established in Acapulco, had survived the capture of the *Santa Ana* (having organized the group that put out the flames on the burning galleon) and later headed an attempt to colonize Baja California. Believing that pearls, gold, and silver must exist somewhere in California, Vizcaíno finally convinced the viceroy to give him another chance at colonization. The Conde de Monterey recommended Vizcaíno's new expedition for royal approval primarily to establish pearl fishing and to shed new light on the defense and security of the Manila galleons.[33]

Royal instructions from the viceroy set Vizcaíno's objective specifically as "the discovery and demarkation of the ports, bays, and inlets which exist from Cape San Lucas, situated at 22 degrees 15 minutes, to Cape Mendocino, at 42 degrees." Because some earlier expeditions, notably those by Unamuno and Cermeño, had been endangered by altercations with Indians, Vizcaíno was warned "not to allow anyone to go inland in search of Indians, nor even find out if Indians were there, since the intent and principal purposes (of coastal charting and soundings) did not require it."[34] He was to follow Cabrillo's route and not change any of the place names already given.

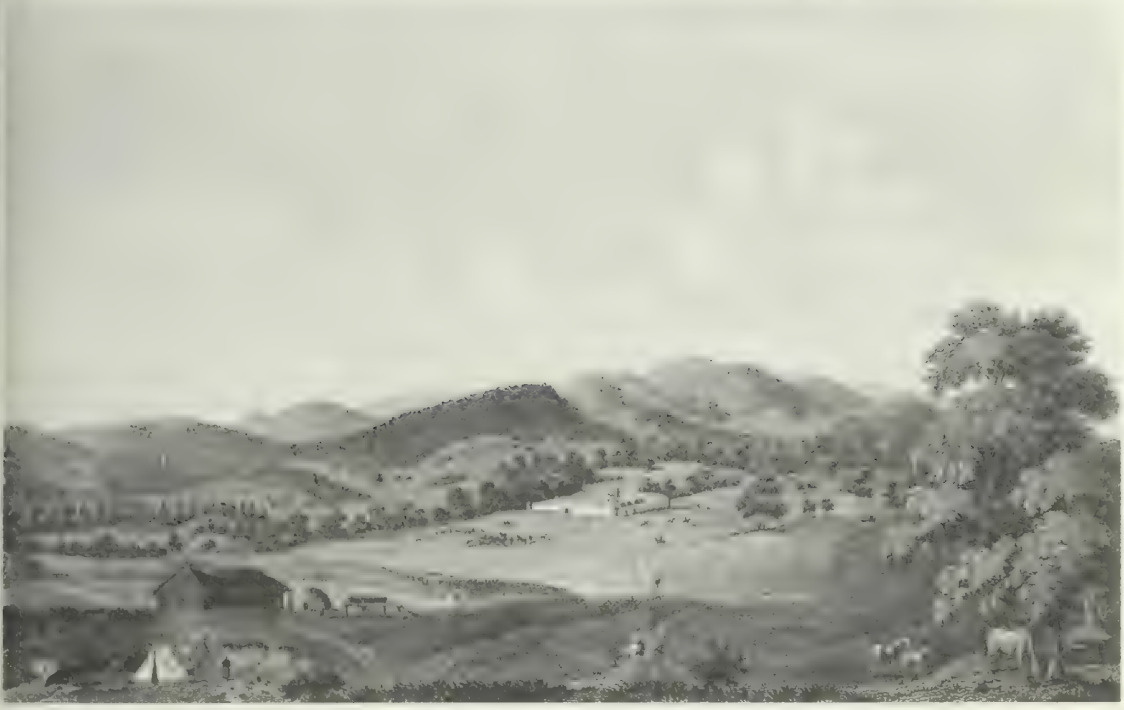
Vizcaíno sailed from Acapulco on May 5, 1602, with the *San Diego, Santo Tomás,* and *Tres Reyes* (a small auxiliary). On board were a cosmographer, three Carmelite priests, and a company of nearly two hundred men carefully selected for their nautical experience. The ships took four months to reach Alta California, while Vizcaíno, claiming difficulty in recognizing localities, permanently renamed all of Cabrillo's landmarks except Magdalena Bay. Upon approaching Cabrillo's Islas Desiertas, Vizcaíno called them San Martín, but the name suggested by the Carmelite Father Antonio de la Ascención—Los Cuatro Coronados—won out. Vizcaíno entered Cabrillo's Bay of San Miguel on November 10, 1602, noting its good anchorage and abundant natural resources. "On the 12th of said month, which was the day of the glorious San Diego, almost everyone went ashore; they built a hut, said mass (and) celebrated the feast of San Diego."[35] About one hundred Indians with bows and arrows appeared on a nearby hill, but did nothing when the Spanish, with offerings of presents, assured them of friendship. At the crest of Point Loma, Father Ascensión recorded the discovery of "another good port" (Mission Bay) and made a quick survey of the region. The priest thought the land fertile, the variety of fish most numerous, and the existence of gold assured by some sparkling gold pyrites he found. After ten days' rest, the Spaniards set sail from their naturally protected port, which Vizcaíno called San Diego de Alcalá.

The expedition continued northward, fighting high winds and seas virtually all the time, stopping briefly at Catalina Island, and then passing through the Santa Barbara Channel. On December 16, 1602, they anchored in the bay whose name they gave to honor their viceregal patron, the Count of Monterey. Vizcaíno's unqualified praise of Monterey Bay as the "best port that could be desired" and "sheltered from all winds" resulted in its later selection as Spain's first capital of California. Unfortunately, the infrequency of these ideal weather conditions made the port unrecognizable by California's first overland explorers, led by Gaspar de Portolá in 1769.[36]

Although one ship returned to Mexico with the grievously sick crew members on board, the remainder of the expedition explored farther northward despite fierce storms and the crew's failing health. Departing from Monterey on January 3, 1603, they reached Drake's Bay in two days (naming the headland *La Punta de los Santos Reyes,* or Point Reyes); a week later they sighted Cape Mendocino. Here, Vizcaíno decided to head back to Acapulco. The ships could not stop at any place along the coast since none of the men, all ravaged by scurvy, had the strength to pull up an anchor once dropped. Vizcaíno entered Acapulco on March 21, 1603, with his glowing reports about Monterey, and was able to impress the viceroy with his discovery. Monterey's successor, however, the Count of Montesclaros (1603–1607), distrusted Vizcaíno, ridiculed the idea of establishing a California port, and discouraged further exploration. The problem of protecting the galleon was solved instead by improvements in ship design and construction that added space for carrying needed provisions. Stopping along California's rugged and unfamiliar coast within so few days of reaching port in Mexico seemed an unnecessary risk to the cargo. As a result, no further sea expeditions sailed to Upper California for more than 165 years. Although several pearl-seeking expeditions explored the Gulf of California, advancement northward from Mexico was left to the slow but steady progress of overland parties.

NAVAL EXPLORATION DURING THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: JUAN PÉREZ

After the initial settlement of Alta California in 1769 under the leadership of Governor Gaspar de Portolá and Franciscan Father President Junípero Serra, the defensive policies of Viceroy Antonio de Bucareli of New Spain were governed by California's strategic value as a buffer colony against foreign aggression.[37] Rumors of an English voyage to the North Pole and the threat of Russian activities in the Pacific Northwest led Bucareli to plan renewed naval exploration north of California. He wrote: "I deem it well that any establishment of the Russians on this continent or of any other foreign power ought to be guarded against . . . to avoid the consequences that would follow from having neighbors other than the Indians."[38]



The Presidio of Monterrey, an engraving that appeared in George Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* (London, 1798), was derived from a drawing made by John Sykes, a master's mate on the English explorer's epic expedition, which first visited the California capital in late 1792. Established in 1770, the presidio was one of four military fortifications constructed between San Diego and San Francisco to defend the province from foreign aggression and to guard neighboring missions from Indian depredations. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30520.*

The viceroy's lengthy instructions to Ensign Juan Pérez of December 24, 1773, primarily designed for regulating all future explorations from San Blas to the Northwest, clearly set forth Spain's policy governing activities in the Pacific during this period.[39] The instructions stressed topics such as keeping accurate and complete logs, methods for approaching the coasts, regulations for friendly conduct among the native inhabitants, procedures for taking possession, and instructions for handling foreign contact. The thirty-two articles also covered a multitude of detail about supplies, medicines, discipline, and minor surveys along the coast. The expedition was not to turn back until the ship had reached sixty degrees north.[40]

Pérez sailed the newly constructed 225-ton frigate *Santiago* from San Blas on January 25, 1774. Aboard were eighty-six crewmen, Father Junípero Serra returning from a visit to Mexico to his missionary post at Monterey, Father Pablo Mugartegui, and a small company of settlers heading for California. After a brief stop at Monterey, Pérez, with Fathers Juan Crespí and Tomás de la Peña as chaplains and diarists, continued his voyage into unknown waters north of the Queen Charlotte Islands at approximately 55 degrees north latitude.[41] Dense fog and contrary currents prevented their making a landfall, however, and Pérez, plagued by constant sickness and worried about the lack of fresh water, turned back short of his instructed goal of 60 degrees. He sailed the *Santiago* along the coast of Vancouver Island and on August 9, 1775, anchored in a harbor that he named San Lorenzo. It later became known as Nootka Sound. Twenty-one canoes containing nearly 150 amazed Indians approached the *Santiago.* A Spanish diarist reported:

> The view of this ship at first filled the natives with terror . . . and they were seized with fright from the moment they saw the giant "machine" on the horizon, which little by little approached their coasts. They believed that Qua-utz [the Creator] was coming to make a second visit, and were fearful that it was to punish their misdeeds.[42]

Pérez did not land at Nootka but exchanged some gifts with the Indians.[43] He then set his course for Monterey, arriving with his by then scurvy-ridden crew on August 27. Father Serra was keenly disappointed that the expedition had failed to achieve its objective of 60 degrees, and criticized Pérez, still in poor health, for refusing to stay in California and help establish a settlement in San Francisco. The veteran mariner returned to San Blas early in November and almost immediately began to prepare for further exploration.[44] Bucareli advised his superiors in Madrid that no contact with Russian traders had been made and that a second expedition, scheduled to depart in the spring, would further investigate and take possession of northern lands.[45]

HEZETA, AYALA, AND BODEGA, 1775

As a follow-up expedition, three vessels left San Blas in March 1775 and headed into the Pacific. The *Santiago,* commanded by Bruno de Hezeta, a native of Bilbao, and the thirty-six-foot schooner *Sonora,* as consort under Juan Manuel de Ayala, sailed under similar instructions as those given to Pérez. They were to attempt a landfall at 60 degrees north latitude. The familiar San Blas supply ship *San Carlos,* under Manuel Manrique, was to make a thorough reconnaissance of San Francisco Bay for its proposed occupation. Unfortunately, shortly after the ships set sail, Manrique suffered a mental breakdown. Hezeta ordered his return to San Blas and transferred command of the *San Carlos* to Ayala. This event elevated the Peruvian-born Ensign Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to captain of the tiny *Sonora.*

The *Santiago,* with Juan Pérez as chief pilot, and Bodega's *Sonora* sailed directly to the North Pacific without stopping at Monterey. On June 9, 1775, the two Spanish vessels anchored in Trinidad Bay, in northern California, and took possession of the harbor in the name of King Carlos III. Within a few days, Hezeta entered the mouth of a river and recorded his discovery as the Entrada de Hezeta.[46] Continuing northward, the crewmen of the *Sonora* landed on the coast of present-day Washington state and were ambushed by some three hundred Indians. Seven men—half of the *Sonora*'s crew—were killed while Bodega stood powerless to avenge his loss. Hezeta, the senior commander of the enterprise, gave up some men from his own *Santiago* to replenish the *Sonora* and suggested they return home.

Bodega and his second officer, Francisco Mourelle, from Galicia in northern Spain, daringly planned to continue the voyage, despite the reluctance of Hezeta. During a foggy night they allowed their vessel to drift away from the *Santiago* until it was out of sight and could set sail. Bodega and his men struggled north against prevailing winds in an effort to reach the sixtieth parallel. The *Sonora* hove to less than two degrees short of the aspired goal.[47] Bodega strengthened Spain's claim to the territory by taking possession at Puerto de los Remedios (57 degrees 20 minutes north) and Puerto de Bucareli (55 degrees 18 minutes north).

On the basis of their discoveries, as delineated on the charts completed by Bodega and Mourelle, Spain established a solid foundation for her claim of sovereignty over the Pacific Coast from Monterey to the Gulf of Alaska. On the return trip, his crew and himself stricken with scurvy, Bodega managed to survey one final port—the one he would leave as a namesake, *Puerto de Capitan de la Bodega,* or present-day Bodega Bay.[48] The *Sonora* anchored alongside its flagship *Santiago* in Monterey harbor, October 7, 1775. Bodega's epic exploration in a thirty-six-foot schooner gives ample testimony to the courage of these early navigators. Upon returning to Mexico, Bodega and Mourelle dispelled Bucareli's fears about the presence of Russian traders in the north.

The San Blas supply ship *San Carlos,* also lying at anchor in Monterey, had just returned from its forty-four-day survey of San Francisco Bay. Captain Ayala had sailed to the entrance of the bay on August 4, 1775, but strong currents and tides prevented his passing through the narrow entry (today's Golden Gate) until the next day. Finally successful, the *San Carlos* became the first European ship to enter California's largest natural port. Ayala anchored off present-day San Francisco's North Beach and, with a small launch, explored every part of the bay. Ayala's exploration set the stage for occupation of San Francisco and the foundation of its presidio and mission in early fall 1776.[49]

SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION

Spain's desire to expand the frontiers of knowledge paralleled the nation's interest in controlling and settling new territory. Carlos III, following the lead of his Bourbon predecessors, actively sponsored the intellectual renovation of his realm. To encourage scientific studies, and to compete with British and French endeavors, Carlos promoted half a dozen major expeditions during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After the king's death in 1788, Spain's royal government began its decline, but capable viceroys and other colonial officials nevertheless carried out projected scientific efforts, as well as other reform measures. Unfortunately, the exploring expeditions received little support or encouragement from Carlos IV (1788–1808) to assemble and edit the results of the investigations when they returned to the Iberian Peninsula. Many competent studies were denied publication. If Spain seemed to contribute little, therefore, to nineteenth-century science, it was not for lack of ideas and worthwhile experiments, but because events at home defeated their ambitious undertakings. The activities of these scientists have only recently become the subject of extensive investigation both in Spain and in the Americas.[50]

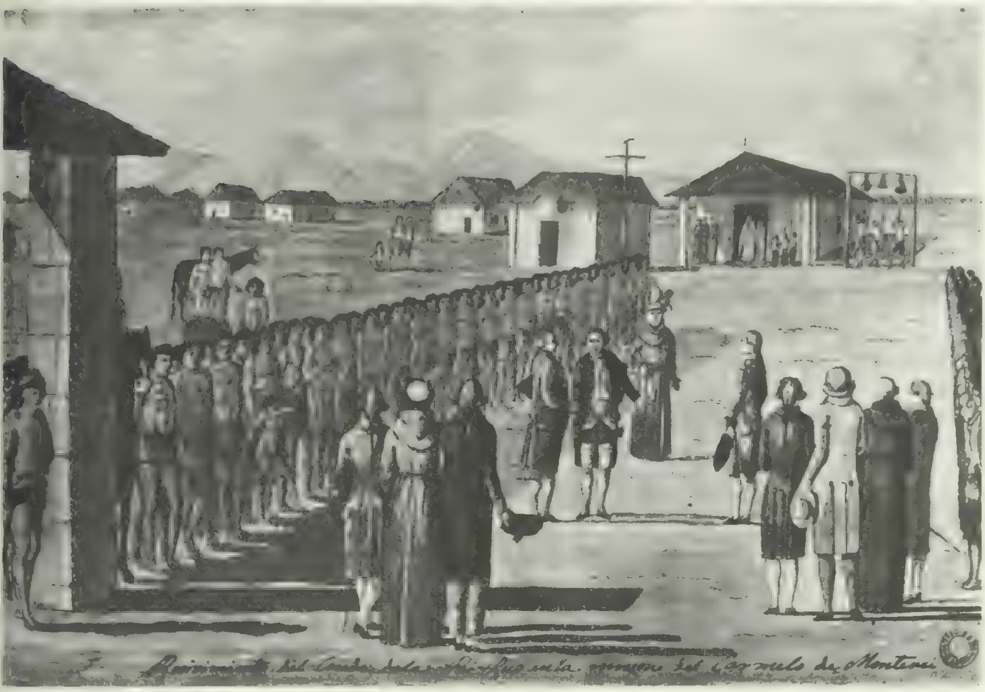
Factors influencing the flurry of scientific activity during the late eighteenth century were rooted in the changing climate of European thought. The concept of naturalism—the assumption that the whole universe of mind and matter was guided and controlled by natural law—caused men of the Enlightenment to reassess the resources of their own countries. Scientists throughout Europe catalogued minerals, classified fauna, and flora according to the system of Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus, surveyed natural products, recorded native customs, and rewrote standard natural histories. Intellectual interests shifted gradually from supernatural beliefs to a natural science based on investigation and demonstration. Scientific studies commanded the attention of scholars and the patronage of kings.[51]

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

The object of Captain James Cook's third voyage around the world in 1776, in addition to gathering scientific data, was to discover for England the famed Northwest Passage—still the preoccupation of European mariners. In the course of his exploration, Cook discovered the islands that he named for the Earl of Sandwich—present-day Hawaii—and in 1778 visited the Pacific Northwest coast. Anchoring his two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery,* at Nootka Sound in what Cook called Friendly Cove, his party recorded local observations for nearly a month. Eventually heading north into Alaskan waters, Cook again found himself blocked by a barrier of ice. The ships returned to the Sandwich Islands, where Cook was killed by natives at Kealakakua Bay in a trivial skirmish over a stolen boat.[52]

VOYAGE OF LA PÉROUSE, 1786

The French launched an around-the-world expedition under the command of Jean François de Galaup, Count of La Pérouse, that sailed from Brest on August 1, 1785.



Reception of Count de La Pérouse at Mission Carmel depicts Franciscans greeting the first foreign visitors to California. Made in 1791 by José Cardero, an artist with the Spanish exploring expedition commanded by Alejandro Malaspina, it is one of three copies of the long-lost original, which was drawn on the spot in 1786 by Gaspard Duché de Vancy, a skilled draftsman with the famed French voyager. Entering the mission courtyard, where the neophytes were assembled in close formation, they were received, wrote La Pérouse, "like the lords of manors when they first take possession of their estates." *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Robin Inglis.*

Its published objectives were to increase geographic knowledge and explore for the Northwest Passage; not stated were the commercial and political motives of trade and possible colonization of the Pacific area. Under special scrutiny were the Russian and Spanish ports on the North American coast. Following Cook's route, the enterprise visited Hawaii, spent a month along Alaskan shores in the summer of 1786, and then sailed directly for Monterey—paying the first official French visit to California.[53]

During the ten days La Pérouse remained in the province, his expedition gathered sufficient information to prepare comprehensive reports on California's geography, resources, political and military government, mission system, Indian population, and economic possibilities. Judging from the area of Monterey, La Pérouse thought California to be "inexpressibly fertile," abounding in fish and game, and its lack of flowing water compensated by the dampness of the air. He concluded, however, that any progress made by the Indians under authoritarian Spain would be slow.

Schooled in the philosophy of the encyclopedists and a firm believer in the equal rights of man, La Pérouse commented that even though the missionaries were perfectly fulfilling the paternalistic objective of their institution, and as individuals were gentle, humane, and charitable, he "wished that to the principles of Christianity a body of laws might have been joined which, little by little, would have made into citizens men whose condition hardly differs from that of the Negroes of those households in our colonies."[54] La Pérouse believed that his "novel plan" had difficulties, agreeing that the Indians had few modern ideas, would run away if not treated as children, were unaffected by reasoning, and responded only to a system of punishment and rewards. He still asked, however, that "with extreme patience" might it not be possible to make known to the Indians "the advantages of a society founded on the rights of man and to establish the right of property among them" so they would be persuaded to cultivate their fields "or engage in some other kind of labor?"[55] La Pérouse was not alone in his quest for that answer; the Spanish asked themselves the same question many times. The failure to find an answer during the mission period produced the unfortunate aftermath of secularization, when Indians were dispossessed of much of their land.

The French expedition sailed from Monterey August 24, 1786, to Macao, the Philippines, and then northward to the Sea of Japan. From a Russian port at Kamchatka, La Pérouse dispatched his daily journals and some of the scientific papers overland to Paris. Additional documents were also forwarded after the group visited the East Indies and Botany Bay. Known to have headed southward, the expedition mysteriously disappeared. La Pérouse's journals and other papers of the voyage, shipped to Paris from Hawaii, were published in Paris in 1791, and several searches were made for the missing expedition. Not until more than thirty-five years had passed was the wreckage of the French ships found north of the New Hebrides.

VOYAGE OF MALASPINA

The around-the-world expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, one of the most ambitious of the eighteenth-century scientific undertakings organized in Spain during the 1780s, is little known in California today. After stopping in South America and Mexico, an elite group of Spanish intellectuals paid an official visit to Alta California in 1791. Malaspina, a Spanish naval officer of Italian birth, had circumnavigated the earth in 1786–1788 as captain of *La Astrea.* He and a fellow officer, José Bustamante y Guerra, submitted a plan to the Spanish minister of marine, Antonio Valdés, for a scientific and political voyage that would follow in the wake of Cook and La Pérouse and "study the survival of Man in different climates, in extensive journeys, and among some almost incredible tasks and risks," and would represent "the most significant contribution that navigation has made."[56]

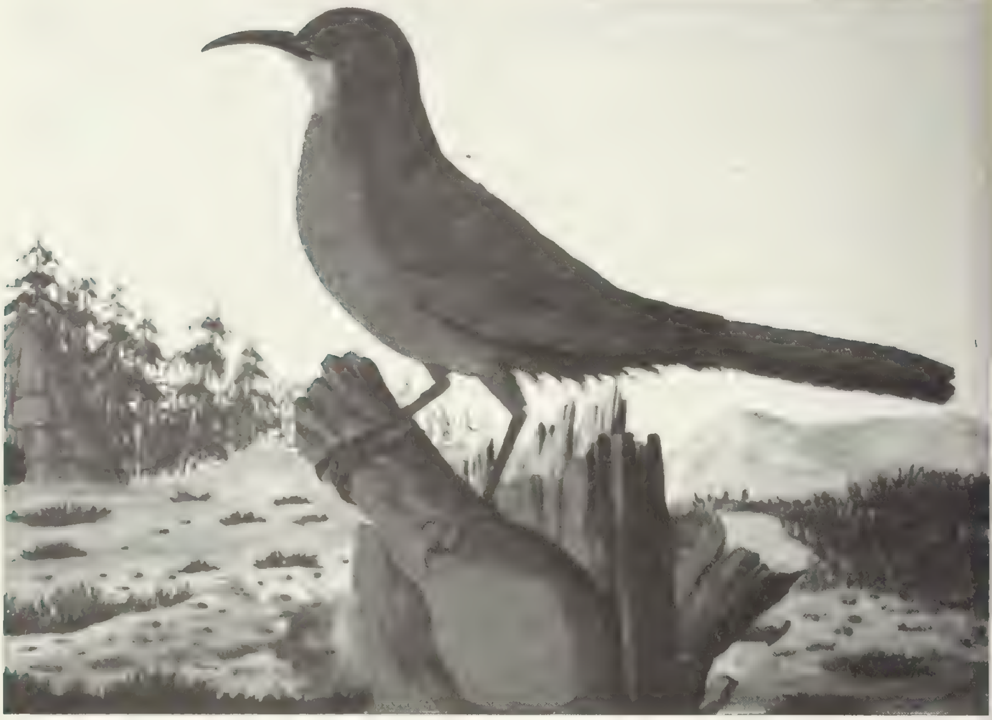
Two corvettes built especially for the project, the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida,* set sail from the port of Cádiz in July 1789, arriving in Montevideo the following September. Sailing around Cape Horn, the ships cruised along the coasts of Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, and Nicaragua, stopping in major ports to make investigations of the surrounding territory. While in Acapulco in May 1791, Malaspina received a royal order to search for the Strait of Anián, or Northwest Passage. To make best use of his available time, Malaspina decided to leave a number of officers and scientists in Mexico for further study. He then sailed with the rest of his party in search of the elusive passage and to visit the Pacific Northwest and California.

Following a stay on the Alaskan coast, the Malaspina expedition stopped at Nootka Sound, where they set up an astronomical observatory, sketched local scenes, gathered fauna and flora, and exchanged various gifts with the natives. Malaspina and Maquinna, chief of the Nootka (Mowachaht) Indians, established a bond of friendship. After a two-week stay, during which time they learned much about local customs, the party then headed for Monterey in August 1791.[57] By this time, Governor Fages had relinquished his California command and returned to Mexico. The new provincial head, José Antonio Roméu, had not yet reached California, so Malaspina was greeted by the generous and amiable Lieutenant José Darío Argüello, acting commandant of the Monterey presidio. The expedition also brought to California its first American visitor, John Green from Boston, who had become seriously ill at Nootka and died in Monterey on the afternoon of September 13. He was buried after funeral services were conducted by Father Francisco de Paula Anino, chaplain of the *Atrevida.*

Upon hearing news of the expedition's arrival, California's Franciscan Father President Fermín Francisco de Lasuén returned from his work at the new mission establishment of Santa Cruz, founded just north of Monterey on August 28, 1791, to receive Malaspina and his scientists at Mission San Carlos. One of the Malaspina diarists reported that from the moment Lasuén arrived on the scene,

> . . . so great was his activity for our collections of natural history, so prolific and detailed his information and reflections on the prosperity of these missions, and finally so affable, natural and religiously abundant was his hospitality at any hour . . . that he would be poorly described in any other way than that of perpetual recognition and appreciation.[58]

During the expedition's fifteen-day visit to Monterey, naturalist Tadeo Haënke directed studies of local birds, quadrupeds, sea animals, and fish. He also prepared a comprehensive survey of plant life and listed the uses for California trees. Credited with the first scientific description of the redwood, Haënke is named as its botanical discoverer.[59] In the field of mineralogy, the talented Bohemian analyzed the soil of the Monterey coast beginning with the sands along the shore and continuing in-



A California thrasher was one of the birds drawn by José Cardero and described by the naturalist Tadeo Haënke during Alejandro Malaspina's sojourn at Monterey in 1791. It was hoped that the discoveries and achievements of Malaspina's scientific staff, which were encyclopedic in range, would enhance Spain's reputation as a major European power. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

land for a considerable distance. Artists José Cardero and Tomás Suría contributed colorful illustrations of both a scientific and general nature.

The expedition left Monterey with exchanges of compliments and sad farewells. Returning first to Acapulco to pick up the rest of the group, the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* directed their courses westward, visiting Guam, the Philippines, New Zealand, New South Wales, and the Fiji Islands. Recrossing the Pacific, the two vessels sailed for the port of Cádiz by way of South America. The expedition returned to Spain after sixty-two months of travel and exploration. It was praised for its success; but Malaspina's fame was short-lived. His inopportune involvement with Queen María Luisa of Parma, wife of Carlos IV, and his unpopular liberal views regarding the Americas resulted in his imprisonment in Spain and eventual exile to his home country. Malaspina's death in Pontremoli in 1810 effectively terminated the editing and publication of the expedition's documents. The expedition's material remained relatively unknown for a century.[60] According to the German naturalist

Baron Alexander von Humboldt, Malaspina was "more famous for his misfortunes than for his discoveries."[61]

BODEGA AND VANCOUVER

Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, veteran of two epic explorations to the North Pacific and commander of the Naval Department of San Blas, was commissioned in 1792 to represent Spain in a final effort to resolve the difficulties with England over territorial rights at Nootka Sound.[62] His "Expedition of the Limits to the North of California" was also the last major Spanish effort to make a full investigation of the northern area.[63] For this reason Viceroy Revillagigedo appointed Mexican-born José Mariano Moziño as botanist-naturalist of the expedition.[64] The scientist made some observations in California during a brief stop at Monterey, indicating his belief that the province had numerous advantages over the Nootka Sound area. Bodega, in his journal, commented that among the birds they saw, perhaps at Monterey, was a beautiful quail drawn by artist Atanasio Echeverría and "called by the naturalist *Tetrao de California*."[65]

Two officers of the Malaspina expedition, Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, commanding the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana,* also joined Bodega y Quadra in further exploration of the Northwest coast. Viceroy Revillagigedo had accepted Malaspina's offer to leave these two officers in Mexico to head a special expedition to the northern area. They were instructed to prepare navigational charts; investigate natural resources; describe animals, birds, and fish; discover valuable metals or precious stones; and note objects of scientific curiosity. The talented José Cardero was also left to serve as official artist and cartographer.[66]

The expedition spent several months on the Northwest coast and accompanied the two ships of Captain George Vancouver on his circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. Alcalá Galiano and Valdés returned to Monterey prior to Bodega's return. They remained in California's capital from September 22 to October 26, 1792, where they continued their survey. Their official journal, published in Madrid in 1802, gave a description of Monterey and the surrounding area, a detailed account of Indian life and customs, and a summary of mission progress. Also included were a set of excellent maps and a series of illustrations by artist Cardero.[67]

Commissioned by the English to negotiate with the Spaniards at Nootka, Vancouver had been a member of Cook's second and third expeditions and an active explorer in the West Indies; he reached the Northwest coast in June 1792. With his ships the *Discovery* and *Chatham,* he entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and circumnavigated the island that later would bear his name. Vancouver met Bodega y Quadra at Nootka in August, and after two conferences, the two commissioners agreed to refer settlement of the controversy back to their respective governments.

During these negotiations, Bodega suggested they sail to Monterey rather than suffer through a rigorous winter on the island they had christened Vancouver and Quadra.[68]

JOSÉ LONGINOS MARTÍNEZ

In the meantime, another Spanish scientist, naturalist José Longinos Martínez, member of the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain, had reached Monterey in early September 1792. He arrived in California's capital after a long, overland journey from Cape San Lucas at the tip of Baja California, during which he recorded details about fauna and flora, Indian life and customs, geographical conditions, and the progress of Spanish settlement.[69] Longinos was particularly impressed with the Chumash Indians of the Santa Barbara channel and described them in great detail. He thought their basketwork represented the “utmost delicacy” and their pots and pans, which were handed down from “father to son to grandson,” were of a kind of soapstone that never wore out or became unserviceable. Their bows and arrows were “different from those of the other nations, excelling them in workmanship, beauty, and effectiveness.” Longinos also listed natural products suitable for commercial exploitation and gave particular attention to medicinal plants.[70] After two months of study, Longinos sailed for Mexico from Monterey with Francisco de Eliza on the royal frigate *Concepción* and reached San Blas on November 22, 1792.

VANCOUVER IN CALIFORNIA

Earlier that month, on November 14, 1792, Vancouver sailed the *Discovery* into San Francisco Bay and was well received by Presidio Commander Ensign Hermengildo Sal. After an examination of the military fort and a visit to missions San Francisco and Santa Clara, Vancouver traveled south to be greeted by Bodega y Quadra at Monterey. The two officers proceeded to Mission San Carlos to pay their respects to the father-president.[71] Since Governor Romeú had arrived in poor health and remained confined until his death in April 1792, Father President Lasuén had been hosting official guests. He welcomed the Englishman with his usual gentle manner, warmth, and hospitality. Sailing southward along the California coast early in 1793, Vancouver honored the memory of his friendship with the cordial father-president by bestowing the names Point Fermín and Point Lasuén upon the extremities of San Pedro Bay. The British captain's departure for Hawaii was later delayed at San Diego by unfavorable winds, but Vancouver “did not regret the detention, as it afforded [them] the pleasure of a visit from our very highly esteemed . . . father-president of the missionaries.”[72]

Vancouver's attitude toward California's progress was that Spanish efforts in establishing at least minimal settlements had "cleared the way for the ambitious enterprizers of those maritime powers, who in the avidity of commercial pursuits, may seek to be benefitted by the advantages which the fertile soil of New Albion [California] seems calculated to afford." The missionaries, by their "indefatigable labour," had trained a certain portion of the natives in useful occupations; and the potential commerce of the province with China, India, Japan, and other places "under a judicious and well-regulated establishment," would some future day make California the "object of serious and important consideration" to that nation deciding to challenge Spain's sovereignty.[73]

Vancouver, whose prophesy was later viewed with suspicion by Spanish officials, made a final visit to Monterey in November 1794. Settlement of the Nootka Sound controversy had been made in Madrid, and British relations with California's newly appointed governor, Diego de Borica, were cordial. The expedition departed from the province amid amicable farewells. Vancouver completed his survey of the Pacific Coast and reached England in September 1795. His careful notes of fortifications and settlements, and his detailed commentary about life in California gave the British a comprehensive view of Spanish progress. Local officials remembered Vancouver's visit to California with ambivalent feelings. José Joaquin de Arrillaga, always suspicious of Vancouver's motives, recognized California's weak defenses and issued new orders to strengthen the presidios when he became governor in 1802.

THE END OF AN ERA

Despite difficult conditions on the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of the nineteenth century, future prospects for California were bright. Self-sustaining at last, the distant province had profited under able leadership. While Spaniards at home struggled under the problems of Carlos IV, and though international controversies shook the European world, California showed steady progress in pueblo development, agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. Foreign access to the Pacific had caused officials of New Spain concern for the welfare of California, but local residents would soon turn foreign contact into a profitable trade. A measure of cooperation between church and state had permitted internal gains in terms of economic development and religious conversion, but illness still took its yearly toll of mission Indians.

Spain's zealous efforts in the quest for knowledge during the late eighteenth century did not, unfortunately, result in fame for Spanish scientists or in utilization of the newly discovered information. The nation's extensive collections of data, unlike the journals of Captain Cook or the Count of La Pérouse, were made available to few contemporaries in the academic world. The circumstances that greeted returning members of Spain's scientific expeditions—the lack of support by Carlos IV and the French invasion of 1808—caused much of their valuable material to become disorganized, lost, given away, or sold to foreign collectors. These disheartening occurrences were followed by an even greater tragedy for the Spanish government—the imminent loss of its colonial empire. The same spirit of inquiry initially responsible for European scientific interest and enlightenment, subsequently awakened ideas about natural rights that would provoke revolution. These ideas presaged the outbreak of wars for independence in Spanish America, and Spain's opportunities for scientific study in California and other overseas areas were left to a new generation.

NOTES

1. Recent works on Malaspina include a seven-volume series called *La Expedición Malaspina (1789–1794),* published by the Ministerio de Defensa-Museo Naval-Lunwerg Editores (1990–1996) and titled separately as Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, *Circunstancia Histórica del Viaje* (Tomo I); Cerezo Martínez, ed., *Diario General del Viaje* (Tomo II); Felix Muñoz Garmendia, *Diarios y Trabajos Botánicos de Luis Neé* (Tomo III); Victoria Ibañez Montoya, *Trabajos científicos y correspondencia de Tadeo Haenke* (Tomo IV); Juan Pimentel Igea, *Antropología y Noticias Etnográficas* (Tomo V); Luis Rafael Martínez-Cañavete Ballesteros, *Trabajos Astronómicos, geodésicos, e hidrográficos* (Tomo VI); Juan Pimentel Igea, *Descripciones y reflexiones políticas* (Tomo VII); others are Blanca Saíz, *Bibliografía sobre Alejandro Malaspina* (Madrid: Ediciones El Museo Universal, 1993); José de la Sota Rius, *Tras las Huellas de Malaspina* (Madrid: Lunwerg Editores, 1994); María Dolores Higueras, ed., *Catálogo crítico de los documentos de la Expedición Malaspina (1789–1794) del Museo Naval,* 3 vols. (Madrid: Museo Naval, 1985–1994); and Mercedes Palau Baquero and Antonio Orozco Acuaviva, eds., *Malaspina '92: Jornadas Internacionales* (Cádiz: Real Academia Hispanoamericana, 1994).

2. The first circumnavigation of the globe, headed by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailing for Spain, was also completed during this period. After Magellan's death in the Philippines, a Spaniard, Juan Sebastián del Cano, brought the remaining ship into port.

3. Bernal Díaz Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1632), reprinted 3 vols. (México, D.F.: Pedro Robredo, 1939, and Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1960).

4. See Maurice G. Holmes, *From New Spain to California by Sea, 1519–1668* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1963); Henry Raup Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929), 304–306; W. Michael Mathes, *The Conquistador in California: 1535: The Voyage of Fernando Cortés to Baja California in Chronicles and Documents* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1973).

5. Holmes, *From New Spain to California by Sea,* 83.

6. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages,* 45; Lesley Byrd Simpson, ed. and trans., *Cortes: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary: Francisco López de Gomara* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 403; Doris Beale Polk, *The Island of California* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1991), 155.

7. This knowledge, however, was lost time and again. In the early 1700s the Jesuit Father Eusebio Kino temporarily laid to rest the popular perception that California was an island by

overland exploration at the head of the gulf. Nevertheless, the myth persisted until Ferdinand VI, in a royal decree of 1747, proclaimed: "California is not an island." See Polk, *The Island of California,* 326.

8. Mexico's conqueror argued his claims before the royal court, but his lawsuits dragged on before an unsympathetic officialdom.

9. Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1986), is a definitive treatment of Cabrillo's life during the conquest of Mexico and his role in the California expedition.

10. The single early reference to Cabrillo as being of Portuguese descent comes from Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano,* 4 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1601–1615; also printed in 17 vols., Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1936–1957). His name in Portuguese would be João Rodrigues Cabrilho, but he always signed himself Juan Rodríguez in the Spanish way. Cabrillo, or Cabrilho, is unknown as a surname in Portugal, although there are several Portuguese villages called Cabril, from which the name might have been derived, and that claim Juan Cabrillo as their own. Cabrillo as a surname, however, is found throughout Spain. See Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo,* chapter 1, for convincing evidence of Rodríguez Cabrillo's Spanish nationality.

11. Holmes, *From New Spain to California,* 102.

12. Kelsey, *Cabrillo,* 105–107. The *San Miguel,* never very seaworthy, was left ashore on the California coast.

13. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., "A Summary Account of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's Voyage," *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 23. The "bearded and clothed men" were no doubt Spaniards from the Coronado expedition of 1540–1541. Kelsey, *Cabrillo,* 144, reports that Guacamal was the name the Indians gave to the Spaniards.

14. Ibid., 24.

15. Ibid., 25.

16. Kelsey, *Cabrillo,* 158. Cabrillo, upon learning that his men were in need of help in a battle with the Indians, gathered a relief party and rowed ashore. "As he began to jump out of the boat," wrote Francisco de Vargas, "one foot struck a rocky ledge, and he splintered a shinbone." Later, in 1560, Cabrillo's son said that his father had a broken leg, while another narrative (that of Urdaneta) reports that he broke his arm close to the shoulder. Wherever the site of the injury, gangrene set in and became the cause of his death.

17. Ibid., 160.

18. Following the return of Columbus from "the Indies" in 1492, Pope Alexander VI, for the purpose of conversion of natives, divided the newly discovered lands between Spain and Portugal.

19. Amancio Landín Carrasco, et al., *Descubrimientos Españoles en el Mar de Sur* (Madrid: Editorial Naval, 1992), vol. II, chapter VII.

20. Henry R. Wagner, "Urdaneta and the Return Route from the Philippine Islands," *Pacific Historical Review* 13 (1944): 313–16; Charles E. Nowell, "Arellano vs. Urdaneta," *Pacific Historical Review* 31 (May 1962): 112.

21. See William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1939).

22. Captain James Cook's use of fresh lime juice during the 1770s is given credit as the first effective remedy against scurvy.

23. K. R. Andrews, "The Aims of Drake's Expedition," *American Historical Review* 73 (February 1968): 724–41; Henry R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World: Its Aims and Achievements* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1926).

24. The other four ships had all turned back to England.

25. Harry Kelsey, "Did Francis Drake Really Visit California?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (November 1990): 445–62; Norman J. H. Thrower, *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); W. L. Hanna, *Lost Harbor: The Controversy over Drake's Anchorage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

26. Adolph S. Oko, "Francis Drake and Nova Albion," *California Historical Quarterly* 43 (June 1964): 137.

27. Since no archeological remains of Drake's visit have been uncovered anywhere in the area, the alleged discovery of Drake's "Plate of Brass" at Drake's Bay in 1933, and its discovery or rediscovery in 1936 near Corte Madera Creek inside San Francisco Bay, have done little more than add a note of additional confusion. Following internal and external analysis, a metallurgical study, and identification of the writing as Elizabethan in style and spelling, the plate was duly authenticated shortly after it was found. After considerable speculation that the plate was fake, additional tests were made during the 1970s and 1980s. With new evidence that contradicted earlier findings, few persons remain who believe the artifact is genuine.

28. See Robert F. Heizer, *Francis Drake and the California Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947). Harry Kelsey, in "Did Drake Really Visit California?" believes that the evidence is inconclusive regarding the identity of the Indians.

29. See W. S. W. Vaux, ed., *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, Being His Next Voyage . . . Collated with an Unpublished Manuscript of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1589; reprinted 1854).

30. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon,* 307–309.

31. Unamuno replaced another Manila galleon pilot, Francisco de Gali, who was given charge of exploring the California coast upon his return from Manila in 1584. Since Gali offered no new information, he was ordered by Viceroy Pedro Moya de Contreras to try again. Gali's sudden death gave Unamuno his opportunity. See H. R. Wagner, "The Voyage of Unamuno to California in 1587," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 2 (1923–24): 140–60; and "Relación del viaje y navegación que hizo el capitán Pedro de Unamuno," in W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Californiana* I, (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965), 18–37.

32. Robert F. Heizer, "Archeological Evidence of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermenho's California Visit," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (December 1941): 315–28; see also "La Relación de lo sucedido en el viaje que yo el capitán Sebastián Rodríguez Cermenho hice en lo tocante al descubrimiento del cabo Mendocino," in W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Californiana* I, 163–76; and Henry R. Wagner, "The Voyage to California of Sebastián Rodrigues Cermenho in 1595," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 3 (April 1924): 3–24.

33. W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean: 1580–1630* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968).

34. El virrey conde de Monterrey a Vizcaíno, 18 de marzo de 1602, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 133 and in Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, ed., *Bibliotheca Indiana: Viajes y Viajeros por Norteamerica* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1958), 65. Also in Mathes, ed., *Californiana* I, 353–64.

35. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, "Relación breve en que se da noticia del descubrimiento que se hizo en la Nueva Espana en la Mar del Sur, Mexico, 12 de octubre de 1620," in Ballesteros Gaibrois, ed., *Bibliotheca Indiana,* 77. See also Herbert E. Bolton, ed., "Diary of Antonio de la Ascensión," *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest: 1542–1706,* and W. Michael Mathes, "Early California Propaganda: The Works of Fray Antonio de la Ascensión," *California Historical Quarterly* 50 (June 1971): 195–205.

36. See Frederick J. Teggert and Adolph van Hemert-Engert, *The Narrative of the Portolá Expedition 1769–1770* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1910); and Peter Browning, ed., *The Discovery of San Francisco Bay: The Portolá Expedition of 1769–1770* (Lafayette, Calif: Great West Books, 1992).

37. Bucareli, Viceroy from 1769 to 1779, showed concern for religious matters and Indian welfare, but he also valued civilian settlement.

38. Charles E. Chapman, *History of California: The Spanish Period* (Boston: Macmillan Co., 1921), 272.

39. Michael Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas; New Spain's Bastion for Alta California and Nootka, 1767–1798* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1967), 126.

40. Manuel P. Servin, "Instructions of Viceroy Bucareli to Ensign Juan Perez," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (September 1961): 238.

41. See Herbert K. Beals, ed. and trans., *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast: Six Documents of his Expedition in 1774* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1989). It was later established that Pérez reached 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude. Spain's claim to this northern boundary was taken over by the United States as a result of the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. See also the Diary of Juan Crespí in Donald C. Cutter and George Butler Griffin, eds. and trans., *The California Coast: A Bilingual Edition of Documents from the Sutro Collection* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969).

42. José Mariano Moziño, in Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, ed. and trans., *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970, rev. ed. 1991), 14.

43. For artifacts collected by the Spaniards, see Paz Cabello, "Materiales etnográficos de la Costa Noroeste recogidos en el siglo XVIII por viajeros españoles," in José Luis Peset, ed., *Culturas de la Costa Noroestede América* (Madrid: Turner Libros, 1989), 61–80.

44. James Caster, "The Last Days of Juan Pérez, the Mallorcan Mariner," *Journal of the West* 2 (June 1963): 19; see also Beals, ed. and trans., *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast.*

45. Thurman, *San Blas,* 139.

46. The American Robert Gray rediscovered the inlet and the river beyond in 1788, bestowing on it the name Columbia.

47. Donald Cutter, "California: Training Ground for Spanish Naval Heroes," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (June 1961): 110.

48. Thurman, *San Blas,* 161.

49. See Theodore E. Treutlein, *San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769–1776* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), chap I, 26. The presidio was founded as a result of the Anza overland expedition from Sonora in 1775, which brought the settlement's necessary soldiers and colonists to California. The presidio site was chosen by Lt. José Joaquín Moraga of Anza's company, and construction began on July 26, 1776. The founding ceremony took place on September 17, and Moraga, with fathers Francisco Palóu and Pedro

Cambón, selected a site on the Río Dolores for Mission San Francisco de Asís, which was dedicated on October 9, 1776.

50. See for example Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1961), and *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World: The Eighteenth Century Expeditions* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), and Engstrand, ed. and trans., *Noticias de Nutka;* María Pilar de San Pío, *Expediciones Españolas del Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992); Antonio Lafuente and José Sala Catalá, eds., *Ciencia colonial en América* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992); Belén Sánchez, ed., *La Real Expedición Botánica a Nueva España* (Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico, 1987); María Dolores Higueras, ed., *La Botánica en la Expedición Malaspina* (Madrid: Turner Libros, 1989); Fermín del Pino Díaz, ed., *Ciencia y Contexto Histórico Nacional en las Expediciones Ilustradas a América* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988); and Andrés Galera Gómez, *La Ilustración Española y el Conocimiento del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988). See also footnote 1.

51. See Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World,* 3–12.

52. James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780,* 3 vols. and atlas (London: G. Nicol and G. Catell, 1784). John Ledyard of Connecticut, who sailed with Cook on the *Resolution,* compiled a narrative of the Englishman's last expedition that appeared in 1783. Cook's official record of the voyage, completed by Captain James King, was published in London in 1784. Among the cultural and scientific data were accounts of how Cook's men traded trinkets to the Nootkan Indians for fur pelts, items that they later sold in China for $100 apiece. The news excited American, British, and French interest in the possibilities of a Northwest fur trade and provided a strong motive for further exploration. The Russians by this time were actively trading in the Aleutian Islands. See James K. Mumford, ed., *John Ledyard's Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1963).

53. Charles N. Rudkin, trans. and ed., *The First French Expedition to California: Lapérouse in 1786* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1959), 62. Governor Pedro Fages, and especially his wife, Doña Eulalia, were pleased to entertain the count and his party and gave the French such a generous show of hospitality that La Pérouse was overwhelmed. Instructed by the Crown to treat the members of the expedition as if they were countrymen, Fages refused payment for provisions and supplies. In describing their welcome by Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, the count wrote: "We were received like lords of the parish making their first entry into their estates."

54. Ibid., 53.

55. Ibid., 56.

56. Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World,* 45.

57. Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California,* 28.

58. Ibid., 31.

59. Willis L. Jepson, *The Silva of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1910), 138.

60. A one-volume summary of the expedition was published in Madrid in 1885 by Pedro de Novo y Colson entitled *Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas* Descu-

bierta y Atrevida *al mando de los Capitanes de Navio D. Alejandro Malaspina y D. Jose de Bustamante y Guerra desde 1789 a 1794* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda e Hijos de Abienzo, 1885).

61. Quoted in Cutter, *Malaspina in California*, 36.

62. The British challenge to Spain's sovereignty north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca began in 1789. An agreement reached between Madrid and London—the Nootka Convention of 1790—effectively ended Spanish occupation of the area in 1795.

63. Viaje a la Costa N. O. de la America Septentrional por Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra . . . en el año 1792. MS, Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid.

64. Moziño, trained as a theologian, physician, and botanist, joined the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain in 1789 and was a part of botanical surveys throughout the area north of Mexico City. Because funding was short for the Spanish group, Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo of New Spain appointed Moziño to accompany Bodega y Quadra to the Pacific Northwest.

65. Viaje de Bodega y Quadra 1792, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid.

66. Cardero, a native of Ecija in southern Spain and former cabin-boy with the Malaspina expedition, had developed his ability throughout the journey, beginning with rough sketches off the coast of South America. By 1792, his skills were equal to or in some cases superior to the official artists.

67. Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, *Relación del viaje hecho por las goletas "Sutil" y "Mexicana" en el año 1792 para reconocer al estrecho de Fuca* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1802; reprinted Madrid, 1958); see also Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit;* and John Kendrick, trans., *The Voyage of Sutil and Mexicana, 1792: The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996).

68. See Cook, *Floodtide of Empire*, 384.

69. See Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World*, 129–42. Longinos, a Spaniard who worked with José Mariano Moziño in the royal expedition in Mexico, had been at odds with the director, Dr. Martín de Sessé, and most of the other scientists. Viceroy Revillagigedo sent Longinos to California in 1791 via ship from San Blas as a means of avoiding ill feelings among members of the expedition.

70. The original Longinos journal is located in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. It has been edited and translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson as *Journal of José Longinos Martínez, Notes and Observations of the Naturalist of the Botanical Expedition in Old and New California and the South Coast* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1961). A recent Spanish edition is by Salvador Bernabéu Albert, *Diario de las expediciones de José Longinos* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 1994).

71. Margaret Eyer Wilbur, ed., *Vancouver in California: The Original Account of George Vancouver* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1954). After his visit to San Francisco, Vancouver wrote unsympathetically: "Instead of finding a country tolerably well inhabited and far advanced in cultivation, if we except its natural pastures, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, there is not any object to indicate the most remote connection with any European, or other civilized nation. This sketch will be sufficient, without further comment, to convey some idea of the inactive spirit of the people, and the unprotected state of the establishment of this port, which I should conceive ought to be a principal object of the Spanish crown."

72. Chapman, *History of California*, 379; George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the*

North Pacific Ocean and Round the World (London: C. J. and J. Robinson; J. Edwards, 1798), III, 1093. Off San Pedro on November 24, 1793, the captain noted in his journal that he had "been given to understand that a very advantageous settlement is established on a fertile spot somewhere in this neighborhood . . . at the distance of some miles from the coast called Pueblo de los Angeles; 'the country town of the Angels,' formed in the year 1781. This establishment was looked for in all directions, but nothing was perceived that indicated either habitations or inhabitants." In Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery,* III, 1104.

73. Wilbur, *Vancouver in California,* 233.

5

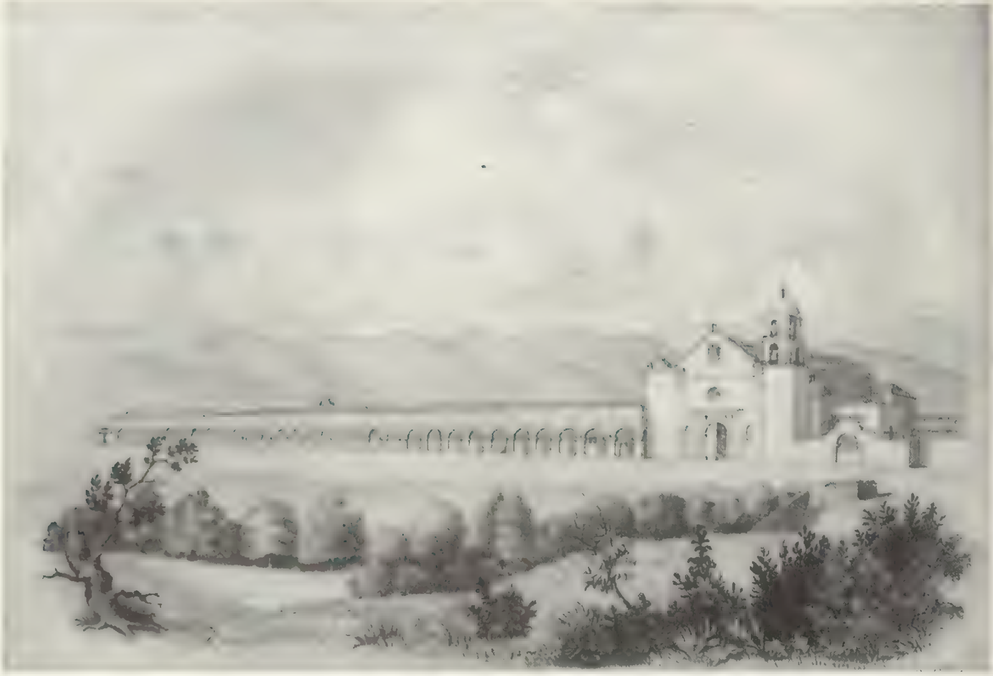
Land, Labor, and Production

The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California

Steven W. Hackel

As the sesquicentennial of California's admission to the Union approaches, California can boast of one of the most productive economies the world has ever seen: the Golden State annually produces more goods and services than all but a handful of the world's nations. But during the Spanish colonial period (1769–1821) and the Mexican national period (1822–1846), contemporaries lamented the lack of economic growth in Alta California. In 1796, the Franciscan missionary José Señán dismissed the region's settlers as lazy and unproductive, claiming that they preferred playing cards to plowing fields. Señán attributed most of their idleness to Spanish policies: the inflated cost of goods imported from central Mexico and the low market price of the settlers' agricultural products deprived settlers of incentive to produce beyond a basic subsistence level.[1] During the Mexican period, when the new government relaxed restrictions on free trade, foreign trade and domestic production increased, yet to Mexicans and Californios alike, California remained a land of untapped economic potential.

Assertions that Spain and Mexico had failed to develop California's economic riches increased after the Gold Rush and subsequently became enshrined in historical interpretations of California. After James Marshall made his discovery of gold at John Sutter's mill in 1848, it seemed to contemporary observers that California, for the first time, was all bustle and boom. The foreign-born population of the region grew dramatically, as did the economic infrastructure necessary to meet its needs. California's ascendance to the center of world commerce was so sudden that many observers concluded that there had been little or no economic development in California before the Gold Rush. One keen observer of capitalism, Friedrich Engels, believed that California's growth was unprecedented for, as he told Karl Marx in 1852, large new markets had been created "out of nothing."[2]



When the American amateur artist William R. Hutton drew *San Luis Rey Mission* in 1848, it had long ago entered into decline. At the height of its prosperity, however, San Luis Rey was one of the largest and most populous Indian missions in both Americas, part of the chain of Franciscan missions that dominated the colonial economy of California until their secularization in the 1830s at the order of Governor José Figueroa. In 1831 such was the success of San Luis Rey that Father Antonio Peyri could report that its herds of cattle and sheep each numbered over twenty-five thousand. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

While contemporaries were right to marvel at the rapid expansion of the California economy during and after the Gold Rush, they underestimated the economy of California during the Spanish and Mexican periods. Before 1848, as recent scholarship has shown, Indians, Franciscans, soldiers, settlers, and traders engaged in modes of exchange and production that reflected local and national strategies of economic development. Furthermore, the development during the Spanish and Mexican periods of intensive agriculture, cattle ranching, artisan crafts, and foreign commerce transformed the landscape of California and its native peoples and introduced forms of labor and production that continued into the American period. Thus, economic activity in Spanish and Mexican California, although limited in scale compared to the boom after 1848, contributed to much of the economic growth in the Golden State during and after the Gold Rush.

SPANISH IMPERIAL ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES

Spanish settlement in Alta California, unlike in many other areas of New Spain, was not motivated by a belief that the region and its peoples held great economic potential. Rather, Spain moved into Alta California in 1769 to protect the silver mines of northwestern New Spain from a feared Russian or English advance. To that end, from present-day San Diego to San Francisco, Spain created a coastal chain of twenty Franciscan missions, four military presidios, and three civilian settlements.

Spanish imperial ministers adhered to an economic doctrine known today as mercantilism. In contrast to capitalism, which relies on the state to develop a national economy hospitable for private business, mercantilism depended on the economy of the mother country to promote the growth of the nation-state.[3] Colonies would produce goods and raw materials for the mother country and purchase the finished goods it manufactured. Royal monopolies, exclusive contracts, import and export duties, and restricted access to colonial ports protected fledgling industries at home and in the colonies and ensured that the colonial economy worked to the advantage of the mother country, not a rival nation state. These mercantilist beliefs and practices greatly influenced the development of the economy of Spanish California. But during the late eighteenth century, the Spanish Crown became increasingly preoccupied with reducing the expense of its overseas empire. Therefore, the economic development of Alta California and the relationships among its missions, presidios, and pueblos also bore the imprint of officials who sought to ensure that the colonists could feed, clothe, and protect themselves with a minimum of royal support.

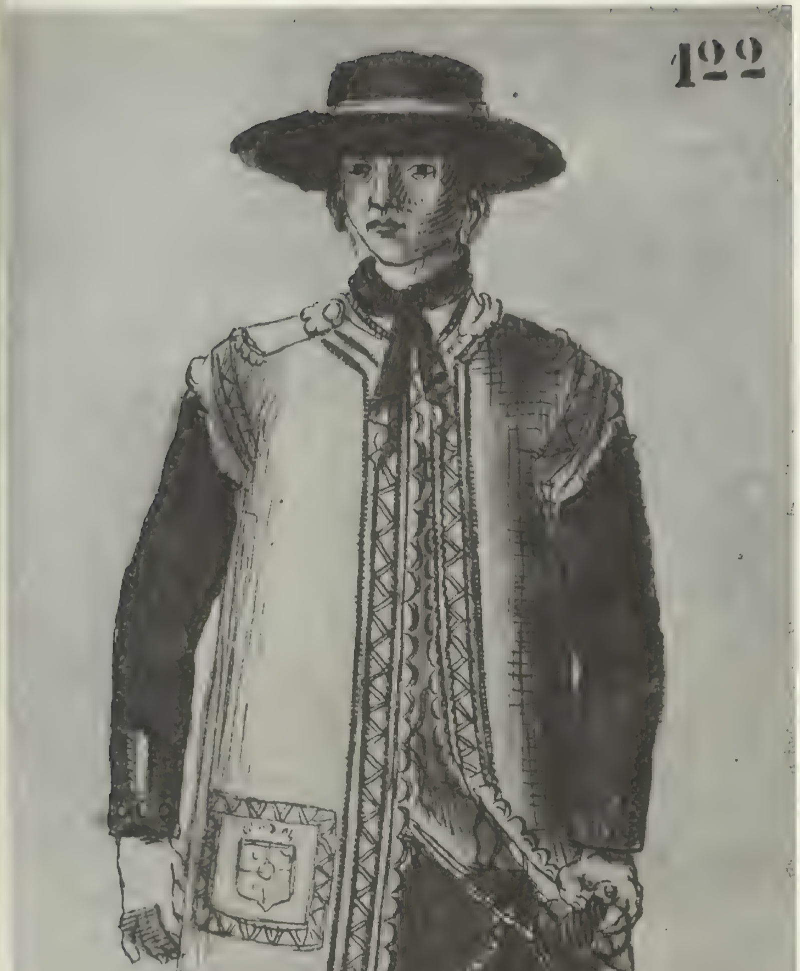
SUPPLY SHIPS AND ECONOMIC REGULATIONS

In Alta California, as elsewhere in the Spanish borderlands, the state formed the foundation for the colonial economy.[4] The state provided the soldiers with purchasing power in the form of salaries, and it supplied the annual shipments of goods they purchased and consumed. At first, each Franciscan missionary (usually two per mission) received an annual stipend of 350 pesos.[5] Newly established missions were granted an additional 1,000 pesos for agricultural implements, church ornaments, and other goods necessary for the mission.[6] These payments came from the state-controlled "Pious Fund," which had originally been established to support the Jesuit missions of Baja California.

During the first years of Spanish settlement in Alta California, soldiers, settlers, and padres depended on supplies imported from Mexico. José de Gálvez, *visitador general* (inspector general) of New Spain and architect of the Spanish occupation of Alta California, realized that Alta California would have to be supplied by sea, and he ordered the creation of a naval post at San Blas on the west coast of Mexico, in the present state of Nayarit, solely for that purpose.[7] Shipments of goods to Alta California were well documented. For example, when the packet boat *San Antonio* set sail for Monterey in 1771, it carried ten additional Franciscans and a wide array of provisions for the missions and presidios: agricultural tools, cooking implements, and most important, basic foodstuffs such as biscuits, ham, sugar, corn, flour, rice, beans, wheat, wine, and brandy. Even chickens and pigs made the journey.[8] Much to the despair of soldiers and missionaries, these supply shipments proved unreliable. Frequently, colonists, waited in vain for the ships to appear on the horizon, or else they found that their provisions had spoiled before they could be unloaded. When the ships arrived later than expected, missionaries and soldiers cut their rations to a minimum and relied on the food reserves of local Indians.

To address these and other problems, Fray Junípero Serra, father-president of the Alta California missions, traveled to Mexico City in 1773, where he appealed directly to the viceroy. Serra's petitions led to the promulgation of the *Echeveste Reglamento,* named after its author, Juan José Echeveste, the official in charge of forwarding supplies to Alta California. This new regulation increased the padres' and soldiers' annual salaries, set a standard markup for products imported into the region, and streamlined the purchase and shipment of provisions to Alta California.[9] Under the new regulation, the annual stipend of each mission rose to 800 pesos. Double rations for five years were allocated to padres in charge of establishing new missions. And soldiers' salaries, which were paid in kind, not coin, increased to 365 pesos a year. The Crown, however, took back this increase through a surcharge on all the "goods, clothings, and provisions" with which soldiers were paid.[10] Echeveste allowed prices for imported goods sold at the presidio to fluctuate according to their levels in Mexico.[11] Thus, forces in distant markets initially determined the purchasing power of soldiers and padres in Alta California. Overall, apart from authorizing a few sailors from San Blas to remain in the California missions as laborers, the *Echeveste Reglamento* did little to foster the colony's self-sufficiency or reduce the Crown's annual expenditures in Alta California.

In 1781, a new economic regulation, written by Governor Felipe de Neve (1775–1782), reorganized the finances of California and shaped the economy of the province until the advent of the Mexican period. One of the most serious problems Neve confronted in Alta California was the soldiers' poor morale, a condition he attributed partly to their low pay and the inflated prices they were charged for goods. Neve, therefore, gave his soldiers the equivalent of a raise. Although he reduced their salaries, he greatly increased their purchasing power by eliminating the surcharge on goods. Furthermore, soldiers were to receive one-fourth of their pay in coin.[12]



Drawn in 1791 by the Spanish expeditionary artist José Cardero, *Soldado de Monterey* depicts Gabriel Moraga, a young soldier at the Monterey presidio who served in the military for nearly thirty years, ultimately rising to the rank of lieutenant. Initially dependent on supply ships from Mexico, the presidios increasingly came to rely on the missions for foodstuffs and manufactured goods. Credits obtained in return by the Franciscans allowed them to import a range of important items, enriching the local economy. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

MISSION ECONOMIC GROWTH

During the years when Spanish officials were articulating the structure of the economy of California, the missions, which would soon dominate the colonial economy, emerged as productive agricultural enterprises. In 1774, although dry soil impeded agriculture at Mission San Diego, seeds sown at missions San Carlos, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio all yielded abundant harvests, giving the colony its first taste of self-sufficiency. In 1775, these missions produced 1,029 *fanegas* of wheat and 974 *fanegas* of corn.[13] Missions Santa Clara, San Francisco, and San Juan Capistrano, all of which were founded in 1776 and 1777, quickly reaped abundant yields, and by 1778, the missions harvested enough agricultural foodstuffs to satisfy their own needs.[14] Although annual production at the individual missions fluctuated, the exchange of surpluses between missions alleviated local shortfalls; manufactured goods, however, were still imported from Mexico. By 1805, nineteen missions cultivated crops, and their collective harvests of wheat, corn, barley, and beans totaled almost sixty thousand *fanegas,* nearly a thirty-fold increase in aggregate mission productivity during three decades. An increase in Indian laborers and more careful selection of fields combined with the padres' realization that wheat, their preferred crop, had a much lower yield than corn, contributed to the expansion of mission agricultural productivity.[15]

Mission livestock also increased quickly, as the small herds of cattle herded overland from Baja California and Sonora in 1769 and the early 1770s multiplied.[16] In 1773, the five missions had 204 head of cattle; by 1775, they counted 427 head. By 1805, mission livestock holdings were so enormous that they had become a nuisance to Spaniards and Indians alike: the missions and their ranchos counted over 130,000 sheep, 95,000 cattle, 21,000 horses, 1,000 mules, 800 pigs, and 120 goats.[17] Missionaries controlled the best grazing lands, which they guarded from encroachment by Spanish settlers. Fewer than thirty active and retired soldiers successfully petitioned the governor for land on which to graze their own herds. These private ranchos, although enormous, never rivaled the missions' productivity, and grantees received only usufruct rights, not permanent title to the land.[18]

In California, the presidios rapidly became dependent on the missions for food and basic manufactured goods. At first, the missions sold only food to the presidios, but after the 1790s, once Indians had learned new crafts and trades, the missions became veritable general stores. The soap soldiers used to clean themselves, the shoes and boots they pulled on in the morning, the saddles they rode in, the candles they read by, the beds and blankets they slept in, even the coffins they were buried in—these goods and others were produced and sold by the missions. The military's dependence on the missions became nearly complete after 1810, when civil war in Mexico undercut Spain's ability to provision Alta California.

This dependence, however, was not one-sided, and mission-presidio exchange was equally important to the survival and growth of the missions. In return for goods sold to the presidios, the missions received a credit, which they redeemed in Mexico City through their purchasing agent. Through sales to the presidios, a mission could amass a credit worth double or triple the eight hundred peso annual stipend allocated to its missionaries, thereby enabling it to purchase goods it could not manufacture, such as prayer books, trade beads, woolen blankets, fine cloth, paper products, cooking spices, and wine, chocolate, and rice.[19]

THE PUEBLOS

To reduce the military's dependence on the missions and supply ships, Spain established civilian communities, or pueblos, in San José (1777), Los Angeles (1781), and the Villa de Branciforte (1797), near present-day Santa Cruz, in the hope that their inhabitants would produce enough food to feed the region's soldiers. The pueblos' economies have received less attention than those of the missions, but there is little doubt that during the Spanish period, the economies of the civilian communities were directed nearly exclusively toward providing the military with agricultural foodstuffs. San José produced large surpluses of grain within several years of its establishment.[20] According to Governor Neve, in 1781, the presidios of Monterey and San Francisco "were completely fed by the town of San José whose harvest exceeded 1,300 *fanegas* of grain."[21] During the remainder of the eighteenth century, San José harvested surplus quantities of beans, wheat, and especially corn. Production at San José fell after 1796, perhaps as a result of the establishment, twenty miles north, of Mission San José, which gained control of the Indian laborers who had done most of the community's agriculture work.

While statistics for agricultural production in Los Angeles are scarce, it is clear that the pueblo sporadically produced impressive amounts of corn. Agricultural production in Los Angeles, however, also stagnated after 1800.[22] The Villa de Branciforte, about which less is known, was the least productive of the three towns.[23] Although the pueblos were able to sustain themselves and the presidios during only a few years, their surpluses constituted an important supplement to the grain the presidios purchased directly from the missions. After 1790, in part because of the pueblos' productivity, supply ships no longer needed to carry flour, corn, or beans—the most important staples—from San Blas to Alta California.[24]

Critics of Spanish economic policy—including Governor Diego de Borica (1794–1800)—argued that economic development of the towns in Alta California would never reach its potential until the *pobladores* were allowed to market their grain beyond the presidios. In February 1801, the *Junta Superior de Real Hacienda* agreed and approved Borica's plan to allow the *pobladores* to sell their surplus grain to the San Blas supply ships. This experiment proved an immediate success. In 1801, San

José supplied the ships *Princesa* and *Concepción* with 1,830 *arrobas* of flour.[25] Apparently, the town's horse-powered mill turned day and night to fill the order. In July 1801, Los Angeles *vecinos* also offered to supply wheat to San Blas. The pueblos' opportunities for trade expanded further in 1806, when they began direct trade with the supply ships.[26] After 1810, however, civil war interrupted the San Blas-Alta California shipments, ending this developing market for the pueblos' surplus.

Throughout the colonial period the *pobladores* pursued agricultural occupations almost exclusively. The Crown's insistence that the *pobladores* produce agricultural foodstuffs and the ease with which the settlers and soldiers could purchase low-price household necessities from the missions stunted urban production of consumer goods and artisan crafts. In Los Angeles, for example, all of the eleven male heads of households in 1781 were identified as farmers; four of these, however, practiced additional trades: one was a blacksmith, two were cobblers, and a fourth was a tailor. In 1816, although the town's population was by then several hundred strong, of the eighty-seven males whose occupations were listed in a census, only three—a scribe, a cobbler, and a potter—practiced non-agricultural professions.[27] Thus, even as the town's population expanded, its artisan sector stagnated.

PRICE REGULATION AND CROWN-SPONSORED ECONOMIC INITIATIVES

In Spanish California few aspects of the colonial economy were more tightly controlled than prices. José de Echeveste and Felipe de Neve both set prices for goods imported into the region. And after the missions and pueblos produced surplus agricultural products, the governors also set maximum prices for goods produced and exchanged within Alta California. In 1781, Neve established maximum prices for sixty-one commodities produced by the missions.[28] Overall, during most of the colonial period, the governors reduced prices in California as mission production increased, and as these prices fell, the missions' forced subsidization of the military increased. Low prices reduced the potential income of the missions, but their effect on mission production awaits future study. Shifts in price, however, could encourage the padres to sell more of the missions' reserves. In 1786 and 1787, when a food shortage gripped California, Governor Pedro Fages (1782–1791) raised the price of corn, chickpeas, barley, chickens, and hens to encourage the padres to sell the soldiers some of the missions' surplus.[29]

Fages's willingness to adjust prices to reflect current levels of production shaped the price schedule he issued in 1788. Animals raised in abundance at the missions and purchased regularly by the soldiers—bulls, cows, oxen, hogs, and sheep—and products produced from them—jerked beef, tallow, and hides—dropped in price. Corn, wheat, and flour prices were unchanged, the price of beans fell, and the cost of chickens and barley rose. For the most part, these early price schedules remained for the duration of the Spanish period with only slight modification. In 1799, Governor Diego de Borica raised the price of wheat and reduced the prices of horses, mares, and colts,[30] and in 1802 Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga (1800–1814) made only a few changes.[31]

In addition to fixing prices and supporting the development of the missions, presidios, and pueblos, the Crown sponsored three distinct initiatives to speed the economic development of the region. The first two—the promotion of sea otter hunting and the introduction of hemp cultivation—emerged primarily out of the Crown's need for fur pelts and durable cordage to support mining and shipping industries outside Alta California. The third, the transplantation into the region of skilled artisans, however, was designed to expand the range of goods manufactured in Alta California and thereby lessen the province's dependence on imported goods.

As early as the mid-1770s, Spaniards in California had acquired sea otter pelts from coastal Indians.[32] In the mid-1780s, however, two factors rendered sea otter pelts especially valuable to Spanish officials. Their warm and luxurious fur was prized in China, where a prime pelt could fetch a considerable sum. More important, though, in Canton, furs could be traded for mercury, a metal that was in short supply in New Spain, although it figured prominently in the Crown's plans to maximize silver production there. In 1784, Vicente Vasadre y Vega requested royal authority to establish and oversee just such a trade, adding that his plan would prevent the Russians and English from expanding their otter hunting into Spain's waters. The Crown responded enthusiastically, and by 1786 Vasadre was in California overseeing the collection of pelts.[33]

Despite its initial commercial success, bureaucratic obstacles soon thwarted this promising enterprise. Franciscans and soldiers competed with one another for the pelts Indians hunted; Spanish officials felt that Vasadre had paid too much for the skins; and the goods the Franciscans had been promised in return were slow to arrive. In themselves none of these problems could have doomed Vasadre's plan, but the powerful Philippine Company, which had been granted certain monopoly rights to trade with China, obstructed Vasadre's efforts in Canton. In December 1788, Vasadre abandoned the Far East, and in 1790 the Crown terminated Spanish California's first export industry. After 1790, padres and soldiers occasionally shipped pelts to San Blas; most skins, however, were either purchased or gathered by Anglo-American traders or Russian hunters, who ventured more frequently into California's waters after the mid-1790s.[34]

A year after the Crown withdrew its support for the export of otter pelts from California, Franciscans began to cultivate a second and briefly more successful export commodity, hemp.[35] Hemp cultivation figured prominently in Spain's attempt to revitalize its colonial economy. Production of hemp in Spain fell short of domestic needs, and the fiber was essential for the cordage and rigging materials required by New Spain's navy. To spur production, the Crown in 1777 despatched hemp-raising experts to several of its American colonies, and Alta California was selected as one province in which hemp cultivation would be especially promoted.[36]

As early as 1791, a few of the northern missions had planted small quantities of hemp, but they had neither the time nor the expertise to produce large amounts.[37] Hemp production took a more serious turn after 1795, when special instructions were sent from Mexico on how to cultivate the crop. In December Governor Borica ordered the settlers at San José to begin cultivation and authorized them to hire Indians from the surrounding region to help.[38] The following fall, Indians and settlers harvested 560 pounds of hemp.[39] Production at San José and the northern missions, however, never really took off, even though the Crown in 1801 or 1802 transferred to Monterey Joaquín Sánchez, a marine sergeant stationed in San Blas who was experienced at raising hemp.[40] An accidental fire consumed most of the 1804 harvest, and the next year fog and bad weather reduced the yield to 150 pounds.[41]

Hemp cultivation increased dramatically after the harvest of 1805, when Sánchez, having wisely concluded that he had taught the settlers of San José more than they were willing to learn, focused his efforts in the Los Angeles region.[42] The following year, exports exceeded 1,800 pounds. Production further accelerated in 1807, when the governor increased the government's purchase price from three pesos four *reales* to four pesos per *arroba*. The results of Sánchez's relocation to the south and the government's increase in price became clear in 1810: the province produced a whopping 220,000 pounds of hemp, a total that alone probably exceeded the previous two decades' production.[43] The Crown and colonists had finally found an export staple that could be abundantly produced in Alta California; but within a year, commercial production of hemp in Alta California was finished, an early victim in Mexico's struggle for independence. After 1810 there were too few Spanish supply ships to transfer hemp to San Blas, and in February of 1811, Governor Arrillaga told Sánchez to restrict hemp cultivation to the needs of the province.[44]

At the same time that the missions began to cultivate hemp, the Crown transported a group of artisans to Alta California to teach Indians specific trades. Royal officials hoped that these men, through their work with the mission Indians, could eventually increase the range and number of goods produced in the region. Between 1791 and 1795, about twenty skilled artisans worked in Alta California on four- or five-year contracts.[45] Most came from Mexico City or Guadalajara. Among those sent to California were men skilled in stone and brick masonry, carpentry, pottery, tanning, shoemaking, and blacksmithing. A few, namely two tailors and a lathe worker, brought skills that were of little or no value to the missions.[46]

Even though their numbers were few and their stays brief, Mexican artisans left their mark on Alta California. In the mid-1790s, Indians working under their tute-

Constructed between 1810 and 1812 by the mason Claudio López under the supervision of Father José María Zalvidea of Mission San Gabriel, El Molino Viejo was the first water-powered gristmill in California. Since 1965 it has been the southern California headquarters of the California Historical Society. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30501.*

lage completed the church at Mission San Carlos Borromeo, the reconstruction of the Monterey presidio, and large-scale projects elsewhere, such as water-powered flour mills at Missions San Gabriel and Santa Cruz.[47] More importantly, the artisans proved to be valuable teachers. At Mission San Carlos, eight Indians learned carpentry, two mastered blacksmithing, and another eleven, stone masonry and bricklaying.[48] According to Fray Fermín Lasuén, Antonio Domínguez Henríquez successfully taught textile arts throughout Alta California.[49] Thus, long after most Mexican artisans left California, Indians at the missions and the presidios practiced European-style building and manufacturing techniques.

INDIAN LABOR IN THE MISSIONS, PRESIDIOS, AND PUEBLOS OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA

Spain's exploitation of the riches of the Americas depended primarily on Indian labor, and demography and historical precedent left little possibility for Alta California to prove exceptional. Therefore, nearly everything grown or manufactured in the missions, presidios, and pueblos resulted from the labor of Indians. Few Spaniards or Mexicans emigrated to California; those who did employed Indians to do their manual labor. In Alta California, despite the rapid decline in the native population, the population of the *gente de razón* never approached that of the Indians. In the coastal portion of Alta California that Spain controlled, scholars estimate that Indians outnumbered the soldiers and settlers 59,700 to 150 in 1770; 57,000 to 480 in 1780; 43,600 to 1,060 in 1790; 35,850 to 1,800 in 1800; 25,900 to 2,300 in 1810; and 21,750 to 3,400 in 1820.[50] Although *encomienda, repartimiento,* and slavery—the most infamous of Spanish labor systems—had been abolished by 1769, when Alta California was founded, the Franciscans', soldiers', and settlers' treatment of Indian laborers has been the subject of heated controversy ever since the colonial period. Today, Native Americans, church historians, and academic scholars continue to debate whether or not the Spaniards' labor systems amounted to slavery, genocide, or salvation for California Indians.[51]

For the Franciscans, Indian labor amounted to more than the production of food and material goods: it was a morally enriching disciplinary activity that figured prominently in the Indians' conversion from savagery to civilization. To the padres, Indians lived as wild animals, at the whim of nature, without comfort or recourse to work. Franciscans, therefore, saw the transformation of savage Indians into industrious Christians as a wrenching process that was quite literally "unnatural" for the Indians. The recitation and memorization of the catechism and *doctrina* may have prepared the Indians' souls for salvation, but it was the missions' regimented daily work schedule that provided the structure and discipline the padres believed the Indians lacked. In the missions, therefore, the daily schedules of work and prayer dovetailed. In the morning, a bell or an Indian *alcalde* summoned the community to prayer. An hour later, the able-bodied would begin working and continue until around 11:00 A.M. After a meal and a short break, labor would resume. According to the padres, work concluded an hour or so before sunset, in time for communal prayers; soldiers asserted that Indians worked until sunset.[52] Indians worked at the missions five to eight hours a day, five or six days a week.[53] Indians did not work for the missions on Sundays or religious holidays, which numbered as many as ninety-two days in the calendar of Catholic worship.[54] Some of the work around the mission was piecework. Women, for example, could be required to grind a specific amount of grain per day; men could be held responsible for the manufacture of a certain number of adobe bricks. Indians were not paid a daily wage for working in the missions; rather, they were provided with food, housing, religious instruction, and an occasional change of clothing.

All able-bodied Indians, regardless of age, performed some sort of task. The type of work, however, depended on the season, the level of economic development of the ission, and the age, gender, and skills of the individual. Just as with language and eligious instruction, the Franciscans placed their greatest hopes for Indian economic advancement in children, who they believed could be taught "with ease and without violence to grow accustomed to work."[55] Children, therefore, were assigned simple chores, such as ensuring that weeds and birds did not damage vegetable gardens. Privileged young men and boys worked directly for the Franciscans as pages, acolytes, and sacristans. And a select group of men held the supervisory positions of *alcalde* and *regidor*. Most men were trained in trades, such as masonry, carpentry, or leather working, or performed basic manual labor around the mission or in the fields. By contrast, women worked in domestic activities: sewing, washing, culling wheat, and grinding *piñole*.[56] Not all of the jobs in the missions were segregated by sex, however. At Mission Santa Cruz, for example, in 1825, forty men and forty-six women labored in the mission's textile workshops.[57]

After the mid-1790s, when artisans began to teach specific trades at the missions, skilled Indians made up an increasingly large percentage of the mission labor force. By 1825, for example, 31 percent of the 277 laborers at Mission Santa Cruz worked on textile looms, and another 10 percent were listed as artisans or apprentices: carpenters (7), shoemakers (4), masons (4), gunsmiths (3), soapmakers (3), and blacksmiths (2).[58] During the 1820s, the military frequently called on mission masons, bricklayers, and carpenters to maintain and reconstruct the presidios.[59] For a few Indians, the acquisition of such specialized skills provided liberation from the missions. In December 1822, José Chaquiles, a cobbler, petitioned for emancipation from Mission Soledad, claiming that he had the skills to support himself. A month later he was making shoes in San José.[60]

For the economic productivity of the mission, perhaps the most important aspect of Indian labor was its flexibility. When it came time to sow the fields or harvest the crops, bricklayers put down their tools, weaving workshops closed, and all of the mission's able-bodied laborers took to the fields. Shearing sheep, branding livestock, and other indispensable seasonal work, such as producing lime and salt, preparing the tannery, and making tiles so that the mission would have a reserve of roofing material for the soaking winter rains—all of these required a concentration of workers in one industry for a limited amount of time. During these periods of communal work, gendered notions of labor were displaced by the immediate needs of the mission community.

Most scholars have concluded that the average workload in the missions was not so onerous as to have damaged the Indians' physical health. But the coercive measures that Franciscans employed to enforce their labor regime proved both psychologically and physically damaging to the neophytes. Franciscans or Indian *alcaldes* frequently took roll at the missions to make sure that laborers were not shirking their duties. Indians who avoided work were first scolded. Then, if they did not mend their ways, they were whipped or imprisoned. Consequently, many Indians fled the missions. At the request of the Franciscans, soldiers attempted to force runaways back to the missions, an effort that succeeded haphazardly and only served to perpetuate the cycle of coercion and violence. As Sherburne F. Cook suggested in the early 1940s and Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo have recently argued, the psychological effects of the Spaniards' coercive measures probably contributed to the high levels of illness and mortality in the missions.[61]

Illness—real and pretended—and absenteeism greatly reduced the labor force at the missions. "The healthy [Indians] are clever at offering as a pretext chronic ailments," Lasuén lamented, "and they know that they are generally believed, and that even in cases of doubt the missionary dispenses them from work."[62] Large-scale exoduses occasionally decimated a mission's workforce, but more common, especially in the later years of the mission period, was slow attrition. For example, in December 1825 nearly a quarter of the adult population at Mission Santa Cruz was unable to work because of flight or some form of illness.[63] In the summer, when the Franciscans allowed Indians a few weeks leave from the missions to visit their unbaptized relatives or ancestral villages, the percentage of available workers frequently dropped to half the adult population.[64]

In addition to linking high rates of mortality and desertion to the missions' coercive labor regime, scholars have argued that Indian laborers suffered incapacitating psychological disorientation when they tried to reconcile Spanish tools, technologies, and schedules with their own worldviews.[65] This approach calls attention to the difficult transitions that the mission workplace demanded of Indians, but it hobbles the scholarship on labor in the missions by depicting Indian people as static, immutably bound to a wild landscape and a savage mentality. By arguing that Indians could not make the difficult transition to the modes of labor and forms of technology that the missions brought to Alta California, scholars—like the Franciscans—have largely disregarded or misunderstood the Indians who did adjust to mission labor. Ironically, in much of this scholarship, Indians are ascribed the power to reject the Franciscans' labor regime but denied the ability to incorporate aspects of it selectively into their own lives.

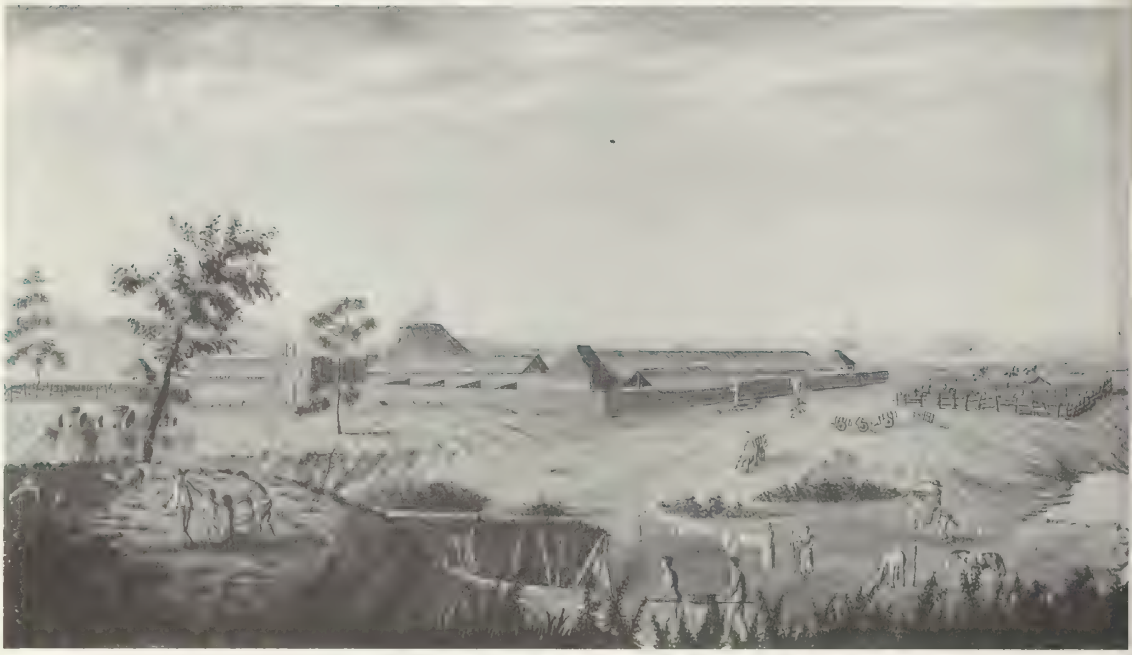
Had Indians not proven so adept with European technologies, Alta California would have remained a colony dependent on imported grains, where Franciscans, soldiers, settlers, and Indians lived and prayed in thatched huts. Perhaps as a way of assuaging psychological trauma and maintaining continuity, Indians blended old and new economic activities in their work at the missions and in their villages. Despite their attempt to fill the Indians' days with a novel routine of work and prayer, the Franciscan regime never completely displaced indigenous economic activities or manufacturing processes. Rather, mission Indians continued to gather roots, acorns, and grasses, and hunt fowl, game, and fish even as they worked in the missions' fields nd workshops, thereby interweaving Indian and Spanish technologies, work hythms, and productive processes.

Outside the missions, the presidios constituted a second important site of labor in olonial California. Recent archaeological work even suggests that the presidios, in art because of their reliance on Indian labor, became significant areas of acculturtion between Indians and soldiers during the colonial period.[66] In Alta California, oldiers were few and averse to manual labor. Each of the four presidios usually had etween forty-five and sixty men assigned to it. But only a small fraction of these oldiers was at the presidio at any given time. When available soldiers were forced to work on the construction of the presidios, they griped that the work was too hard and the pay too low; one soldier even complained that "slaves could not have been treated worse."[67]

Faced with grumbling soldiers and crumbling presidios, the Spanish military leaders quickly turned to local Indians as a source of labor. Indian labor at the presidios took at least five different forms, yet scholars have focused on only two of these forms: convict labor and mission contract labor. Convict labor involved Indians—baptized and unbaptized—arrested for a crime and sentenced to presidial labor. The military did not pay convict laborers a daily stipend; it merely provided sustenance. Convict labor at the presidios was so common that Father Lasuén complained that the soldiers' "greedy desire to obtain free labor" led them to arrest Indians for crimes the Franciscans could have punished.[68]

Even as they condemned the military's use of Indian convicts, the Franciscans readily supplied the military with contract laborers, who performed a host of tasks at the presidios, from cooking the soldiers' meals to rebuilding the presidio's walls. The presidios paid the mission—not the Indian laborers—one and one-half *reales* a day for each unskilled laborer and slightly more for carpenters or masons.[69] As contemporary accounts and mission records make clear, the export of mission laborers to the presidios was extensive. For example, in the years 1787, 1797, 1808, and 1817, the Monterey presidio was charged for 544, 741, 2,880, and 484 days of Indian labor.[70] In spite of of their conviction that the soldiers' behavior would undermine the missions' religious teachings, Franciscans willingly supplied the presidios with a steady supply of Indian laborers. For in doing so, the padres added hundreds or even thousands of pesos to the mission's accounts in a given year.

Historians still need to learn more about the quantity and nature of convict and mission contract labor at the presidios, but the near-exclusive focus on these forms of labor has diverted attention from the considerable number of unbaptized (gentile) Indians who came to work at the presidios on a pre-arranged basis.[71] The initial construction and maintenance of the presidios, when not undertaken by grumbling soldiers, was carried out by gentile contract laborers. For example, from April 1790 to September 1796 groups of Indians from the Santa Clara Valley worked one-month



Soldiers and Indians busy themselves outside the Monterey presidio in a pen-and-ink drawing executed in 1791 by José Cardero, an artist with the Spanish exploring expedition commanded by Alejandro Malaspina. When Cardero visited the capital of California, work on the new presidio buildings, which had begun the previous year, was well advanced. Like most other undertakings that contributed to the growth and development of the province, the Hispanic building program relied heavily on Indian labor. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

shifts rebuilding the Monterey presidio.[72] For one month's work, the military paid an unbaptized laborer one blanket, valued at between five and nine *reales;* by comparison, the military paid the mission thirty-six *reales* a month for each mission laborer. Thus, in June 1790, Governor Fages was justified when he boasted to his superiors that his employment of gentile Indians had saved "the major expense of paying the daily wages of the Indians from the missions."[73] Unbaptized Indians, most likely, agreed to work for the military to obtain European goods without becoming entangled in the Franciscans' confining web. Labor at the presidio also guaranteed a daily ration of food, which was a powerful incentive during the mid-1790s, when drought stunted the region's wild seeds and killed many of its grazing animals.

Beyond the various forms of convict and contract labor, informal labor by baptized and unbaptized Indians formed a fourth form of Indian labor at the presidios. Unbaptized Indians frequently performed small tasks at the presidios, in return for food and trade goods. The Franciscans allowed mission Indians who had completed their assigned tasks to work at a presidio, and many mission Indians worked at the residios in what little free time they had. On mission holidays, Sundays, and dur-ng the summer when the Franciscans let the Indians leave the mission for a few eeks, some men and women went to the presidios to cook food, wash clothes, mill rain, and carry wood.[74]

This informal labor at the presidios was not limited to the few brief periods when adres gave Indians leave from the missions; many baptized Indians worked for oldiers on the sly, out of sight of the Franciscans. Thus, covert informal labor com-rised a fifth and final form of Indian labor at the presidios. Covert informal labor t the presidios is poorly documented because by necessity Indians and soldiers hid nost of it from the Franciscans, who kept the best written records on colonial Cal-fornia. With a small piece of leather or a handful of corn, soldiers often paid Indi-ns to gather wood, grind corn, and wash clothes. This labor was so common that he soldiers, in paying the Indians for their work, often exhausted their weekly ra-ions a few days after they received them.[75] Men with special skills—shoemakers, tanners, and deer-skin workers—frequently slipped away to the presidios.[76] Women, too, would occasionally leave the missions to sell wood or wash the soldiers' clothes. Thus, despite the Franciscans' opposition, mission Indians worked at the presidios covertly to supplement their diets, to obtain trade goods, and to maintain independence from the Franciscans.

In addition to the missions and the presidios, the two principal pueblos of Alta California—San José and Los Angeles—constituted a third center of labor during the colonial period. The majority of settlers, most of whom were retired soldiers, eschewed manual labor and hired local Indians to perform virtually all their tasks. In San José, settlers quickly became dependent on Indian laborers. As early as 1782, the military issued strict guidelines for the employment of local unbaptized Indians, prohibiting "the familiar intercourse which has been observed to occur between the households of the settlers and the pagan men and women." Requests for Indian laborers were to be channeled through a ranking military officer, who would contact a local Indian headman. Indians were to be paid for work done; coercion would not be tolerated in their recruitment. Tellingly, Indian women, who were frequently employed to mill grain or perform other domestic tasks, were not allowed to enter into the *pobladores'* homes, as had been the practice, because such "familiarity" had led to "grievances against both populations."[77]

In the early 1780s, the settlers of Los Angeles developed a similar dependence on Indian laborers.[78] But as many Franciscans and soldiers had discovered during the first years of the missions and presidios, much to their frustration, local Indians would only work for the Spaniards when doing so did not conflict with their own subsistence economy. In April 1784, Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega must have felt that he alone cared about the pueblo's corn and wheat. With great concern, he reported to the governor that the settlers were "few and useless," and the Indians, who had tilled the land and planted the crop, had offered to help with the harvest, but only after they had finished their own seasonal gathering.[79] That fall, after completing their own harvest, the Gabrielinos reaped from the *pobladores'* fields over 1,800 *fanegas* of corn, 340 *fanegas* of kidney beans, and 9 *fanegas* each of wheat, lentils, and garbanzos.[80]

Within less than a decade of the establishment of Los Angeles, the expansion of the *pobladores'* and *vecinos'* fields and the steady increase in their livestock must have imperiled the Gabrielino economy and made full-time work for the settlers imperative. Thus, in January of 1787, Governor Fages modified for Los Angeles the guidelines issued for San José regulating the recruitment and employment of gentile laborers.[81] Here, too, the governor sought to end the "pernicious familiarity" that resulted from the presence of so many Indian laborers: Indians were not to live in town or enter the settlers' homes, and they were to sleep under the watch of the sentry if they spent the night. Under these restrictive regulations, Indians worked in the settlers' fields, where they earned a third to a half of the crops they harvested.[82] Gabrielinos also toiled in Los Angeles as vaqueros, cooks, muleteers, water carriers, and domestic servants. By the mid-1790s, the presence of so many Indian laborers had led to considerable acculturation between the Indian and Spanish communities. Many Indian laborers spoke Spanish and dressed like their employers, "clad in shoes, with sombreros and blankets."[83] Moreover, many settlers spoke the Indians' language; some even married Indian women.[84]

Only the Franciscans objected to the working relationships between Indians and settlers. The padres knew that the settlers offered the same material incentives the missions used to attract Indians: food, clothing, and beads. But in the missions, Franciscan oversight proved oppressive, housing was crowded, and disease ran rampant, whereas in the pueblos *pobladores* cared little about changing the Indians' religion or sexuality and required laborers to return to their own *rancherías* at the end of the day. The inability of the missions to compete with the attractions of the pueblos led Lasuén to conclude that the towns and their inhabitants were "an immense hindrance to the conversion of the pagans, for they give them bad example, they scandalize them, and they actually persuade them not to become Christians, lest they themselves suffer the loss of free labor."[85] More frustrating to the Franciscans than the loss of these potential converts was the disaffection of those who had previously professed their allegiance to the mission. Baptized Indians also sought work and refuge in the pueblos, even though Governor Fages prescribed ten lashes for neophytes who were repeatedly found in town without permission from the missionaries.

THE COLLAPSE OF ROYAL SUPPORT

During the final decade of Spanish California, revolutionary movements in Spain and Mexico ruptured virtually all state support for California's missions and preidios, rendering Alta California's ties to central Mexico increasingly tenuous. Nei-her padre nor soldier could count on an annual salary or the goods bought with hem, and, as noted above, promising industries, such as the export of hemp and rain, collapsed. The colonial project survived mainly through the productivity of the nissions, which continued to feed and clothe the padres and Indians while provid-ng soldiers and *pobladores* with food, basic commodities, and manufactured goods. ather-president Mariano Payeras estimated that after 1810 the missions provided ive hundred thousand pesos in assistance to the presidios and the pueblos.[86] The ex-raction of so much surplus labor and production exacted an enormous toll on the eophytes. "These poor people," lamented Payeras, "will be the most unfortunate and vretched in the world, if they alone, many only recently baptized and civilized, have o support so many troops for so long a time."[87]

Between 1810 and 1821, only one official supply ship arrived from San Blas; how-ever, a minimum of twenty Spanish merchant ships called in Alta California, and this maritime trade helped to buoy up the local economy.[88] Most of the legal trade was carried on between missionaries and Lima traders, who largely took over the function of the San Blas supply ships. The Limeños purchased tallow—a fat rendered from slaughtered cattle—from the Franciscans and in return conveyed goods from Mexico bought specifically for the missions. The presidios also participated in this trade, although only through the assistance of the missions, which provided the cash and tallow that presidial commanders used to purchase goods from visiting ships.

Clandestine trade with Anglo-American, British, and Russian traders also helped padres and soldiers obtain imported necessities. Governors José Joaquín de Arrillaga and Pablo Vicente de Solá (1815–1822) publicly condemned this illegal trade, but in private, they orchestrated it.[89] José Dario Argüello (acting governor 1814–1815) probably spoke for most soldiers, settlers, and padres in Alta California, when, in regard to this contraband trade, he observed wryly: "Necessity makes licit what is not licit by law."[90] While the governors and Franciscans applauded their ingenuity in trading with foreign nationals, the isolation of Alta California from the economies of Spain and central Mexico steadily increased. And although this illicit trade met many of the immediate needs of the province, it fostered a dependence in the region on foreign markets that most Californios would soon regret.

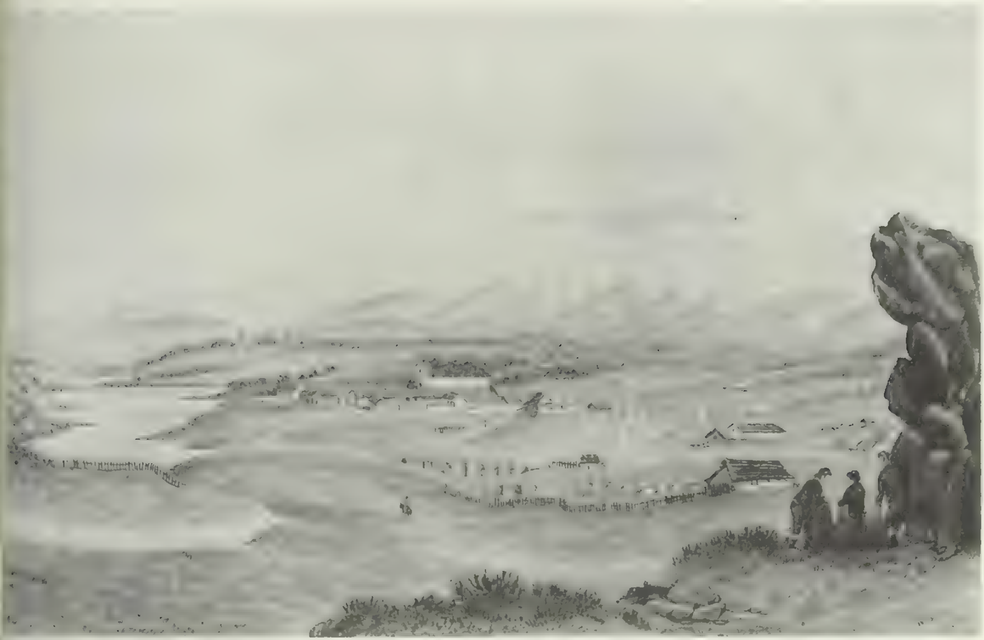
THE MEXICAN PERIOD

The overthrow of Spanish rule in New Spain ushered in a brief period of hope that Alta California's economy would expand and become fully integrated into the national economy.[91] In the mid-1820s the new Mexican government set up a commission, the Junta de Fomento de Californias, and charged it to devise plans for the defense and economic development of California. The junta's bold plans to transfer the San Blas shipworks to Monterey and establish alongside it a monopolistic trading house, the Asian-Mexican Company, however, bore no fruit. As Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado lamented, the program "died without being born."[92]

In fact, to the disappointment of the residents of California, independent Mexico did little to integrate California into the national economy or support the soldiers stationed in the region. And by most accounts, during the decade after Mexican independence, the economic well-being of the region's colonists, soldiers, and Indians further deteriorated. Don José María Herrera, the deputy commissioner of finances whom Mexico sent to Monterey in 1825, was nearly powerless to ensure the effective fiscal administration of Alta California. Soldiers, unpaid for years, refused to serve until paid or simply abandoned the disintegrating presidios.[93] A spectacular, yet unsuccessful, mutiny occurred in Monterey in 1829, when soldiers seized the presidio and railed against the central government for sending them a governor who ignored their privations.[94] The revolt did little to improve the conditions of the rebels; it did, however, prove something of a temporary setback for deputy commissioner Herrera. In May 1830, having been accused by Governor José María de Echeandía of playing a central role in the uprising, Herrera found himself imprisoned on the American ship *Volunteer* and bound for Mexico.[95]

While California politicos complained that the central government neglected their basic needs, the new economic policies pursued by the governors alienated both soldiers and settlers alike. Although Mexico dispensed with Spain's restrictive mercantile policies and opened California to foreign trade, import and export taxes remained high, and after 1826 Monterey was the sole official port of entry.[96] The inadequacy of Mexican coastal patrols and customs officials, however, left most Californians to practice the free trade they preached.[97] A host of forced contributions, fee assessments, and taxes on everything from otter pelts to cattle brands whittled away at the *pobladores'* and soldiers' incomes. Finally, with the important exception of the Híjar-Padrés colony, which brought numerous artisans and teachers to California, the only colonists the Mexican Republic sent to California were foundlings and convicts. In large measure, because of these economic policies, many Californios came to view the central government in Mexico and its representatives in Alta California with skepticism or outright hostility.[98]

Despite the provincials' own frustrations with the local economy, the Mexican period stands out as an era of great and rapid economic transformation. Most importantly, with the opening up of California to international trade immediately after Mexican independence, California's reliance on foreign markets for the sale of its surplus goods accelerated dramatically. A host of foreign companies quickly vied for access to the region's developing hide-and-tallow industry. In June of 1822, months before the Spanish flag was officially lowered in Monterey, the English trading concern of McCulloch, Hartnell and Company negotiated a three-year monopoly on



Monterey, the capital of Alta California, as portrayed in the autumn of 1827 by William Smyth, a young admiralty mate and amateur artist on a British exploring expedition commanded by Frederick Beechey. Though the presidio and a dozen or so adobes scattered about the surrounding plain composed the entire town, it was nonetheless the official center of this distant Mexican province, the seat of the custom house and the single official port of entry. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

the purchase of the province's surplus hides and tallow.[99] Both the father-president and the governor could hardly contain their optimism about the expansion of the hide-and-tallow trade. "The poverty of the Province will disappear," wrote Fray Mariano Payeras, " . . . and it will be even less necessary to order items from Mexico City."[100] To his secular counterpart, Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá, who had previously relied on *contrabandistas* to provision his troops, this legalized trade represented the opportunity for which the region had been waiting.[101]

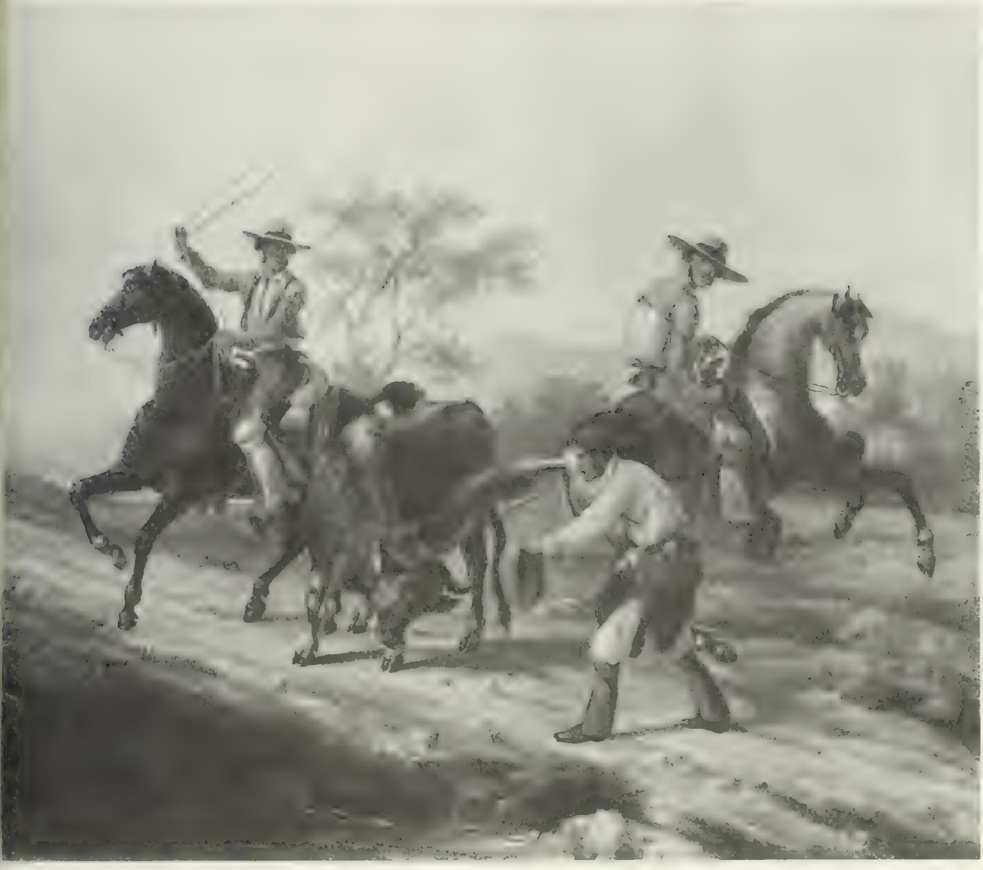
Through the early 1830s, the missions increasingly dominated the production of hides and tallow in California; the extent to which the Franciscans reoriented the mission economy to supply foreign demand for hides and tallow, however, has sparked recent debate. Some scholars have suggested that the padres maximized production of livestock by diverting surplus labor away from other agricultural pursuits and measures that could have arrested the decline of the neophyte population.[102] One scholar has countered that the padres did not reduce the amount of grain sown and that poor climate conditions and soil exhaustion reduced mission agricultural productivity in the 1820s.[103] Each of these arguments suggests new directions for research, and taken collectively they demonstrate how differently historical geographers, archaeologists, and historians interpret economic change.

In addition to opening California to international trade, the Mexican government transferred control over the most important economic resources in the region—land, livestock, and laborers—from the missionaries to the settlers. The Colonization Act of 1824 and the Supplemental Regulations of 1828 created mechanisms through which private individuals—Mexican nationals and foreign immigrants—could for the first time obtain title to land in California.[104] The Supplemental Regulations, however, specified that mission lands, by far the most valuable and accessible, could not be colonized "at present." The Secularization Act of 1833 swept this qualification aside, transferring the temporal authority of the missionaries to secular priests and opening up prime mission lands for pasturage and settlement. Taken together, these laws ushered in the greatest transfer of land and resources in California since the Spaniards first set foot in the region. As a result, by 1840 the private rancho had replaced the mission as the dominant social and economic institution in California, and all but a handful of former mission Indians had been rendered landless.

The privatization of land holding in California occurred at a dizzying pace. During the entire Spanish period fewer than thirty soldiers had received usufruct rights to land; in the first decade of Mexican rule, fewer still gained title.[105] But after 1833, when the Secularization Act went into effect, Mexican governors approved some seven hundred petitions for land, most of which came after 1840.[106] By 1846, retired soldiers, *pobladores,* and recent immigrants from Mexico controlled virtually all the best land along the coast, the interior valleys near the sea, and the Napa and Sacramento valleys situated farther inland.[107] At least sixty-six women—mostly single or widowed—received grants after 1821.[108] While exact figures remain elusive, approximately one-third of all grants in the 1840s went to settlers with non-Spanish, mostly British or American, surnames.[109] Overall, some ten million acres of land, or 10 percent of the surface area of present-day California, had passed into private hands by the close of the Mexican period.[110]

Political influence, economic power, and enormous land holdings quickly became synonymous in Mexican California. In 1846, Thomas Larkin estimated that a group of forty-six men of substance ruled California.[111] Most grants issued during the Mexican period were for parcels of land between ten and twenty thousand acres, but some individuals or families, such as the Yorbas and the Castros, amassed tracts of several hundred thousand acres.[112] Most of this land became pasturage for the large herds required for the hide-and-tallow trade that boomed during the 1830s and early 1840s.

The nature and growth of the hide-and-tallow trade, especially after mission secularization, reinforced the growing dependence of California's economy on Anglo-American trading concerns. Precise figures of the volume of the trade do not exist, but in all likelihood, more than six million hides and seven thousand tons of tallow



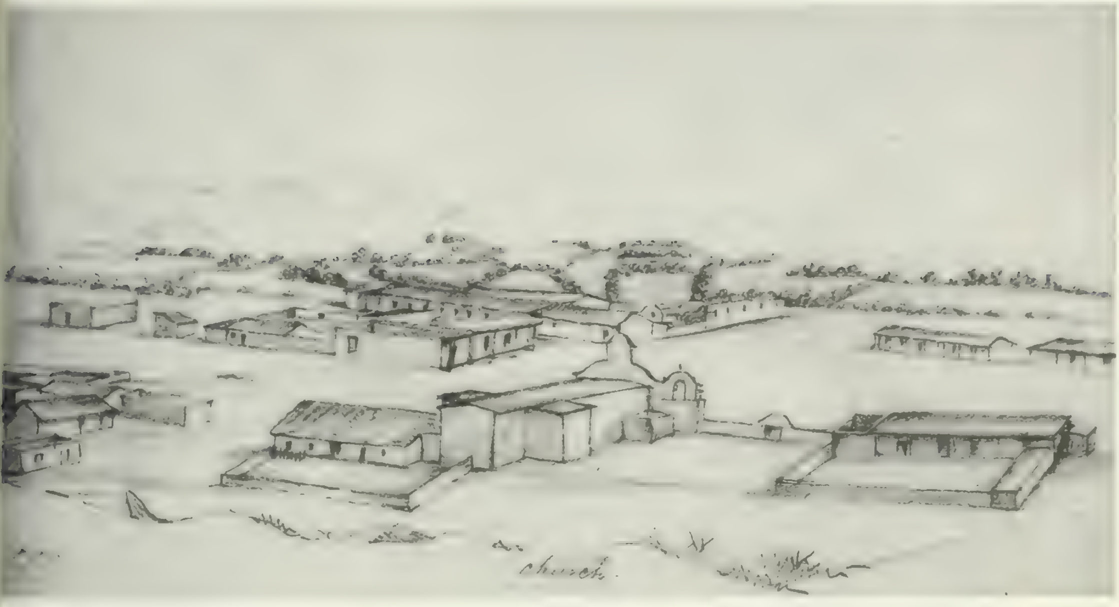
Californio vaqueros lasso a steer in a painting by the Cuban artist Augusto Ferran that probably dates to the late 1840s. From late mission days through the era of the great ranchos, livestock raising was the most important industry in California. Cattle provided not only beef for local consumption but hides and tallow for international trade, which blossomed under Mexican rule, enriching large landowners and the American traders who dominated the commerce. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

were exported from California between 1826 and 1848.[113] Virtually all of this trade was orchestrated by New England-based merchant houses.[114] The demand for hides was greatest in the eastern United States, where manufacturers turned hides into shoes and other leather products. Traders from Boston purchased the California hides outright or, more commonly, bartered for them with a wide array of manufactured products, which they sold at three to four times their New England value. Shipped to Peru, tallow was made into soap and candles, and then sold to silver miners. Maritime traders encouraged rancheros or missionaries to go deep into debt, thereby tightening their monopoly on the trade.[115] Anglo-American merchants such as Thomas Larkin and Abel Stearns, who purchased hides and sold Boston goods from their stores in California, also controlled a portion of the trade. After a fall in the price of hides on the Boston market rendered the trade unprofitable, and the deterioration of relations between the United States and Mexico in the mid-1840s made Boston traders wary of sending their ships into California's waters, decisions in the eastern United States, not in central Mexico or in California, precipitated the collapse of the hide-and-tallow trade. When gold was discovered in 1848, the heyday of the trade had already passed, and most remaining hide droghers quickly abandoned their ships for the gold fields.[116]

The rise and fall of the hide-and-tallow trade owed much to Anglo-American entrepreneurs, but the production of these export goods depended first and foremost on the rancheros' access to the unemployed and landless Indians who had recently been emancipated from the missions.[117] On the ranchos, former mission Indians performed the same basic tasks that had allowed the Franciscans to dominate the production of hides and tallow until 1834: they herded and slaughtered cattle, preserved hides, and rendered tallow. While the smallest ranchos employed only a handful of Indians, the largest, like Bernardo Yorba's Rancho Cañada de Santa Ana, employed more than a hundred workers to raise and slaughter livestock and dozens more to attend to the rancho's domestic chores.[118] On these enormous ranchos, a gendered division of labor seems to have placed men in the fields and women in the adobes, where they sewed, washed, and cooked.[119] Indian ranch hands usually lived in clusters of makeshift dwellings, where they continued to practice many elements of their culture. As recent archaeological work suggests, even well into the American period, Indians at some of the ranchos continued to manufacture their own pottery from local clay.[120]

Indians who worked on the ranchos rarely received cash for their services. Most were caught up in a complicated system of reciprocal obligations that scholars have variously described as "peonage," "seigneurialism," or "paternalism."[121] In this system Indians worked for the ranchero for basic supplies and a daily ration of food, which they supplemented through their own vegetable gardens or any stray cattle they could pilfer from the rancho's herd. Some ranch hands, like their own employers, accepted goods in advance and then found themselves bound until they had repaid their debt.[122] While by no means the dominant labor institution on the ranchos, a few unscrupulous rancheros did enslave Indians who had been captured on punitive raids.[123] Most rancheros, however, combined aspects of these different labor arrangements to ensure the availability and compliance of Indian workers.[124] Few rancheros became rich from the profits they derived from the Indians' work, but most made enough money to acquire some of life's comforts and to purchase fine cloth, extravagant garments, and luxury goods in an effort to distinguish themselves from their laborers and define themselves as an elevated social class.[125]

Until quite recently, scholars believed that the ranchos, like the missions before



William R. Hutton's drawing of Los Angeles in 1847 shows the white-washed adobes and village church fronting on the plaza, the heart of the principal pueblo of southern California. Though essentially an agricultural town, Los Angeles was also a provincial center for artisans, craftsmen, and merchants, including the Massachusetts-born trader Abel Stearns, a naturalized Mexican citizen and reputedly the richest man in southern California. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

them, had left little room for economic development in the pueblos. Since the late 1970s, however, historians have begun to recapture the complexity of economic growth and change in the pueblos, particularly in Los Angeles.[126] True to its Spanish design, Mexican Los Angeles remained agricultural. By 1836 Los Angeles could count roughly 170 farms, orchards, gardens, and vineyards, and wine and brandy produced in Los Angeles and its environs were being poured in homes and taverns as distant as Hawaii and New England.[127] While it seems clear that the missions remained the most important centers of artisan production in California until secularization, Los Angeles *pobladores* during the mid-1830s practiced thirty-one different occupations. The pueblos increasingly became centers for artisan work after mission secularization, and the Los Angeles community supported a growing merchant class and numerous artisans and craftsmen during the 1840s.[128] Urban merchants and artisans may even have found local rancheros to be active consumers of their goods, for recent work suggests that the ranchos were not nearly as self-sufficient as previously believed. Only the very largest of the ranchos, it seems, actually employed their own artisans.[129]

Although the economy of Los Angeles grew more complex and varied during the

Mexican period, one factor remained fixed: Indians constituted the mainstay of the manual labor force. After mission secularization, the population of Indian laborers in Los Angeles rose steadily, although clearly not to the height or at the rate scholars have asserted. In 1830, approximately 198 Indians lived in Los Angeles; the number who worked in the town, however, remains unclear.[130] Census lists taken later in the Mexican period provide important clues to the expansion of the Indian labor force in Los Angeles after secularization. The 1836 census enumerated 252 Indians in Los Angeles.[131] Scholars have taken this figure to represent the number of Indian laborers in the town, but it seems implausible that all toiled for the settlers.[132] When the infirm and children too young and adults too old to work are subtracted, a more reasonable figure of 225 laborers emerges.[133] Eight years later, approximately 377 Indians lived in the town of Los Angeles, far below the asserted figure of 650; of these, 339 were likely laborers.[134] Thus, the number of Indian residents and Indian laborers in Los Angeles increased in the years after secularization by roughly 50 percent, not 300 percent as scholars have suggested.[135]

These reduced figures and new work on the economy of Mexican Los Angeles suggest that scholars need to revisit the belief that Indian laborers "inundated" Los Angeles after secularization, where many "remained perpetually unemployed."[136] Furthermore, we need to reexamine the origins and magnitude of pathological behavior, such as drunkenness and homicide, that has been widely attributed to Indians in Mexican Los Angeles. These vices—and the repressive legislation that they prompted—have been described in the light of an underestimation of the strength of the Los Angeles economy, an overestimation of the number of Indians who lived in the town, and an unwitting tendency on the part of scholars to project the problems of contemporary urban Indians into the past. Only after scholars have mined the census reports, criminal records, account books, and personal correspondence pertaining to California's three principal towns—San José, Los Angeles, and Monterey—will a full picture emerge of Indian participation in Mexican California's urban economy.

CONCLUSION

In the decades after Mexican independence, the laws that fomented economic development in the ranchos and the pueblos, namely the opening up of California to international trade, the Colonization Act of 1824, the Supplemental Regulations of 1828, and the Secularization Act of 1833—all manifested unforeseen political transformations. Gradually, the laws of 1824 and 1828 facilitated a dramatic increase in the number of foreigners residing in California. In 1821, only 20 foreigners lived in Alta California, but their numbers increased to 120 in 1830 and 380 in 1840. By 1845, 680 of the region's 7,300 non-Indian residents were foreign immigrants. After 1845, the umber of immigrants increased dramatically; some estimates place the number at ,000 in 1846, fully one-half the non-Indian population.[137] Many of these new-omers, especially merchants, successfully married into the local elite and adopted uch of Californio culture; most, however, never renounced their commercial ties to he United States.

Samuel Hastings, a shipmaster who plied California's waters in the early 1840s, estified to the political implications of these ties, predicting to Thomas Larkin hat California eventually would go the way of Texas, and "American agents and American capital will be at the bottom of it."[138] Although Hastings could not fore- ee the exact means through which the United States would acquire California, he ecognized—as had Spanish mercantilists long before—that commercial interests would determine political allegiance. Upon the outbreak of the Mexican-American War in 1846, even before California had been seized by the United States, the economic ties between California and the United States—the most important of which lated to the hide-and-tallow trade—metamorphosed into political loyalty. Soon thereafter, these political and economic relationships hardened during the Gold Rush, hastening the admission in 1850 of California as the thirty-first state of the Union.

The men whose efforts and writings helped to promote California's statehood were often anti-Catholic, Hispanophobic, and quick, therefore, to dismiss the inhabitants and the economy of Mexican California as primitive and backwards. To Alfred Robinson, author of *Life in California* (1846), the Californios were "generally indolent, and addicted to many vices." Of their use of the land and the economy, Englishman Sir George Simpson scoffed: "Nature doing everything, man doing nothing."[139] Fortunately, the scholarship of recent decades has challenged these and other incorrect early assessments. Stereotypes of idling dons, dusty pueblos, and placid missions are giving way to a more subtle understanding of how economic relationships in Alta California were a blend of the initiatives of Spanish and Mexican secular officials and the priorities and skills of the regions' missionaries, soldiers, settlers, and most importantly, Indians.

As scholars continue to revise our understanding of the economy of Alta California, they need to continue examining the tensions between local needs and national policies, the interrelatedness of social, cultural, and economic change, the full implications of Indian participation in the colonial economy, and the place of Alta California's economy within the Spanish colonial frontier. Historians should have ample opportunity and abundant cause for such inquiries. The current increase in scholarly and public interest in the colonial history of the Spanish Borderlands will, no doubt, spur new studies, while the charged nature of current economic ties between Mexico and California renders them all the more timely.

NOTES

1. Fray José Señán to Viceroy Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca y Branciforte, May 14, 1796, in Lesley B. Simpson, ed., *The Letters of José Señán O.F.M.: Mission San Buenaventura, 1796–1823* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1962), 2.

2. Engels quoted in E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 62.

3. John J. McCusker, "Mercantilism," in *The Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies* (New York: C. Scribner & Sons, 1993), 1:459–65.

4. Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve: First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), 34. Beilharz provides a concise discussion of the economy of California during the 1770s. See especially chapters 3 and 6.

5. Robert Archibald, *The Economic Aspects of the California Missions* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1978), 3. This is the most comprehensive study of the economy of Spanish California and the missions. For a discussion of the economy of Alta California in the context of the other provinces of northwestern New Spain, see Sergio Ortega Noriega, *Un ensayo de historia regional: el noroeste de México, 1530–1880* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1993). Most secondary sources cited in this article draw to varying degrees on the first three volumes of Hubert Howe Bancroft's monumental *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1884–1886). Especially useful are Bancroft's footnotes, which list numerous documents concerning the economy of Spanish California.

6. Archibald, *Economic Aspects*, 3–4.

7. Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for Alta California and Nootka, 1767 to 1798* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967).

8. Junípero Serra, Memorandum, June 20, 1771, San Carlos de Monterey, in Antonine Tibesar, ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 4 vols. (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955–66), 1:226–35.

9. Serra's formal appeals are found in Serra, *Writings of Serra*, 1:295–329. The *Echeveste Reglamento*, dated May 19, 1773, can be found in Fray Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, trans. and ed. Herbert E. Bolton, 4 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), 58–77.

10. Ibid., 69.

11. Serra to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, Mexico City, March 13, 1773, *Writings of Serra*, 1:308–309.

12. Neve had written the new regulation by June 1779, but it was not formally approved by his superiors until October 1781. Under the new regulation, a soldier received 217.50 pesos, compared to 365 under the old schedule. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 86–92; see also, Archibald, *Economic Aspects*, 10. For a translation of the complete regulation, see *Regulations for governing the province of the Californias, approved by His Majesty by Royal order, dated October 24, 1781*, trans. John Everett Johnson (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1929).

13. A *fanega* was equivalent to roughly 1.575 bushels. As a unit of weight, a *fanega* measured 101.5 lbs. of corn and 82.4 lbs. of wheat.

14. Archibald, *Economic Aspects*, 164; Ortega Noriega, *Un ensayo de historia regional*, 121.

15. Archibald, *Economic Aspects*, 163–64, and 167.

16. The most concise and informative discussion of cattle ranching in Spanish Califor-

ia and the only study to trace its Old World origins is Terry G. Jordan, *North American*
attle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation (Albuquerque: University of
lew Mexico Press, 1993), 159–69. Although dated and racist, Hubert Howe Bancroft's
alifornia Pastoral, 1769–1848 (San Francisco: History Company, 1888) remains influential.
cholars frequently attribute the tremendous increase in livestock in Alta California to the
egion's "pristine" pasturage. See, for example, Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Fron-*
ters, 159–61; L. T. Burcham, "Cattle and Range Forage in California: 1770–1880," *Agricul-*
ural History 35 (July 1961): 140–49; and R. Louis Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands
f Alta California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (March 1961): 46–72.
or Indian proto-agricultural practices and their considerable effects upon California's land-
cape, see Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson, eds. *Before the Wilderness: Environmen-*
al Management by Native Californians (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1993).

17. Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 179–81.

18. David Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California, 1784–
846," *Journal of Historical Geography* 4 (October 1978): 371–90, especially 374–76. The pro-
edures governing land grants during the Spanish and Mexican periods and their origins in
he legal heritage of Castile are the subject of Iris H. W. Engstrand, "California Ranchos:
Their Hispanic Heritage," *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (March 1985): 281–90.

19. Steven W. Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California: Mission San
Carlos Borromeo, 1770–1834" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994), 269–75; Archibald,
Economic Aspects, 74–114.

20. Daniel J. Garr, "A Frontier Agrarian Settlement: San José de Guadalupe, 1777–1850," *San José Studies* 2 (November 1976): 93–105, especially 94–97.

21. Felipe de Neve, September 1782, quoted in Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve,* 165.

22. Francis Florian Guest, "Municipal Institutions in Spanish California, 1789–1821" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1961), 261–74; Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region, 1781–1850: Continuity and Adaptation on the North Mexican Periphery" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 108–20.

23. For the history of Branciforte, see Daniel J. Garr, "Villa de Branciforte: Innovation and Adaptation on the Frontier," *The Americas* 35 (July 1978): 95–109; Francis F. Guest, "The Foundation of the Villa de Branciforte," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 46 (December 1967): 307–35; and Guest, "Municipal Institutions," 130–92.

24. Guest, "Municipal Institutions," 247.

25. An *arroba* was usually 25 lbs. of corn, wheat, or flour.

26. Guest, "Municipal Institutions," 275, 289–91; Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles," 112.

27. The non-Indian population of Los Angeles numbered approximately 650 in 1820; Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region," 182–91.

28. Sanford A. Mosk, "Price-Fixing in Spanish California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 17 (1938): 118–22. Archibald in ch. 2 of *Economic Aspects* builds upon Mosk's discussion, adding greater depth to a complicated issue.

29. Mosk, "Price-Fixing," 120; Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 17–18.

30. Borica adjusted the price of wheat because the standard measure of a *fanega* in Alta California held a *fanega* of corn and a *fanega* and a half of wheat. Governor Diego de Borica, June 26, 1799, Monterey, Archivo General de la Nación, Californias (hereinafter cited as AGN CA) 48:2:426; Lasuén, June 19, 1801, Mission San Carlos de Monterey, Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas (hereinafter cited as AGN PI) 216: 76r and 76v.

31. Mosk, "Price-Fixing," 121. Arrillaga was interim governor until November 1804.

32. The most authoritative discussion of sea otter hunting in California is Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941). See also Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 116–18.

33. Ogden, *California Sea Otter Trade,* 6 and 15.

34. Ibid., 20–24

35. Sanford A. Mosk, "Subsidized Hemp Production in Spanish California," *Agricultural History* 13 (October 1939): 171–75; Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 119–20.

36. Mosk, "Hemp Production in Spanish California," 171.

37. Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Father Guardian Tomás Pangua, December 16, 1793, Mission San Diego, *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén,* trans. and ed. Finbar Kenneally (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), 2 vols. 1:328–29; Mosk, "Hemp Production in Spanish California," 172; Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 118.

38. Governor Diego de Borica to *Comisionado* of San José, December 23, 1795, Monterey, *Archives of California,* Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 23:517.

39. Mosk, "Hemp Production in Spanish California," 172.

40. Ibid., 173; Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 120.

41. Joaquín Sanchez to Arrillaga, August 30, 1805, San José, *Archives of California* 11:184; Mosk, "Hemp Production in Spanish California," 174.

42. Viceroy José de Iturrigaray to Governor of California [José Joaquín de Arrillaga], December 4, 1805, Mexico, *Archives of California* 12:74.

43. For the 1810 production total, see Mosk, "Hemp Production in Spanish California," 175.

44. Arrillaga to Sánchez, February 22, 1811, Monterey, *Archives of California* 26:12.

45. María del Carmen Velázquez, *Notas sobre sirvientes de las Californias y proyecto de obraje en Nuevo México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1979), 41–45. Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 146–52; Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982 reprint, orig. 1952), 122–48; Bancroft, *History of California,* 1:615–18.

46. Lasuén to Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga, Mission San Carlos, December 21, 1792, *Writings of Lasuén,* 1:263; Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, Mission San Carlos, July 23, 1796, ibid., 1:389. Manuel Muñoz's trade, a *listonero* (lathe worker), has been incorrectly translated as a ribbon maker. See Bancroft, *History of California,* 1:615 n. 29, and *Writings of Lasuén,* 1:389. For information on artisans, see Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, *Buildings and Builders in Historic California, 1769–1850* (Tucson: Southwestern Mission Research Center; Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation; Presidio Research Publication, 1994).

47. Webb, *Indian Life,* 130; Bancroft, *History of California,* 1:618.

48. Borica to Branciforte, December 3, 1795, Monterey, AGN CA 49:1:265–67.

49. Lasuén to Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga, Mission San Carlos, December 21, 1792, *Writings of Lasuén,* 1:263–64.

50. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain,* rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 309.

51. Robert Archibald, "Indian Labor at the California Missions[:] Slavery or Salvation?" *Journal of San Diego History* 24 (Spring 1978): 172–83. Differing assessments of the nature of Indian labor in the missions are juxtaposed in Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, eds., *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987).

52. For soldiers' descriptions of Indian labor in the missions during the mid-1790s, see Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berke-

ey: University of California Press, 1976), 91–94. See also the Franciscans responses, especially Missions San Miguel and San Antonio, to the 1812 questionnaire in Maynard Geiger, d. and trans., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813–1815* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 976), 82–83.

53. Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, AGN PI 216:69v; Lasuén, *Writings of La-uén,* 2:207; Cook, *Conflict,* 94; Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 65.

54. Maynard Geiger, *The Indians of Mission Santa Barbara in Paganism and Christianity* (Santa Barbara, 1982), 32; and Richard Steven Street, "'We Are Not Slaves': A History of California Farmworkers, 1769–1869—The Formative Years" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1995), 165–66.

55. Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, AGN PI 216: 70v; Lasuén, *Writings of Lasuén,* 2:211.

56. Historians have yet to fully examine the implications of the differences between indigenous and Spanish gender divisions of labor in the missions of California. For a discussion of some of the work performed by Indian women in the missions, see Virginia Mayo Bouvier, "Women, Conquest, and the Production of History: Hispanic California, 1542–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995), 156–61.

57. Fray Luís Gil [y Taboada], December 31, 1825, Mission Santa Cruz, Documentos para la Historia de California, C-B 50 4:2:607–9, Bancroft Library.

58. Ibid.

59. Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations," 319–23. Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá to Fray Mariano Payeras, March 25, 1820, Alexander S. Taylor Collection, Doc. no. 1075, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

60. Paul Farnsworth, "The Economics of Acculturation in the California Missions: A Historical and Archaeological Study of Mission Nuestra Senora de la Soledad" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1987), 303.

61. Cook, *Conflict,* 91–101; Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 44; and Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 126, 165–66.

62. Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, AGN PI 216: 69v; Lasuén, *Writings of Lasuén,* 2:207.

63. Fray Luís Gil [y Taboada], December 31, 1825, Mission Santa Cruz, Documentos para la Historia de California, C-B 50 4:2:607–9.

64. Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, AGN PI 216: 69v; Lasuén, *Writings of Lasuén,* 2:207.

65. Cook, *Conflict,* 101; and Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 52, 54, and 58.

66. Diane Everett Barbolla, "Alta California Troops: Acculturation and Material Wealth in a Presidio and Mission Context, 1769–1810" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1992).

67. "Report of Corporal Periquez to Captain Callis," n.d., *Writings of Serra,* 1:402–6.

68. Lasuén to Don Jacabo Ugarte y Loyola, October 20, 1787, Mission San Carlos, *Writings of Lasuén,* 1:168.

69. Scholars have put forward different estimates of the value of mission contract labor.

In *Economic Aspects,* 103, Archibald discussed how Indian labor was valued at 1 1/2 *reales* a day. Cook argued that Indian labor after 1790 was "compulsory" and not compensated, *Conflict,* 1–194. Castillo argued that "The presidios, like the missions and most other buildings in colonial California, were built with the free native labor provided by the neophytes and prisoners," "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians,* Vol. 8, *California* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 102.

70. Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations," 272–73. The number of "days" of Indian labor equals the total of pesos charged multiplied by eight (eight *reales* to a peso) and divided by 1 and 1/2 (the daily wage).

71. Hackel, "Indian Labor in Colonial California: A Reappraisal of the Spanish Presidios" (Paper delivered at the 35th Annual Conference of the Western History Association, Denver, Colorado, October 1995).

72. Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations," 297–308; Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995), 104–107.

73. Pedro Fages to Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, June 2, 1790, Monterey, AGN CA 46:31.

74. Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, AGN PI: 216: 71r; Lasuén, *Writings of Lasuén,* 2:212.

75. Señán to Lasuén, October 2[?], 1800, Mission San Buenaventura AGN PI 216:96.

76. Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, AGN PI: 216: 71v; Lasuén, *Writings of Lasuén,* 2:213.

77. José Joaquín Moraga to the Corporal of the Guard at the Pueblo of San José, San Francisco, December 1782, quoted in Randall T. Milliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People of the San Francisco Bay Area from 1770 to 1810" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 510. Governor Fages incorporated these regulations into the guidelines he issued for the *comisionado* of San José, Fages to [Ignacio] Vallejo, Instrucciones al director de San José, July 18, 1785, Monterey, *Archives of California* 22:338–41.

78. William Mason, "Indian-Mexican Cultural Exchange in the Los Angeles Area, 1781–1834," *Aztlán* 15 (Spring 1984): 123–44. See also George Harwood Phillips, "Indians in Los Angeles, 1781–1875: Economic Integration, Social Disintegration," *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (August 1980): 427–51.

79. Ortega to Fages, April 18, 1784, Pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles, *Archives of California* 22:176–77.

80. Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region," 110.

81. Fages to Captain Vicente Feliz, San Gabriel, January 13, 1787, *Archives of California* 4:148–55, partially translated in William Marvin Mason, "Fages' Code of Conduct Toward Indians, 1787," *Journal of California Anthropology* 2 (Summer 1975): 90–100.

82. Response of the Franciscans of Mission San Gabriel, in Geiger, *As the Padres Saw Them,* 129.

83. Father Vicente de Santa María, 1795, quoted in Mason, "Indian-Mexican Cultural Exchange," 129.

84. Ibid., 131–33; Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region," 90–96.

85. Lasuén to Don Jacabo Ugarte y Loyola, October 20, 1787, Mission San Carlos, *Writings of Lasuén,* 1:168.

86. Fray Mariano Payeras to Reverend Father Guardian, June 18, 1821, Mission San An-

onio de Padua, *Writings of Mariano Payeras,* trans. and ed. Donald Cutter (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books, 1995), 294, 299.

87. Ibid., 299.

88. Archibald, *Economic Aspects,* 124.

89. Ibid., 133–38.

90. Quoted in David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 125.

91. The best synthetic overview of the economy of Mexican California remains Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* especially, 122–57. The relevant sections of the bibliographic essay at the end of the volume provide an indispensable guide to the literature on the economy of Mexican California. For an exhaustive and encyclopedic account of the economy of Mexican California, surpassed in detail only by Bancroft's *History of California,* see Jessie Davies Francis, "An Economic and Social History of Mexican California, 1822–1846: Volume I, Chiefly Economic" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1935; New York: Arno Press, 1976).

92. Quoted in Francis, "Economic and Social History," 51. For more on the Junta, see ibid., 23–51; Bancroft, *History of California,* 3:2–6; and C. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Híjar-Padrés Colony, and Its Origins, 1769–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 115–21.

93. Francis, "Economic and Social History of Mexican California," 344–48 and 364–68; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 112.

94. Bancroft, *History of California,* 3:67–86.

95. Ibid., 85. Echeandía was in control of southern California in 1832–1833.

96. Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 151.

97. Francis, "Economic and Social History," 265–89. In 1826, Mexico had only five vessels to patrol ten thousand miles of coastline; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 149.

98. Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 156–57 and 255–60.

99. Bancroft states that the Spanish flag came down in Monterey in late September or early October; *History of California,* 2:458. For more on these negotiations and the final agreement, see Adele Ogden, "Hides and Tallow: McCulloch, Hartnell and Company, 1822–1828," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 6 (September 1927): 255–56; and Bancroft, *History of California,* 2:475–77.

100. Fray Mariano Payeras to Reverend Father Guardian José Gasol, Mission La Soledad, June 26, 1822, *Writings of Payeras,* 322.

101. Ogden, "Hides and Tallow," 255.

102. David Hornbeck, "Economic Growth and Change at the Missions of Alta California, 1769–1846," in David Hurst Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences, Volume 1: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West* (Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington and London, 1989), 423–33, especially 426–29. See also Julia G. Costello, "Variability among the Alta California Missions: The Economics of Agricultural Production," in *Columbian Consequences,* 435–49. Monroy notes a similar shift in the outlook of the Franciscans, although he suggests that as early as 1810 the padres became more concerned with "buying and selling than with souls"; *Thrown among Strangers,* 69.

103. Robert H. Jackson, "The Changing Economic Structure of the Alta California Missions—A Reinterpretation," *Pacific Historical Review* 61 (August 1992): 387–415.

104. Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 162, 180–81; Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement,* 112–13, 137.

For a brief summary of the provisions of this legislation, see Bancroft, *History of California,* 2:515–16, n. 8; ibid., 3:34, n. 7; and Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion," 378.

105. From 1784 to 1834 the governors confirmed some fifty-one land grants; Paul W. Gates, *California Ranchos and Farms, 1846–1862* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), 3.

106. Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850–1870,* 2d ed. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1964), 23; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 196; Francis, "Economic and Social History," 478–83.

107. Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion," 383–88.

108. Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 83.

109. Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion," 388; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 205–6 and 350 n. 89. These ranches were on average slightly larger than those granted to Mexicans. Most non-Hispanic immigrants came late to California and had to settle for less desirable land farther inland; Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion," 388.

110. Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion," 388; Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers,* 166.

111. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 10.

112. Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion," 385; Gates, *California Ranchos,* 7–9.

113. Francis, "Economic and Social History," 532; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 138–39.

114. Francis, "Economic and Social History," 525–26; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 138–39. The most important of these firms, Bryant, Sturgis, and Company, which exported some 500,000 hides from California between 1822 and 1842, is the focus of Adele Ogden, "Boston Hide Droghers Along California Shores," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 8 (December 1929): 289–305.

115. Odgen, "Boston Hide Droghers," 302; Francis, "Economic and Social History," 524.

116. Ogden, "Boston Hide Droghers," 299–300.

117. Only a handful of Indians received land after secularization, despite the laws that specified otherwise. For descriptions of some who did, see Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 125; Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities,* 53–56.

118. Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 48–51. Scholars have consistently borrowed Sherburne Cook's estimate that 4,000 Indians worked on ranchos during the Mexican period, but this figure seems too low; Cook, *Conflict,* 304.

119. Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines,* 49. See also the first-hand description of rancho life, "Life of a Rancher by Don José del Carmen Lugo," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 32 (September 1950): 185– 236.

120. Roberta S. Greenwood, "The California Ranchero: Fact and Fancy," in *Columbian Consequences,* 451–65.

121. Cook and others have described the ranchos as a peonage system, *Conflict,* 51; Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 211. Monroy concludes that the ranchos were "seigneurial"; *Thrown among Strangers,* 100–102 and 150. Almaguer sees the Indian-rancho ties as constituting "paternalism"; *Racial Fault Lines,* 50. Despite these subtle differences, all see the ranchos as based upon an exploitation and degradation of Indian labor. Even though most scholars do

not categorize labor relations on the ranchos as constituting slavery, recent scholarship on ndian-ranchero relations owes much to the historiography on slave plantations, especially he work of Eugene D. Genovese. See, for example, Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*, 49, and Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers*, 100.

122. Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 211.

123. Francis, "Economic and Social History," 505–509.

124. The best documented example of the variability of labor relations on the ranchos occurred on the periphery of Mexican California, in John A. Sutter's inland rancho, New Helvetia. See Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), especially 55–71. For a comparative study of the variability of labor relations on ranchos, see Ricardo D. Salvatore, "Modes of Labor Control in Cattle-Ranching Economies: California, Southern Brazil, and Argentina, 1820–1860," *Journal of Economic History* 55 (June 1991): 441–51.

125. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers*, 136–38.

126. Recent interpretations draw heavily from Howard J. Nelson, "The Two Pueblos of Los Angeles: Agricultural Village and Embryo Town," *Southern California Quarterly* 59 (Spring 1977): 1–10. Two dissertations extend and add greater complexity to Nelson's thesis: Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region," and Michael J. González, "Searching for the Feathered Serpent: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1830–1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1993). Unfortunately, there are no studies of economic growth during the Mexican period of San José, Monterey, or the sizable presidial communities. For a brief description of the agricultural character of San José in the Mexican period, consult Garr, " A Frontier Agrarian Settlement: San José de Guadalupe."

127. Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region," 195 –96. For a discussion of the beginnings of the Los Angeles wine industry, see Iris Ann Wilson, "Early Southern California Viniculture, 1830–1865," *Southern California Quarterly* 39 (September 1957): 242–50. For wine production at the missions, see Webb, *Indian Life*, 84–99 and 217–30.

128. Nelson, "The Two Pueblos," 5–6; Ríos-Bustamante, "Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region," 192–94. González argues that the diversification of the economy of Los Angeles was in no small part due to the arrival of a large group of Mexican colonists in 1835; "Searching for the Feathered Serpent," 47, 53–59.

129. Nelson, "The Two Pueblos," 8.

130. Mason, "Indian-Mexican Cultural Exchange," 138–39.

131. J. Gregg Layne, ed., "The 1836 Census of Los Angeles," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 18 (September–December 1936): 159–163.

132. Mason asserts that all 252 were laborers; "Indian-Mexican Cultural Exchange," 139. Phillips gives the incorrect figure of 255; "Indians in Los Angeles," 436.

133. This total does not include children age six and younger or adults eighty years and older.

134. Census of 1844, 603–626, Los Angeles City Archives. Phillips put forward the figure of 650 Indians in Los Angeles; "Indians in Los Angeles," 436. Phillips however, mistakenly included in this count 273 Indians who actually worked and lived on the ranchos in the vicinity of Los Angeles.

135. Phillips asserts that the "total number of Indian residents tripled"; "Indians in Los Angeles," 436. See also Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers*, 128.

136. Phillips, "Indians in Los Angeles," 436; Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 128.

137. Figures are from Donald Cutter and Iris Engstrand, *Quest for Empire: Spanish Settlement in the Southwest* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996), 301; and Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 206. Cutter and Engstrand put forward the population estimates for 1846. On immigration to California during the Mexican period, see Weber, *Mexican Frontier,* 179–206.

138. Hasting to Larkin, November 9, 1845, quoted in Ogden, "Boston Hide Droghers," 300, n. 74.

139. Robinson and Simpson, quoted in Pitt, *Decline of the Californios,* 15–16. For an exploration of the negative stereotypes Anglo-Americans used to describe the Californios, see James Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), especially 60–65.

6

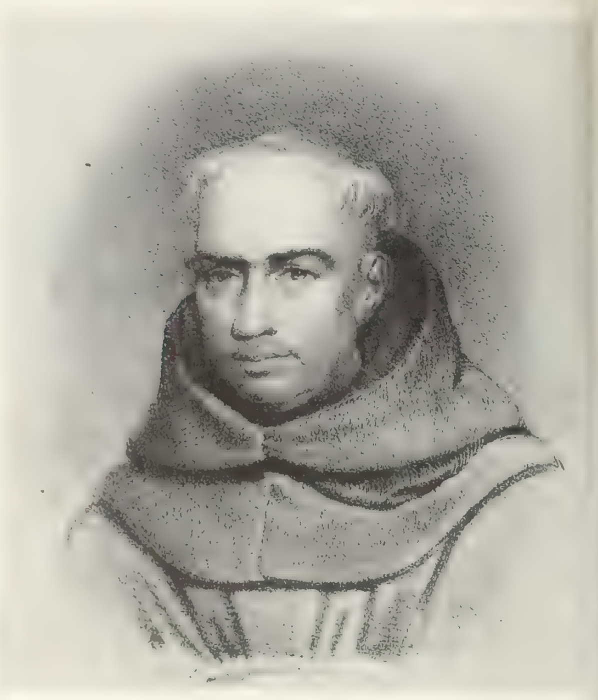
The Child of the Wilderness Weeps for the Father of Our Country"

The Indian and the Politics of Church and State in Provincial California

Michael J. González

From the Spanish era (1769–1821) into the Mexican period (1822–1846), Franciscan missionaries vied with provincial governors and their subordinates to rule Indians. The Spanish Crown, and later independent Mexico, expected each group to help convert the Native Californians into tax-paying Catholics, but the rivals debated who would supervise the transformation. The clamor attracted many participants. Priests from other orders, foreign visitors, American emigres, and military men—indeed military men often doubled as governors—likewise wondered what kind of regimen to impose on the Indians. These outsiders, however, rarely contributed new ideas and left the conflict to the devices of the Franciscans and provincial executives.

At one remove, California's dispute resembles the church-state conflicts that convulsed Latin America and Europe into the nineteenth century. In Mexico, France, and Spain, the members of each institution argued that only one side cared for the people while the other threatened religious fanaticism or anarchy. California's contest follows similar logic. From the beginning of settlement, the Franciscans insisted that the province and its native inhabitants prospered from the clergy's guidance. The priests filled mission lands with cattle or orchards. Amid the plenty appeared Indians, who, by yielding to the lure of gifts, or even to the occasional display of force, abandoned their pagan ways and accepted instruction in the Catholic religion. Initially, the civil administrators had few means to challenge the priests' economic and spiritual influence. Undaunted, the governors and some settlers protested that the mission routine stifled initiative and left the neophytes (Indian converts) helpless before their Franciscan tutors. The critics, many envious of Franciscan lands



Fray Antonio Peyrí, one of the gray-robed Franciscans who participated in the spiritual conquest of California, as depicted in a contemporary nineteenth-century lithograph. The Spanish-born Peyrí, who arrived in 1798, spent over thirty years at San Luis Rey, building the mission from a rude brush chapel to a magnificent adobe compound surrounded by rich agricultural lands and huge herds of cattle and sheep. Based on a portrait made in Mexico City in the mid-1830s, the lithograph was praised by old Californians as a true likeness of the able and energetic friar. From Alexander Forbes, *California* (London, 1839). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30513.*

and Indian subjects, argued that a better existence awaited the natives if they dwelled in farming settlements alongside *gente de razón* (Mexican and Spanish settlers).[1] The conflict ended in 1834, when the provincial government secularized the missions and planned to distribute church property to converts. Bereft of their estates, the Franciscans soon lost power, and those who did not return to Mexico remained in California to minister their Indian and *gente de razón* congregations. The governors and their constituents, meanwhile, heady from the sight of land freed from church control, forgot concerns for the neophytes' welfare and divided up territory intended for Indians.[2] By the American invasion in 1846, *gente de razón* in and out of government had fattened themselves on the land's wealth, with a few citizens enjoying prosperity beyond any standard reached by the priests.

Yet, the province's disputes differed from troubles in other parts of the globe. Elsewhere, the poor and destitute, individuals whose status paralleled that of the Indians, had little sway over the religious and civil leadership. If the downtrodden participated in conflicts, it was to fight for, or suffer from, crusades that mostly served their betters. California's Indians, though never articulating arguments that could impress Franciscans and governors, wielded influence unusual for a subjugated people. Of course, it is hard to measure how the native Californians perceived their grasp on the clerical or civil imagination. Some court testimonies or written remembrances convey the Indians' ideas, but because Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-merican amanuenses recorded these thoughts, the indigenous voice often passed hrough hostile or indifferent transcribers.[3] To complicate matters, the Indians did ot comprise one group. Instead, they belonged to an ethnically diverse people vhose tribelets, languages, and customs possessed great variety.[4]

Though muted or lacking a single mind, the Indians participated in church-state ontroversies. In a province where they numbered the large majority, the Indian resence initiated a dialogue words could not deliver. The Native Californians, at nce servants, warriors, or prospective citizens, declared by virtue of their multitudinous tasks that they, and not priests and civil officials, could dictate the province's fate. In response, the authorities pursued policies, sometimes with compassion, other times with malice, that addressed the Indians' circumstances. As we will see, whoever could master the Indians, or in other cases win their cooperation, settled the question of who ran California best, Franciscans or governors.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Contradictions menace neat theories, however. Scholars such as Sherburne Cook note that priests and governors needed each other to survive in a remote province, and no subject, even Indians, stopped one rival from helping the other.[5] Franciscans administered the sacraments to their civil counterparts and occasionally supplied them with food. For their part, governors ordered troops to hunt down fugitive neophytes or help priests convert Indians.[6] To be sure, most times the topic of Indians provided for little harmony, but, if provincial business did not involve Native Californians, the prospects for cooperation improved. Money matters, for instance, often angered clerics and administrators before circumstance cooled tempers and granted the wisdom that one group needed the other to prosper. Historian Hubert H. Bancroft illustrated how financial questions initially sparked resentment. He reported that at the beginning of colonization priests resented commands to help impoverished *gente de razón.* In the 1780s, governors Felipe de Neve, and later Pedro Fages, annoyed the clergy when they set low prices for the goods settlers bought from mission warehouses.[7] Rosaura Sânchez explains that bad feelings accumulated in later years when Franciscans bowed to the governors' request to lend money and they begrudged pueblo officials and settlers some loans. She notes that by the 1830s the priests had lent nearly seven hundred thousand pesos to their civil counterparts.[8] To the friars' chagrin, the loan recipients proved to be unreliable risks when their businesses sputtered or they refused to repay their debt. The *gente de razón,* meanwhile, imagined that the priests presided over swelling treasuries and did not deserve quick compensation. Even after secularization, when priests fell into poverty and cried out for help, few settlers believed that the friars needed money. Historian David Weber explained that the Reverend Diego García, the first bishop of California, lamented that the *gente de razón* donated so little to the church that he lacked cash to build his residence or a seminary.[9]

Other sources imply, however, that both sides learned to share their wealth. Woodrow Hansen shows that through the early nineteenth century the clergy relied on civil officials to collect mandatory tithes from settlers. The friars returned the favor and let administrators take a 5 percent cut of the proceeds.[10] When Mexico City made tithing voluntary in 1833, national leaders asked citizens to heed their conscience when the collection plate passed on Sunday.[11] While many people in this poor country could not afford charity, in places like Los Angeles, the *ayuntamiento* (city council) records show that residents often reached into their purses to help the church. To celebrate Mexican independence with a Mass, the *ayuntamiento* asked citizens in 1837 to donate money so that a priest could perform the ceremony.[12] There is no record that locals responded, but apparently such appeals worked other times. A year later, the council announced that the parish priest needed funds for a Mass "to honor the *Virgin del Refugio*," and it circulated a list of thirty-four men who gave pesos and *reales*.[13]

Like conflicts over money, legal and political arguments obscured any hint of concord between the two sides. Indeed, so many disagreements crowd the record it is no surprise that historians emphasize religious and civil discord. In some instances, Franciscan arrogance embittered their civil rivals. Manuel Servín explains that throughout the late eighteenth century provincial executives ordered the priests to organize elections in which the Indian converts elected their own *alcaldes*.[14] The missionaries ignored the command and appointed trusted neophytes to office. Other times, if the Franciscans failed to thwart civil authorities they sought help from Mexico City. After Comandante Pedro Fages (California did not receive its first governors until 1777) questioned the wisdom of sending troops to defend the future mission at San Buenaventura, an irate Father Junípero Serra convinced the viceroy to replace Fages with Fernando Rivera y Moncada.[15]

The new official, however, challenged the Franciscans, demonstrating that the provincial administrators could share the blame for church-state rancor. Soon after assuming office, Rivera y Moncada violated sanctuary and burst into Mission San Diego hunting for wanted Indians.[16] Serra excommunicated the comandante to restore church dignity, but it is doubtful the priests could intimidate their rivals. Daniel Garr notes that when civil officials founded settlements at San José and Villa Branciforte they ignored Franciscans who complained that the settlements sat dangerously close to the missions.[17]

Despite all these disputes, documents from Los Angeles show that the two sides often asked the other to help fulfill political or legal responsibilities. Sometimes provincial executives took the oath of office in the city and invited priests to bless the ceremony.[18] When Carlos Carrillo assumed the governor's seat in 1837, he cut short his inauguration so "his excellency, together with the *ayuntamiento* and the people, could attend a solemn *Te Deum* Mass."[19] On other occasions, city leaders welcomed the friars' attempts to regulate the public's morality. The same year that Carrillo took office, Father Narciso Durán discovered that Manuel Arzaga, a retired army officer, lived with a woman who was not his wife. After the priest complained to the *alcalde,* city officials sent the woman to live at Mission San Gabriel and banished Arzaga to San Diego.[20]

Education, though, featured the best displays of cooperation. Municipal records and other sources from Los Angeles reveal that after lay teachers resigned to pursue other interests, priests accepted city council offers to work in the classroom. Military men sometimes tried instructing, but apparently most parents and civic leaders preferred clerics over officers or enlisted men.[21] When in 1836 the teaching position fell vacant (during the Mexican period, only one teacher, sometimes two, worked in Los Angeles), the *ayuntamiento* prevailed upon Father Alejo Bachelot, an experienced teacher in the Sandwich Islands, to take the job.[22] Three years later, the school once more lacked a teacher, and the city council asked the local curate to teach "forty to forty-five boys in the rectory."[23] The clerics' frequent turns in the classroom gave some priests the confidence to judge the city council's approach to education. After the American conquest, a Mexican priest urged the *ayuntamiento* to build a college and pull students away from "these examples of stupidity and immorality who congregated in Los Angeles' streets."[24] If lay teachers presided in the classroom, the religious presence remained in the primers children used for reading and writing. One primer warned children "that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."[25] Another cautioned youth to heed the law "because God sees all roads to iniquity."[26] The residents appreciated clerics who taught, and when priests departed for other assignments, disappointment spread. After Father Bachelot received orders from the bishop to return to the Sandwich Islands, the *ayuntamiento* and members of the populace appealed the decision. No new directives arrived, and Bachelot sailed out of San Pedro Bay with sad citizens in his wake.[27]

INDIAN POLICY

Compromise, however, usually vanished when the friars and civil officials regarded Indians. Such interest in the natives suggests that each side only wished to control the cheap labor they represented. Certainly, a glance at California's demography and the disciplines each side used to motivate native workers supports this contention. At the height of the mission period in 1830, the neophytes and gentile Indians totaled 98,000 souls and outnumbered the priests, soldiers, and settlers nearly ten to one.[28] The multitude invited priests and settlers to consider how Indian workers could exploit California's resources. For the Franciscans, neophyte laborers made the missions self-sufficient, and, as we will see, they also produced various items for trade. If converts lost interest in work, the priests revived enthusiasm by whipping neophytes who stole livestock or tried escaping into the interior.[29]

The civil authorities and their *gente de razón* constituents proved to be more demanding masters. Initially, the settlers rented Indian laborers from the missions and convinced gentiles to mind crops and cattle in exchange for coins or alcohol. By the 1830s, when neophytes gained their freedom from the secularized missions, the *gente de razón* grew bolder in dragooning native workers. In Los Angeles, municipal leaders ordered the night constable to arrest Indian drunks and make them work off their sentences fixing roads and public buildings.[30] After the American conquest in 1847, the city council instructed the "watchmen of the week" to collect Indian vagrants and assign them to "a master they will serve."[31] Around the same time, a judge noted that ex-neophytes often loitered at Mission San Gabriel. He promised to sweep up the loafers and "compel [them] to work hard."[32]

The exploitation of Indians, while horrific, does not contradict the clerics' and civil officials' claims that they were the Native Californians' protectors. Indeed, it can be said that many Indians who suffered whipping, forced labor, or other outrages faced punishment for displaying rebellious streaks.[33] For those who accepted their subservience, they flattered the pretensions of priests and civil administrators who played the parental sage to the Indian's obliging and willing child.[34] This arrangement suggests that authority figures wished their native wards to forever languish in an immature state. Others, however, found no delight in infantalized vassals and welcomed the chance to shepherd their Indian "children" to adulthood. But whatever the guise friars and governors imagined for their native subjects, it made little difference what the Indians wanted or needed. Only their patrons knew how to provide for the Indians' happiness.

The Franciscan fathers certainly relished their parental obligations. At the beginning of the mission era, Father Junípero Serra claimed that the "the spiritual fathers," the priests, "should be able to punish their sons, the Indians, with blows."[35] Later, Father Fermín Lasuén said that the priest, "like any good father . . . of a civilized nation . . . should forbid his children to go out with bad companions."[36] During the Chumash rebellion in 1824, Padre Ripoll of Santa Barbara saw troops muster to punish the rebels and rushed out to stop them. The priest threw himself at the commander's feet and begged, "My God, don't kill my children."[37]

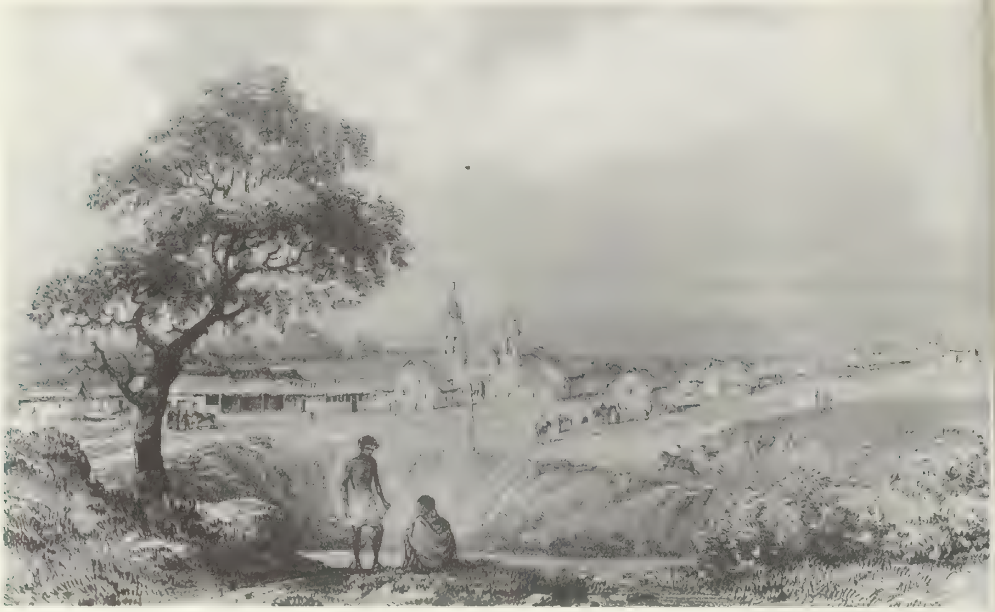
The civil authorities likewise favored parental images. After Governor Felipe de Neve heard in 1780 that soldiers harassed neophytes, he ordered the offending troopers whipped and invited Indians to witness the punishment.[38] Years later, when Juan Bautista Alvarado penned José Figueroa's eulogy to honor the governor who secularized the missions, he celebrated the dead man as "the Father of our country," whose passing caused the Indian, "the child of the wilderness," to mourn.[39] Sometime later in 1841, Santiago Argüello, the prefect of southern California, looked out his office window in Los Angeles and saw a local resident "beat an Indian with the flat of his sword." Argüello ordered a criminal investigation to bring the man up on charges.[40]

To be sure, talk of hapless Indians basking in parental love would have soothed anyone troubled by the natives' suffering. But the talk of nurturing Native Californians was not always cant. In the American South, a place whose form of servitude might resemble the treatment accorded Indians, apologists spoke of slaves reclining in the bosom of the master's family. The rhetoric rang hollow, however, for it is difficult to imagine slave owners pleading with executioners to spare rebellious chattel, much less calling an assembly to watch brutal overseers receive the lash.[41]

In California, parental imagery usually prompted more sincere conduct, as priests and governors wanted their native subjects to mature in a world fashioned by religious or secular hands. The Franciscans wished to fill California with Indian converts who practiced Christian virtue in a world maddened by political and scientific revolution. Meanwhile, some civil authorities wanted to test liberal ideas in the province. Associating mission life with the excesses of the ancien régime, they proposed to free the neophytes from Franciscan control and award them portions of church property. Neither group succeeded, but measuring the triumph and failure of either side is not our intent. Instead, it is important to see how the men of church and state used the Native Californians to fulfill their designs for the province. And when the Indians reacted slowly to the schemes sketched by their saviors, priests and governors feared the defeat of their ambitions and blamed the natives for failures whose real authors sat in the missions or in the provincial capital.

CHURCH

Let us first examine Franciscan thinking. The Franciscan arrival in California coincided with the Enlightenment and the Age of Revolution, and the missionaries, fearful of the era's assaults on Catholic dogma, needed Indians to convert California into a redoubt impervious to change. During the period's excitement, the divine right of kings and church authority crumbled, revealing the idea of the individual, the new cult to which European and American savants directed their oblations.[42] The lineaments of the individual first appeared during the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, when Newton published *De Principia*, his masterpiece on the theory of gravity. Newton theorized that natural laws governed the cosmos, and any educated observer could understand nature's workings by studying the forces that regulated the movement of the heavens. More radical minds extended Newton's logic and postulated that, if one person could understand how the universe functioned, then perhaps there was no reason to believe that God controlled nature.



In 1827, when the British amateur artist William Smyth made the watercolor drawing of San Carlos Borromeo from which this lithograph was derived, the mission was near the height of its prosperity. Founded more than half a century earlier by Junípero Serra, it was the seat of Franciscan authority in Alta California, the headquarters of Father-President Serra and his successor, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén. From Alexander Forbes, *California* (London, 1839). *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

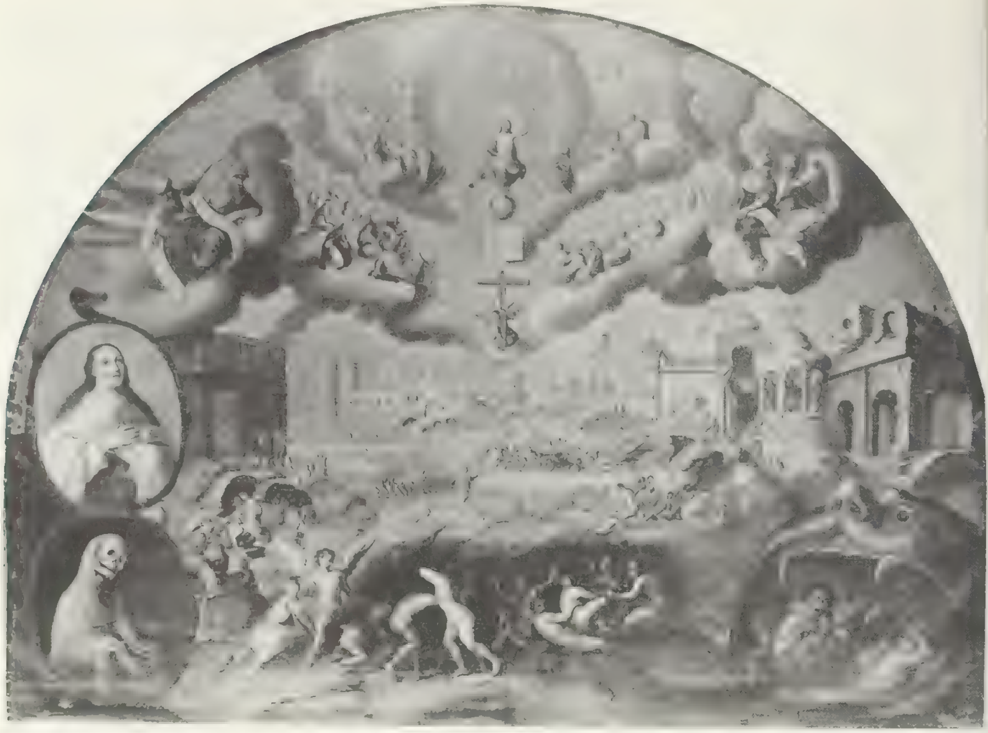
And if divine authority lost its majesty, then other institutions, from the aristocracy to the papacy, likewise would lose their mystique. Newton's reasoning culminated in the belief that the only valid experience was that of the individual who had the intelligence to govern himself without the intervention of monarchs or priests.[43]

By the late eighteenth century, the time when Franciscans began building California's missions, political documents such as the United States Constitution or the French Declaration of the Rights of Man crowned the individual, or the ideal of what an individual should be, with inalienable rights. No longer subject to the whims of church or state authorities, the individual now loomed as a viable being who responded to incentives other than the fear the powerful had once used to exert their will. Private property, whether it took the shape of a farm or business, rewarded the individual with profit if he worked hard. Initiative, ambition, indeed cupidity, the very attributes that the ancien régime decreed as evil, now emerged not as sins, but as sacrosanct principles that only needed the seasoning of education or morality to control.[44]

To the Franciscans the individual was anathema.[45] Ambition and self-interest, attributes that shined forth from the individual's character, were but glosses for the more fiendish appetites of greed, lust, and gluttony. For the priests, covetous habits followed the logic of the eighteenth century, when revolution and scientific skepticism seemed the handiwork of people consumed by self-interest. To escape these depredations, the Franciscans rejected modern thought and possibly found solace in the teachings of Erasmus, a sixteenth-century Dutch theologian who wanted to purge pomp from Catholic belief and return to the simple practices of the Apostolic Age.[46] Erasmus, and those who later followed him, celebrated the "primitive church," the first Christian communities that renounced wealth or ambition and prayed to restore the purity of Eden.[47] While the connection between Erastian thought and the Franciscans requires more elaboration, the ideas of Serra and his brother priests suggest that the Dutchman's teachings had acquired great currency in the New World.

Erastian ideas worked their way into Mexico in the eighteenth century and prompted a clerical debate over whether Catholicism had lost its spirit. Needless to say, few critics dared question church dogma unless they cherished a trip before the Inquisition.[48] Nevertheless, Erastianism inspired brave churchmen to complain that incense, elaborate vestments, and holy relics deadened the upper classes and manipulated the Indians' ignorance. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, archbishop of Mexico, feared in 1766 that religious processions and the veneration of sacred objects led the people, especially the Indians, away from piety. Lorenzana's friend and bishop of Puebla, Francisco Fabián y Fuero, added soon after that "religious spectacles," grand pageants staged on holy days, persuaded destitute Indians to donate money so the church could throw up "fabulous temples."[49] God, the bishops believed, required reverence, and, in Mexican cities and towns, ostentation and ritual superseded faith.[50] Though many Mexicans seemed committed to religious pomp, in the mid-eighteenth century the natives of precolonial California stood free of excess and tantalized clerics to believe that they could learn more sincere forms of Christianity.

When the Franciscans first entered the province, Erastianism and images of Eden intertwined. The priests observed Indians living off the land's plenty, and rather than hoard the bounty nature granted them, the natives shared with the visitors. At last! The conduct of the first Christians and the innocence of paradise materialized in the form of California Indians who practiced the pieties Mexican believers had lost. Images of Eden abound in the priests' letters. After the Franciscans established the first mission at San Diego and set out to scout California's interior in 1769, they arrived in the midst of summer, when the sun pounds California's greenery into brown scrub. Junípero Serra, who admitted in his first letters that the Spaniards arrived in July, "the driest part of the year," did not let the arid expanses intrude on his sightings of Eden. He noted that around San Diego, "Land is plentiful and good. . . . Besides there are so many vines grown by nature and without help, that all it would



The Last Judgment, a huge allegorical canvas over nine feet in height, long hung in the church of Mission Santa Barbara. In their apostolic labors on the California frontier, the Franciscans relied on paintings and prints to instruct and discipline native converts. With its powerful imagery, especially the depiction of souls suffering in purgatory and hell, *The Last Judgment* was doubtless particularly effective. The French explorer la Pérouse, who saw a similar canvas at Mission Carmel, declared that "such a representation was never more useful in any country." *Courtesy Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.*

require [is little work] to cultivate." He exulted that "there are roses of Castile [here] and trees in abundance." Generous Indians walked amongst the blooms. "On many occasions," reported Serra, "we were regaled by the *gentiles* and they gave us food."[51]

At the same time Serra penned his letters, Fray Juan Crespi, then attached to the Portolá expedition seeking Monterey Bay, observed the same wonders flowering in the August heat farther north. When the party reached what is now Los Angeles, he saw a "large vineyard of wild grapes and an infinity of rosebushes in full bloom." The land teemed with happy Indians who, to today's eyes seem to have been eager to wave the strangers on to other places. To Crespi, however, they wanted to share the land's plenty with the visitors. At one place in the present-day San Fernando Valley, "friendly and docile Indians came to see us, bringing presents of sage and seeds." When Crespi and the expedition left the Los Angeles basin, more delegations appeared and bestowed "gifts of raisins, seeds, and honeycomb, very sweet and filling."[52]

The Indians, already inclined to perform Christian habits, only required the ministrations of the priests to complete their evolution into baptized believers. The natives' generous and sincere conduct, which so impressed the first Franciscans, would now, after conversion, become the template for the return of the primitive church. To be fair, the Franciscans grew less enchanted with their charges and later claimed that Indian innocence only disguised the influence of the "Evil One."[53] But initially, the plan to lure native converts into a mission indulged the priestly wish to banish individual selfishness and re-experience the sense of community enjoyed by ancient Christians.[54]

While few accounts describe the missions' daily activities, the spare portraits illustrate the communal ideal favored by the priests. At dawn, the priests rang a bell to summon the neophytes from mission dormitories or quarters just beyond the compound's walls; all gathered in or just outside the church for morning prayers, then received their chores before retiring to eat breakfast. At noon, the bell sounded again to call the community, and unless absorbed in tasks far from the mission, all stopped their chores to pray the Angelus before sitting down to lunch. When finished, they returned to work until the bell tolled at sunset to end the workday. One more prayer or Mass again turned the neophytes' thoughts heavenward, and the assembly prepared for dinner.[55]

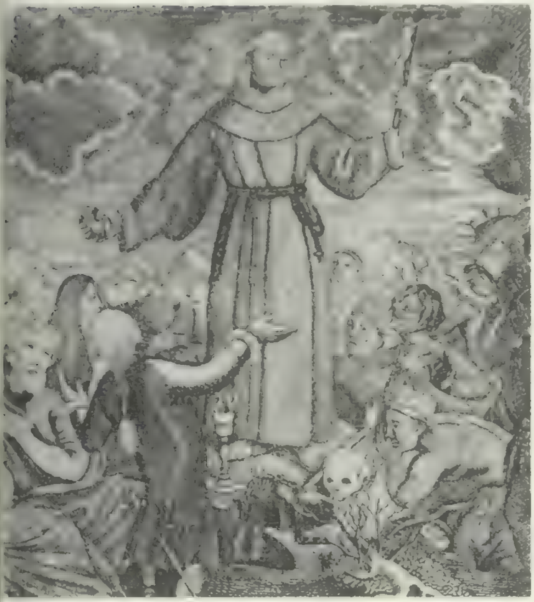
During the day, the neophytes performed tasks that ensured the community's survival or produced goods that would bring cash to the mission treasury. At the outset of the mission era, most neophytes worked to make the mission self-sufficient. Inside the mission, women wove shirts, pants, blouses, and other items for Indian apparel. Nearby in surrounding fields, the men cultivated rows of wheat, corn, or fruit trees for the mission mess. Further out, other men watched cattle and sheep that would eventually meet the butcher's ax and soon bubble in cauldrons of *pozole* (stew).[56]

In later years, the priests directed neophytes to make products for trade. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the priests sold mission food or clothes to the inhabitants of nearby settlements and presidios (forts). The missionaries also smuggled hides and tallow to Yankee ships that docked off the coast and awaited carts piled high with illicit products. All these activities did not enrich individual neophyte workers or accrue to the personal accounts of the Franciscans. Instead, all money from neophyte enterprise went into the mission's fund, and the priests determined how the money would best benefit the community.[57]

The chance to restore the primitive church may account for the priests' desires to separate the neophytes from the *gente de razón*. Throughout the mission period, priests forbade neophytes from consorting with the soldiers and settlers who lived in nearby presidios or pueblos. The missionaries complained that the *gente de razón* schooled the Indians in bad habits. But to the Franciscans' dismay, Indian corruption went beyond the pleasures of gambling or the bottle. The priests worried that Indian women often suffered the unwanted advances of *gente de razón* men. Sometimes the attackers only wished to steal a kiss or apply a furtive hand across the breasts, but often they forced themselves on the women and raped them. Even after the *gente de razón* assailant had scampered off, his ravages continued. Many times, the soldiers and settlers infected Indian women with venereal disease, which they spread to their lovers, husbands, and children.[58]

Apparently, the neophytes' contact with the *gente de razón* left them physical wrecks. A survey of the missions in 1813 asked the rector of each mission to describe neophyte misconduct. Some priests lamented that the Indians continued to practice sorcery, but others reported that the neophytes practiced evils that reflected *gente de razón* corruption. Venereal disease, an ailment that first festered in California's presidios and towns, now infected mission inhabitants. At San Gabriel the rector pitied children "permeated to the very marrow with venereal disease [which is] the only heritage their parents give them."[59] Drinking and gambling, another set of afflictions spawned amongst the *gente de razón,* also assaulted neophyte virtue. According to the priest at San Fernando Mission, "drunkenness" loomed as one of the neophytes' most notorious vices.[60] Up north at Mission San Antonio, the pastor mourned that "games of chance . . . absorbed" the Indians.[61]

These moral concerns, while sincere, revealed deeper, more hidden worries. By complaining about the pestilence unleashed on the indigenous population, the priests expressed another fear that the settlers infected Indians with notions of individualism and private property.[62] From the first expeditions that settled California in the late 1700s to the Híjar-Padres expedition of the nineteenth century, the few settlers who made the trip received grants of land and seed so they could make the province productive.[63] Priests cringed at the thought of settlers using the bequests to turn a profit and disrupt the Franciscan sense of community. Therefore, when the Franciscans lamented that the *gente de razón* exposed the Indians to pestilence, one of the contagions no doubt was self-interest. Although few settlers could cite, much less read, the philosophical tracts extolling enlightened thought, their receipt of land and association with governors hostile to the church suggested that they had indeed embraced individualism. When the Franciscans complained to the first governors that the *gente de razón* threatened the neophytes, these appeals usually mentioned little about physical ailments and dwelled on the dangers of settler independence. At the outset of the mission era, for example, Serra worried that "pueblos without priests" threatened the neophytes.[64] The head of Santa Clara Mission complained in 1780 that law or religion seemed wasted on the *gente de razón,* a sad prospect that would cause "much annoyance . . . to our poor, converted Christians."[65] Years later, Father José Señan, father-president of the missions in the early nineteenth century,



An imaginary rendering of Junípero Serra appeared as the frontispiece to Francisco Palóu's biography of his old friend, published three years after the famed Franciscan's death in 1784. Although the artist depicted *gente de razón* and gentiles alike venerating Serra, and though later generations of Californians honored him as a founder of the Golden State, controversy now swirls about him, as scholars debate the larger issue of the mission experience. From Francisco Palóu, *Relación histórica de la vida . . . del venerable padre fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico, 1787). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30517.*

wrote to the governor that if *gente de razón* continued to receive land grants, "they would have no king to rule them nor Pope to excommunicate them."[66]

STATE

Missionary complaints, however, failed to impress religious or civil superiors in Mexico, who favored new ideas about converting Indians.[67] The work of David Brading and C. Alan Hutchinson suggests that by the late eighteenth century, the Franciscan practice of herding Indians into a mission drew fewer and fewer advocates in Mexico City, or at the provincial capital of Monterey.[68] In Mexico, many priests and civil administrators admired enlightened thought, but lamented that the Mexican Indians' poverty belied any claim that the Franciscans could carry reason or progress to the northern colony.[69] The leaders of church and state argued that Mexico would sit in the world's first rank only when the status of the native populace improved. By the wars of Mexican independence from Spain, the various measures promoted by the Indians' champions fired rebel hearts and evolved into Mexican liberalism. Admittedly, the new leaders promising change focused on the Mexican interior, but their activities created the environment that inspired the secularization of California's frontier missions. But before we see how the Native Californians fared under secular rule, it is best to understand why intellectual developments in Mexico would worry or impress provincial priests and governors.

Throughout the eighteenth century many members of Mexico's upper echelons lavished attention on the Indians.[70] Some Mexican *criollos* (people of European ancestry, born in America) tired of the prestige attached to the Old World and embraced the Indian, not the Spaniard, as their hero. The native they imagined, however, little resembled the ignorant, degraded mass crowding the countryside or streets. Rather, they invoked the Aztec warrior who had once defied the Spaniard and possessed qualities the *criollos* wanted to see in themselves. The exiled Jesuit Francisco Clavijero claimed in 1781 that the Aztecs' triumphs eclipsed the glories of Greece and Rome.[71] At the beginning of the Mexican fight for independence, the clamor for Aztec idols increased. Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, a Dominican exiled to London, urged his compatriots to summon the shade of Cuauhtémoc and restore the tranquility that prevailed in Mexico before the conquest.[72] Around the same time, Carlos María Bustamante, one of the rebellion's ideologues, exhorted the insurgents "to re-establish the Mexican [i.e., Aztec] empire."[73]

The Aztec revival coincided with plans to improve the lives of the current Indian populace. Observers had long commiserated that Mexico abounded in poor, destitute Indians whose privation could lead to revolt.[74] The condition of native Mexicans varied from region to region, but a few generalities can describe their existence under colonial rule.[75] In rural areas, Indians scratched out a living from communal plots (*ejidos*), while their brethren in cities performed menial tasks. From such humble circumstances sprang an intrepid few who entered the priesthood or gained wealth as merchants. The ability of so few to prosper testified not to Indian sloth but to the suffocating force of a caste system that condemned the Mexican natives to inferiority. Under colonial law and custom, Indians could not bear arms, sit in the viceregal government, or occupy church office higher than curate. As caste shackled the Indians, the supposed purity of Spanish and *criollo* blood allowed Mexico's whites every legal advantage.[76]

Many critics, most of them Spaniards or *criollos* who recognized how their privilege pained the Indians, deliberated how to correct the colony's economic and political injustice. While every wrong, from poor schools to excessive Indian taxation, earned criticism, most commentators traced Mexico's troubles to the "collective," the group, racial, or social identity that subsumed the Indians to the fate their caste assigned them.[77] In the late 1700s, pamphleteers fired off proposals to extend political and economic equality to the native Mexicans, but the viceroy considered few reforms. When the colony gained independence in 1821, however, the triumphant rebels revived measures from years before and unveiled Mexican liberalism. The 1824 Constitution, for example, abolished racial categories and offered full citizenship rights to all Mexican males. Many liberals argued, however, that the Indians would remain legal and social outcasts until they had a chance to escape their squalor.

To help the impoverished natives, José Luis Mora, Vicente Gómez Farias, and other liberals planned to break up church estates and distribute territory to the male heads of Indian households. They insisted that land ownership would help the recipient slough off inertia. As the freeholder swung a hoe or rake, he would cultivate good character alongside the fruits and vegetables sprouting on his property. The liberals presumed that when the Indian peasant received his grant, he would understand that merit, rather than caste, fixed one's place in society. Each individual would rise or fall according to how well he worked his property. If one labored hard, profit would come; yet if one loafed, poverty, destitution, or worse, would be the proper reward.

The liberals welcomed the discipline promised by a work ethic, but they also desired the riches diligent Indians would grant Mexico. In time, the Indians would produce food for market and learn the joys of making a profit. The money they earned would fill pockets and invite them to purchase other items. Eventually, argued Mora and friends, Indian farmers would help drive the Mexican economy by producing and consuming the goods the nation needed to find prosperity.

In California, many settlers shared the liberal conviction that the Indian wanted to be a yeoman farmer. The *gente de razón* erred, however, when they assumed that the distribution of land would transform Indians into happy cultivators eager to wring money from their plots. In fairness, the mistake seemed inevitable, since the Californios were trying to imitate their liberal contemporaries in Mexico. Sometimes, the provincials echoed the liberal refrains that had sounded first in Mexico's salons and coffeehouses. The *gente de razón*, for example, invoked the Aztec past to claim kinship with ancient Mexicans. In 1827, the California *diputacíon,* the body of citizens elected by the municipalities to advise the governor, proposed to rename California "Montezuma." The members also suggested a new coat of arms for California, in which an Indian with a plume, a bow, and a quiver would stand inside an oval bordered by an olive branch and an oak.[78] Neither idea came to pass, but the Indian romance continued. Governor José Figueroa told the *diputacíon* three years later that in "California you will recognize the country of our ancestors. You will see the original homes where the Aztecs lived before they moved onto Tenochtitlán and founded the empire of Montezuma."[79] Other times, prominent Californios did not drape themselves in Aztec regalia, but they sympathized with their Indian neighbors.[80] Mariano Vallejo and Pío Pico, among many distinguished locals, lamented the neophytes' servitude under Franciscan "fanaticism" and said that California's natives had a right to be free.[81]

These outpourings of sentiment implied that, at least in the abstract, a significant number of Californio leaders and settlers considered the Indians their equals. While some *gente de razón* wanted to embrace the Indians as brothers, by the early nineteenth century, warfare, horse-stealing, and other outrages turned most provincials against the Native Californians. Indeed, if we may digress, other evidence suggests that hostility toward the Indians may explain the Californio penchant for staging bloodless coups. For some *gente de razón,* affording Indians the privilege to tote firearms was a measure of equality that would have made California politics more tumultuous. Throughou the Mexican period, the residents of Monterey, Los Angeles, and occasionally San Diego, debated which settlement should seat California's governor. The site chosen by the provincial executive earned the rank of "capital" and received the customs house a treasure that pleased dishonest locals who eyed the duties paid by passing ships. The men who reigned as governor either came from competing settlements or they held rank in the Mexican army. Peace, however, rarely graced the tenure of any governor. A volatile populace greeted the head of the province, and if one part of the public used force to topple the provincial executive, another group arrived to defend the embattled leader. At least five times between 1832 and 1846, rival parties mustered troops to ensure that their favorites donned the governor's sash.[82]

Nevertheless, no matter how impassioned the struggle for provincial power, the bickering *gente de razón* never staged epic battles in which one side slaughtered the other. Most times, the opposing forces met on a battlefield and slew an unlucky few before the force with the most men called on its enemy to surrender. These peculiar war tactics have elicited wry comments from historians, who often compare the confrontations to scenes from comic opera.[83] The battles certainly involved blustering, but the *gente de razón* avoided violent contests because the carnage would decimate the military and leave thinned ranks to defend settlements from restive Indians. Historians H. H. Bancroft and, later, George Harwood Phillips, report that by 1835, native marauders rustled horses from ranchos throughout the province and sometimes carried settlers into slavery.[84] More alarmingly for southern California, the residents of Los Angeles and San Diego often trembled at reports that raiders threatened to march on the settlements.

The Californio strategy to limit political violence and prepare for Indian attacks probably emerged in 1832, when José María Echeandía battled Agustín Zamorano for the governor's seat. Claiming California from Los Angeles to the Mexican border, Echeandía pondered how to combat troops Zamorano led down from Monterey. Apparently, few *gente de razón* flocked to his standard, and to increase his meager force, Echeandía promised freedom to the mission Indians in his jurisdiction if they fought for his side. Chaos erupted. If Zephyrin Engelhardt and Gerald Geary are accurate, the Indians rushed out of the missions, shouting "Soy libre"—I am free. They showed little interest in Echeandía's cause and devoted themselves to drinking, fighting, and gambling. The sight of unruly Indians no doubt worried the *gente de razón* that the mob would swoop down on settlements and ranchos. A chagrined Echeandía rescinded his emancipation decree and ordered the neophytes home to the missions.[85] Echeandía's experiment with Indian auxiliaries taught the lesson that Californios should not enlist native allies for political fights. In subsequent battles for the governor's seat, the disputants refused to arm Indians and risk the outbursts that had so alarmed Echeandía.[86]

To return to the discussion of brotherhood, the contradiction of honoring, even while fearing, the Indians is a puzzle easily reconciled. Before secularization, many observers noted that the church commanded the province's best lands, and the *gente de razón,* deprived of wealth, access to prosperity, and political influence, seemed as helpless as the Indians.[87] And, as suggested by the declarations of respect for Aztecs or neophytes, liberal minds could claim the natives as equals because all groups witnessed Franciscan might. When prominent Californios called for the break up of mission territory, many wanted the Indians to receive portions of church land. Yet, because the provincials endured the Franciscan yoke along with their native compatriots, a few *gente de razón* demanded part of the mission estates. If the poorest and most abject Indians could receive parcels, then the Californios, the natives' supposed brethren, certainly deserved their share.

Secularization had long intrigued California's administrators as the best way to satisfy the needs of their *gente de razón* and Indian constituents. At least four different provincial executives issued orders to seize mission land.[88] Felipe De Neve issued the first order in 1777. The priests protested and succeeded in overturning the command. Pedro de Solá issued another order in 1821, but the Franciscans once more prevailed. A decade later, José María Echeandía made one more attempt to secularize the missions, only to fail like his predecessors. José Figueroa finally succeeded in 1834, and decreed that administrators would supervise the missions' secularization over a three-year period.

Despite the differences that altered one plan from the other, they all shared the idea of distributing land and other items to emancipated neophytes. Like reformers in independent Mexico, provincial executives believed that farming plots would free individuals from the mission collective and encourage them to think for themselves rather than submit to priests. The secularization plans involved the distribution of church land to adult males. (In some cases Indians who did not feel comfortable leaving the mission could stay; but instead of obeying a priest they looked to a civil overseer.) The land parcels measured 200 square *varas* (a vara roughly measured more than a yard) and came with grants of seed, tools, and sometimes a passel of farm animals, such as mares, cattle, and sheep.[89] To discourage *gente de razón* from wheedling land titles away from the Indians, each plan forbade the native proprietors from leasing, selling, or renting their plots.[90]

The Indians did not thrive under secularization, and many eventually lost their property despite legal protections. When land fell free from church control, those Californios who once sympathized with the Indians now had little cause to remember any bond with their native counterparts. Even if a few *gente de razón* sincerely supported justice for the Indians, by the late 1830s the prospect of developing church territory obscured all other emotions. Affection withered for the ex-neophyte, and where some Californios once hailed the natives as fellow citizens before seculariza-

In company with his headmen, the Luiseño leader Pedro Pablo (center) attends a tribal affairs meeting with U.S. government officials in 1885 at San Antonio de Pala, the *asistencia* of Mission San Luis Rey. The descendants of neophytes displaced through secularization, Pablo and his people, like other California Indians, did not achieve significant legal protection of their rights until 1891, with the passage of the Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

tion, after 1834 they only saw laborers who could be controlled to reap the land's riches.

The native demise may seem self-inflicted, but the circumstances always betrayed the subtle or explicit work of the *gente de razón*. Although Indians had learned how to farm or tend cattle in the missions, they apparently acquired little preparation in how to offer their goods for trade or conduct business with merchants. Once free, some natives fell into arrears, and sold their property to *gente de razón* creditors. Californio guile also ruined the freed natives. By enticing the Indians with alcohol or drawing them into gambling debts, enterprising *gente de razón* soon relieved the ex-neophytes of their land titles.[91] By the beginning of the 1840s, many Indian grantees had lost their stakes and now worked for *gente de razón* landowners who prescribed routines harsher than any toil at the missions. As we saw earlier, if Indians landed in jail, judges in many Californio communities condemned the convicts to work off their sentences in labor gangs.[92] For those who avoided prison, hunger and their desire for alcohol made them easy game for clever landowners. Farmers and rancheros throughout California offered impoverished ex-neophytes food and alcohol if they agreed to work.[93] In one case, the offer went unfulfilled; Tiburcio Tapia of San Bernadino refused to compensate his Indian workers and drove them off his property when they finished their task.[94]

The *gente de razón*'s activities may invite charges of hypocrisy and fraud. Certainly the Californios, who had cited liberal doctrine to promote Indian emancipation, benefited greatly from secularization. Mariano Vallejo claimed the land around Mission San Francisco Solano, north of San Francisco Bay, and hired ex-neophytes to work on his estate. In southern California, his contemporary, Pío Pico, helped himself to territory that once belonged to Mission San Luis Rey, and he retained the resident Indians as employees.

The Californios hardly merit a defense for taking advantage of the Indians. Yet the *gente de razón,* although cruel and insensitive, had little incentive to respect the Native Californians after secularization. Their standard of liberal conduct allowed them the luxury to excuse any abuse they heaped on Indians. In one sense, liberalism assumed progress. In a world free from the influences of church, caste, or any other impediment, all individuals had a chance to rise according to their own talents. Also, as reformers had argued in Mexico, in a liberal society the individual regulated his own behavior. Therefore, when the ex-neophytes reputedly squandered their liberty on a round of cards or drinks, they faced the contempt of many *gente de razón* who could claim that by rejecting the progress the Indians deserved to sink into misery.

Matters grow complicated, however, as liberal ideas intersected with the acknowledgment that the people ruining the Indians were none other than *gente de razón.* In many cases, the men who sat on city government, as was the case in Los Angeles, owned the establishments where Indians bought alcohol.[95] The local leaders also doubled as farmers and grew the grapes they distilled into the Indians' favorite intoxicating beverage, *aguardiente.*[96] The reports of Indian "orgies," spectacles that included a few *gente de razón,* frequently agitated city council meetings.[97] It did not behoove city leaders to say that their own number and their constituents, some of whom claimed to be liberals, prevented the advance of Indians. Liberals would then stand accused of illiberal conduct. To resolve the paradox and justify the discipline of the Indians, city leaders re-interpreted liberalism not to mean political or economic progress, but improvements in health and hygiene. In communities like Los Angeles, local leaders transposed political and economic concerns onto the body and said the Indian deserved discipline because he was unclean.[98] City leaders also complained about Indians fighting or gambling, but a review of the city council minutes from Los Angeles shows that many lamentations about indigenous behavior centered on dirty bodies. In the late 1840s, two citizens complained at an *ayuntamiento* meeting that "the aborigines become intoxicated [and spread] venereal disease."[99] During another session, the council worried that disease would float off the bodies of drunks and ordered the arrest of any inebriate who failed "to bathe regularly." Because most complaints about public intoxication often concerned Indians, it is not a stretch to imagine that the infected drunks were Native Californians.[100] Around the same time, the council heard complaints that Indians bathed in the *zanjas,* the city's irrigation canals. Concerned that they could infect society, the *ayuntamiento* ordered the Indians to perform their ablutions elsewhere.[101] Soon after, more *gente de razón* worried about pestilence wafting off Indian bodies. The *alcalde* ordered Indians to stand in the back of church during Mass because they were a "filthy and dirty people."[102]

THE END

Reports of unclean Indians overlooked the fact that in arid communities like Los Angeles, all inhabitants, from established merchant to humble field hand, had little water to wash off the landscape's dust. Nevertheless, emphasizing the Indian's filth accorded neatly with the *gente de razón*'s proclivity to see the native Californian any way they wished. If provincial authorities could imagine grimy Indians, they could conjure up natives who would embody the visions of their religious and civil patrons. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the priests wanted Indians to forsake their traditional ways and make the missions a prosperous, pious community. During the same time, provincial administrators hoped the Indians would learn self-interest and find success as farmers and craftsmen. Yet, Franciscan and civil dreams for the Indians did not materialize. Instead, the only role each side allowed the native was the work detail. Throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods, the Indians labored in mission fields, tended *gente de razón* properties, or performed various chores in provincial settlements. Occasionally, some Indians unhappy with their lot rebelled, while others found solace in alcohol. Whatever the form of native misconduct, the provincial powers found one more pretext to condemn the natives, and what they really debated was who had the authority to impose discipline. Sometimes disputes over money, land, and political power started arguments, but the Indian, always the Indian, caused the most enduring conflict between religious and civil leaders. Without the native Californians, any history of provincial politics is incomplete, and their story requires more research still.

NOTES

1. Ramón Gutiérrez says the term *gente de razón,* meaning literally "people of reason," is confusing and vague. He explains that "there is a great deal of confusion among contempo-

rary scholars over precisely what this label meant and to whom it applied." See *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 195.

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The History of California,* 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 3:346–47.

3. Rosaura Sánchez speaks of the difficulty of recovering the Indian's voice. See *Telling Identities, Californio Testimonios* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

4. A good introduction to the life and ways of the native Californians is Robert Heizer and M. A. Whipple, eds., *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951).

5. Sherburne Cook, "The Indian Versus the Spanish Mission," in *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 76–84.

6. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 80. For another good study of church-state strategies to convert the Indian, see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

7. Bancroft, *History,* 2:406, 517–18.

8. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 90. David Weber, in *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 400, says that the figure is closer to 500,000 pesos.

9. See Weber, *The Mexican Frontier,* 72–76.

10. Woodrow Hansen, *The Search for Authority in California* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1960), 2–3.

11. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier,* 75–76.

12. Los Angeles City Archives, v. 2, September 12, 1837, 197. There are several sets of the *ayuntamiento* records. The Spanish originals, called the Los Angeles City Archives, sit in the city clerk's office in Los Angeles. They are accompanied by English translations. Spanish transcriptions of the originals, called the Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, sit at U.C. Berkeley's Bancroft Library. I use all three versions, and each set will be identified. Unless stated otherwise, the Spanish versions of the *ayuntamiento* records are used.

13. Ibid., v. 3, September 1, 1838, 309–10, trans. Before 1850, a peso equaled one American dollar. A *real* was worth at least twelve cents. See Michael P. Costeloe, *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1835–1840: Hombres de Bien in the Age of Santa Ana* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 18.

14. Manuel Servín, "The Secularization of the California Missions," *Southern California Quarterly* 47:4 (1965): 136–38.

15. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 42–43.

16. Ibid.

17. Daniel Garr, "Church-State Boundary Disputes," in Dora Crouch, Daniel Garr, Axel Mundingo, *Spanish City Planning* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1987), 248–49.

18. Los Angeles became the capital of California in 1835 and earned the rank of city. Within a year, Mexico City once more made Monterey the capital, but it allowed Los Angeles to retain the designation of city. Daniel Garr, "Los Angeles and the Challenge of Growth," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (Summer 1979): 147–55. A casual reading of the Ayuntamiento Archives shows that, after 1835, citizens continued to call Los Angeles a city.

19. Los Angeles City Archives, v. 3, October 6, 1837, 179, city clerk's office of Los Angeles.

20. Bancroft, *History,* 3: 638.

21. Mariano Vallejo, a prominent ranchero in northern California, said that soldiers assigned to the classroom sometimes beat their charges. Vallejo, "Historia de California," vols., Earl Hewitt, trans., 4:135, Bancroft Library. The page numbers in the translation are inconsistent and unreliable.

22. Bancroft, *History,* 3:638.

23. Narciso Botello, "Anales de Sur," ms., 178–79, Bancroft Library.

24. Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, May 6, 1850, v. 5, 303, Bancroft Library.

25. Del Valle Collection, Seaver Center for Western History, Natural History Museum for Los Angeles Country. Grammar book in Spanish with six pages, and each page with different style of writing, p. 1, Box 13, Item #679.

26. Antonio Coronel Collection, Seaver Center for Western History Natural History Museum for Los Angeles County. Grammar book in Spanish, n.p., Item #714.

27. Bancroft, *History,* 3:317–18. Also see Los Angeles City Archives, v. 4, April 12 (?) 1837, p. 296, city clerk's office. Bachelot died en route to the Sandwich Islands.

28. Population estimates come from two sources. For the *gente de razón* see Leonard Pitt *Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 4–5. By 1830, the *gente de razón* totaled more than ten thousand people. The figures for the Indians are more exact. See Sherburne Cook, "The Indian Versus the Spanish Mission," 4, table 1.

29. For more on mission discipline see Cook, "The Indian versus the Spanish Mission," 91–134.

30. Pio Pico, *Historical Narrative,* trans., Arthur Botello, edited by Martin Cole and Henry Welcome (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1973), 89; also see William Wilcox Robinson, *The Indians of Los Angeles: The Story of a Liquidation of a People* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson Press, 1952); for a more current interpretation of the servitude endured by the Indians, see Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines in California: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 45–51.

31. Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, July 3, 1847, p. 440, Bancroft Library.

32. Ibid, n.d., v. 3, 1847, p. 139.

33. My argument fails to consider the problem of Mexican Californians' impressing Indian children. By the end of the 1830s, the residents of Los Angeles regularly met Ute war parties at Tehachapi Pass and exchanged guns and horses for Paiute children. See Gerald Smith and Clifford Walker, *The Indian Slave Trade Along the Mojave Trail* (San Bernadino: San Bernadino County Museum, 1965). As late as 1857, Vicente Gómez, a resident of southern California, claimed that slave traders "brought children . . . from Baja California . . . with the object of selling them in Los Angeles"; Gomez, "Lo Que Sabe Sobre Cosas de California," ms., v.3, 759, Bancroft Library.

34. See Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1964), 275–358 for more on child development and the formation of society.

35. Quotation in James Sandos, "Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *American Historical Review* 93:5 (1988): 1254.

36. Quotation in Dora Crouch, Daniel Garr, and Axel Mundingo, *Spanish City Planning in North America,* 240.

37. Quotation in Angustias de la Ord, *Occurrences in Hispanic California,* trans. Francis Price and William Ellison (Washington D.C.: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1956), 7.

38. Edwin Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve: First Governor of California* (San Francisco, 1971), 9–10.

39. Jose Figueroa, *Manifesto to the Mexican Republic*, trans. C. Alan Hutchinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 96.

40. Archives of the Prefecture, v. 1, June 4, 1841, 370, part B, in English, city clerk's office of Los Angeles. There is no indication if the attacker ever faced trial.

41. A good overview of paternalism in the antebellum South can be found in George Frederickson, *Black Image in the White Mind* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972), and Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

42. For excellent reviews of enlightened thought's impact on philosophy, art, and religion in Europe and North and South America, see Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), and George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); also see his *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

43. D. A. Brading has written extensively and wonderfully on the Enlightenment's impact on Mexican society. See *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), especially, 561–602. Also see *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1980) and *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

44. For more on instilling a sense of civic duty in Latin America, consult Brading, *Origins of Mexican Nationalism;* also see Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821–1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Jaime Rodriguez, ed., *The Evolution of the Mexican Political System* (Wilmington, Delaware: SR Books, 1984); and Jean Franco, *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico* (New York: Columbian University Press, 1989). The political tract prepared by José Luis Mora, *Catecismo politico de la federacion mexicana* (Mexico, 1831), Nettie Lee Benson Rare Book Collection, University of Texas at Austin, is an example of how Mexican liberals wanted to transform the nation.

45. For more insights about those who attacked, and supported, the Enlightenment, see Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1991).

46. See Arthur Quinn, *Broken Shore* (Inverness, Calif.: Redwood Press, 1981), 34–35, for the best intellectual study of the Franciscans in California. For other studies on the Franciscan mentality, see John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Jacques LaFaye, *From Quetzalcóatl to Guadalupe* (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1974), and Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *The Writings of Junipero Serra*, 2 vols (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 1:xxiii–xxx.

47. All information on the Erastian and primitive church comes from Brading, *The First America*, 492–513.

48. For more on the Inquisition in Mexico, see Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

49. For Lorenzana and Fabian y Fuero quotations, see Brading, *The First America*, 495–97.

50. Ibid, 490–97.

51. Junipero Serra to Father Francisco Palou, July 3, 1769, in Tibesar, *Writings of Junipero Serra*, 1:144–45. For ideas on Eden in America, see Silvio Zavala, *Sir Thomas More in New Spain* (Mexico City: Colegio de Mexico, 1955).

52. *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769–1774,* Herbert Bolton ed. (Berkeley: University of Californian Press, 1927), 146–55.

53. For more on the charge of Satanic influence in Indian communities, see Governor José María Echeandía's report on neophytes charged with sorcery, in Cook, "The Indian versus the California Mission," 149; also see Father Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich,* in Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (Pasadena: Grabhorn Press, 1950).

54. An eloquent defense of the mission system can be found in Francis Guest, O.F.M., "Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly* 65(1983).

55. Description of the Indians' activities from Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization,* 97–99. For more perspectives on mission life, see *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West,* 2 vols., ed., David Hurst Thomas (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

56. Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University, New Mexico Press 1995), 11–30.

57. Ibid. For a neo-Marxist view of the mission economy, see Daniel Fogel, *Junípero Serra, the Vatican, and Enslavement Theology* (San Francisco: ism Press, 1988), 41–81.

58. Examples come from Antonia Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest," in *Building with Our Hands,* eds., Adela de la Torre and Beatríz Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

59. *As the Padres Saw Them,* Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., and Clement Meighan, eds., (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976), 105.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 105–106.

62. For ideas about the body as political symbol, see Caroline W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), and Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

63. For more on plans to settle the province see Crouch, et al., *Spanish City Planning,* esp. 5–61.

64. Serra complaint is in ibid., 240.

65. Ibid., 241.

66. Señan comment is in Servín's "The Secularization of the California Missions," 137.

67. For the sake of simplicity when we discuss the colonial period, we will refer to New Spain as Mexico.

68. See Brading, *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History,* 37–44. Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California,* 110–80. Michael Costeloe, *Church and State in Independent Mexico: A Study of the Patronage Debate, 1821–1857* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), provides a good review of the liberal critiques of the church.

69. Admittedly, it is difficult to piece together the social and personal world of Mexico's liberals. My ideas come from Costeloe, *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1836–1846.* Also see Hugh Hamill, *The Hidalgo Revolt* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968).

70. Brading, *The First America.* The status of the Indian in New Spain had concerned the colonial intelligentsia since the conquest. During some periods, the feeling was more intense than at other times.

71. Ibid., 450–53.

72. Brading, *Myth and Prophecy in the Mexican Nation,* 41.

73. Ibid., 42

74. For more on the fear of social upheavals and suspicions of the *léperos*, the lower classes of Mexico, see Torcuato S. Di Tella, "The Dangerous Classes in Early Nineteenth Century Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 5 (1973), and Donald Stevens, "Riot, Rebellion and Instability in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Five Centuries of Mexican History*, Virginia Guedea and Jaime Rodriguez, eds. (Mexico, 1992).

75. One study that examines the diversity of the Indian experience is John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978).

76. All ideas on society in colonial Mexico come from Jaime Rodriguez, *Down From Colonialism* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, UCLA, 1983). Also see Rodriguez and Colin M. MacLachlan, *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

77. The best, and most entertaining, study on the dangers of the collective is Michael P. Rogin's *Ronald Reagan: The Movie, and Other Episodes in Political Demonology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); for the evolution of Mexican liberalism see D. A. Brading, *The First America*, 583–602.

78. See Bancroft, *History*, 3:38, for the campaign to change the province's name and seal.

79. Quotation in C. Alan Hutchinson, "The Secularization of California's Missions," *The Americas* 21 (1965): 248–49.

80. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 2–3.

81. See, for example, Vallejo, "Historia de California," v. 3, n.p.. Vallejo opens the third volume by saying that the Californios battled against "superstition" and "tyranny," references to the priests' power.

82. Admittedly, the Californio penchant for coups or counter-coups may defy easy enumeration, as one battle overlapped with the other. For the best description of power struggles in California, see Bancroft, *History*, 2:3.

83. Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*, 5. Pitt has written the best study of Mexican California to date. The only weakness of his excellent book is his first chapter, in which he discusses the political culture of Mexican California. Otherwise, his work endures and remains unparalleled.

84. Bancroft, *History*, 3:608–49; George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). For more on the abduction of Californio captives, see Bancroft, *History*, 4:68, and Smith and Walker, *The Slave Trade Along the Mojave Trail*, 8–10.

85. The entire story of Echeandía's use of Indian allies is in Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco: James Barry and Company, 1913), 3:416–17, and Gerald Geary, A.M., The *Secularization of the California Missions* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1934), 124–25.

86. The Californios and Mexican troopers, however, used Indian auxiliaries when they hunted runaway neophytes. Sherburne Cook, *Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley*, 1820–1840 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 152–58.

87. Many Spanish and Mexican civil administrators, along with French naval officers and American trappers, commented on the missions' prosperity. One of the best and most vivid accounts is the diary left by Jedediah Smith, the American trader and trapper. See *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827*, ed., George Brooks (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), 96–105.

88. The best description of secularization remains Bancroft, *History,* vol. 3. Hutchinson's *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California* is the most thorough, modern study. For a good, abbreviated account, see Servín, "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," 133–40. All information on the plans to secularize the missions comes from Bancroft and Servín.

89. For example, see Figueroa's first secularization decree in 1833, a measure that did not take effect until a year later. Bancroft, *History,* 3:328, n. 50.

90. Ibid.

91. David Weber provides a good review of the Indians' troubles after secularization. See *The Mexican Frontier,* 60–64.

92. San Diego Ayuntamiento Archives, 2 vols., compiled by Benjamin Hayes, v. 1, p. 142, Bancroft Library.

93. Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist, *The Other Californians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 48–50; for a more poetic view describing the "grimy bond" between landowner and Indian, see Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 153–54.

94. Smith and Walker, *The Indian Slave Trade along the Mojave Trail,* 5–10.

95. Los Angeles City Archives, v. 3, "Fondo Municipal de 1836," pp. 75–83, city clerk's office of Los Angeles. See the entry for Manuel Requena, *alcalde* of Los Angeles in 1836. Requena applied for a liquor license. I am grateful to my colleague, Helen Lara-Cea, who informed me that the storekeepers and bar owners also served in municipal offices throughout Mexican California.

96. In many Mexican Californian communities, the residents grew grapes, citrus, and other fruit in surrounding fields. Grapes seemed to be the most profitable crop, as proprietors either sold the fruit to vintners or distilled it themselves. See the Los Angeles City Archives, v.3, "Fondo Municipal," for the years between 1830 and 1845 to see how many landowners and shopkeepers paid a license to market *aguardiente,* city clerk's office of Los Angeles.

97. Report of Rafael Gallardo of the Police Commission, Los Angeles City Archives, March 13, 1847, v.1, 361, city clerk's office of Los Angeles. For information on segregating *gente de razón* from Indians, see Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, July 3, 1847, v. 5, 431–42, Bancroft Library.

98. See Jean Franco, *Plotting Women,* 95–97; also see Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 145–47.

99. Petition of Francisco Figueroa and Luis Vignes, Los Angeles City Archives, v. 1, February 19–21, May 2, 1846, trans., 412–17, city clerk's office of Los Angeles.

100. See Sherburne Cook, "Small Pox in Mexican California," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 7:2 (1939); also see Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, v.3, n.d., 1844–1850, 7–11, Bancroft Library.

101. Information from William Wilcox Robinson's, "The Indians of Los Angeles," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 20:4 (1938): 156–57.

102. Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, v. 5, November 17, 1845, 271, Bancroft Library.

7

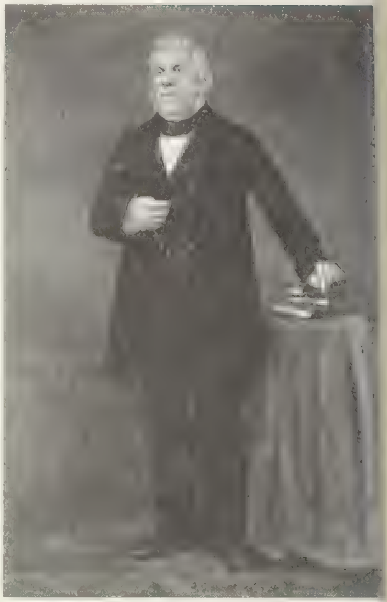
The Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society

Douglas Monroy

The Californios occupied center stage of California history for only a short while. They were a people who began utterly inauspiciously, forged themselves places on the landscape as owners of great landed estates, and created a singular identity for themselves out of their relationships to priests, Indians, lower-class immigrants, Americans, Mexico, and cows and horses. Then, simultaneously, they faded into physical obscurity in the political economy of California, and, after the Americans conquered their country and tides of gold rushes overwhelmed their number and their land, they participated in their mythical re-creation as gracious masters of a lost pastoral paradise. Their story portends much about the unfolding of California history, about the state's changing political concerns, and even about the contingencies and exigencies of human existence.

Californio society provides an excellent window into both how historical figures forge their own identities and how later generations re-conceive such historical characters based on their own concerns. This narrative interweaves both processes: how those who were the first upon the landscape to self-consciously formulate a sense of themselves as "Californians" actually did so, and then how the past 150 years have seen several re-creations that betray more about those who wrote the history than about the actual Californios.

Central to any understanding of these fabled people are their own accounts of themselves after they fell from influence, their lengthy *recuerdos* dictated in the 1870s. At once poignant and self-congratulating, aristocratic and pitiful, Californios detailed eloquently and self-consciously their own versions of their lives and times to collectors of autobiographies under the direction of Hubert Howe Bancroft, the true founder of studious California historiography. The testimonies, mostly in Spanish, form one of the centerpieces of the Bancroft Library at the University of California



Pío Pico, one of the most prominent Californios of his day, as portrayed by an unknown artist, probably in the early 1850s. The grandson of a soldier who in 1775 accompanied Juan Bautista de Anza to California, Pico twice served as governor of the Mexican province and acquired great wealth in immense landholdings. Like other rich rancheros whose storied hospitality and generosity helped give rise to romantic legends of Old California, Pico ultimately lost his estates and fortune under American rule, dying in near poverty in 1894 at the home of his daughter in Los Angeles. *Courtesy California State Library.*

at Berkeley, and are important sources for Bancroft's magisterial seven-volume *History of California.* Recently, literary critic Rosaura Sánchez has subjected many of the testimonials to rigorous textual analysis to reveal contemporary meaning. Those that are published are well worth reading, though one must always be aware of the narrators' agendas and the interviewers' biases and limited understanding of Spanish.[1]

People who have been subjects of imperial quests, like the Californios, are likely subjects of fantasies invented by their conquerors both before and after their defeat. In the years before the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), numerous Yankee and English traders and travelers, and several Europeans, published accounts of their sojourns in California that often disparaged the region's inhabitants. Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* was the most widely read and endures as the most typical view of those endowed with what has been so aptly named "the spirit of capitalism." In this Protestant New Englander's view, the Californios appeared "to be always on horseback" and "in their domestic relations are not better than in their public. The men are thriftless, proud, extravagant, and very much given to gaming; and the women have but little education, and a good deal of beauty, and their morality, of course is none the best." Another Yankee related how the Californios were "a proud indolent people doing nothing but ride after herds from place to place with no apparent object." "In the hands of an enterprising people," Dana concluded solidly within the spirit of Manifest Destiny, "what a country this might be!"[2]

Within a few decades after the American conquest, portrayals of the Californios underwent a different re-creation. Indeed it was Bancroft, wealthy from his San

Francisco–based business of publishing and selling books, who first sought to replace the skewed accounts of merchants, travelers, and priests with what he called "a complete, accurate, and impartial history of California." To this end he initiated a massive project of collecting testimonies and documents relating to California from archives throughout the Americas, and then writing collaboratively his remarkable history. Much bitterness ensued when his collaborators did not receive any credit (Henry L. Oak, for example, did most of the actual writing of the seven volumes), and only a positivist of the late nineteenth century like Bancroft could truly believe that the simple accumulation of facts in a long chronicle amounted to objective history. This entrepreneurial historian's assumptions about race and civilization radiate throughout the grand narrative. The Californios took shape only as a quaint people on the landscape, quite out of touch with modern civilization. Bancroft rather presumes his society's pervasive views about the intellectual and technological superiority of the Anglo-Saxon cultures of the North Atlantic. Obviously, Bancroft must be read within these contexts. But the old master included many alternative stories of events, along with facts that he deemed less important, in the footnotes. General readers and scholars alike should be aware that—its presumptions about "civilization," in which Hispanic and Native Californians seemingly did not take part, notwithstanding—this massive opus remains a masterful and engaging narrative, with remarkable footnotes that are often of great significance, of California's history from 1542 to 1890.[3]

Despite Anglo-Saxon bias, Bancroft, with the Californios' own narratives often as the sources, lapsed from positivism toward legend and celebrated the previously maligned traits of the Californios in his fanciful *California Pastoral* (1888). "And so they lived," he wrote, "opening their eyes in the morning when they saw the sun; they breathed the fresh air, and listened to the song of the birds; mounting their steeds they rode forth in the enjoyment of healthful exercise; they tended their flocks, held intercourse with each other, and ran up a fair credit in heaven."

By 1900, Anglo-Californians came to lament the passing of the Californios (and the missions), but to attribute that passing to their own shortcomings. During the last half of the nineteenth century, historical analyses of Spanish and Mexican California reflected Americans' optimism and faith in progress and technology and their negative judgement of peoples they deemed non-progressive. As early as 1846, Alfred Robinson's famous *Life in California* explained how "the early Californians, having lived a life of indolence without any aspiration beyond the requirement of the day, naturally fell behind their more energetic successors." The acclaimed works of Josiah Royce and Charles Nordhoff similarly sympathized with the Californios and savored their prosperous and genteel lifeways, while condescendingly criticizing their lack, in Nordhoff's words, "of the energy and ingenuity of civilized life." Civic, business, and antiquarian organizations, which such writers inspired and informed, began in the 1890s to extol Californio society with various "Fiesta Days" celebrations. Typically including floats depicting fanciful scenes of old California, local businessmen riding horses and dressed as caballeros and always presented as "Spanish," these gala rituals provided Americans an opportunity to romanticize the nonmarket social relations of the people whom they had summarily, often harshly, replaced on the landscape of California.[4]

These re-creations reveal dramatically how history is really more recent peoples relationships with the past. Like all relationships, they change and grow over time. History is best appreciated not merely as the "facts," but rather as the meanings that people derive from the facts at different times and for different purposes. The first Americans who wrote about California did so while judging negatively those they considered generally inferior, and to vindicate their imperialist pursuits. Then, confined within their system of isolating market relationships, Anglo-American chroniclers made of the Californios that for which they so yearned: gracious gentlemen and ladies who acted solely out of considerations of honor, solicitousness, and faith towards one another and their subordinates.[5]

The now classic works of Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (1948), and Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (1966), began a more modern and realistic re-evaluation of the Californios in the context of the Mexican American era, a time in the decades after World War II when many Mexican immigrants or their children sought to affirm a place for themselves as Americans. While neither ignored the Californios' own oppressive practices toward Indians and lower-class Mexicans, each of these authors portrayed the role that Mexican-origin people played in California history, the discrimination and exclusion that they had experienced, the clash of cultures that Manifest Destiny attempted to, but did not actually, justify, and the economic abuses upon which Anglo-California developed. Both referred to the "schizoid heritage" of Spanish-speaking people in twentieth-century California: they lived surrounded both by the romanticized history and place-names of their predecessors, who had been re-created as "Spanish," and at the same time by a social and economic system that branded them "Mexicans" and second-class Americans. These books sought to affirm the historical reality of "Spanish-speaking Californians" so that the political system could include the social reality of their presence in California and the Southwest.[6]

The 1990s has already seen the publication of three major books that treat the Californios extensively. In *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (1990), I have attempted to place the Californios within the broader sweep of Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and American history with an emphasis on spirituality, desire, and production relations. Lisbeth Haas, in *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (1995), has insightfully interpreted the development of a Californio identity, which formed in the context of their own domination of the Indians, their subordination to the later-arriving Americans, and then, most impressively explored in her work, their efforts to maintain their social and cultural community in pockets of southern California well into the twentieth century. The aforementioned work of Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios* (1995), explores Californio history "in terms of the discursive construction of collective identity" via the testimonials.[7] Insights from these more recent works, combined with useful information from primary sources and earlier histories, make possible a retelling of the Californio story.

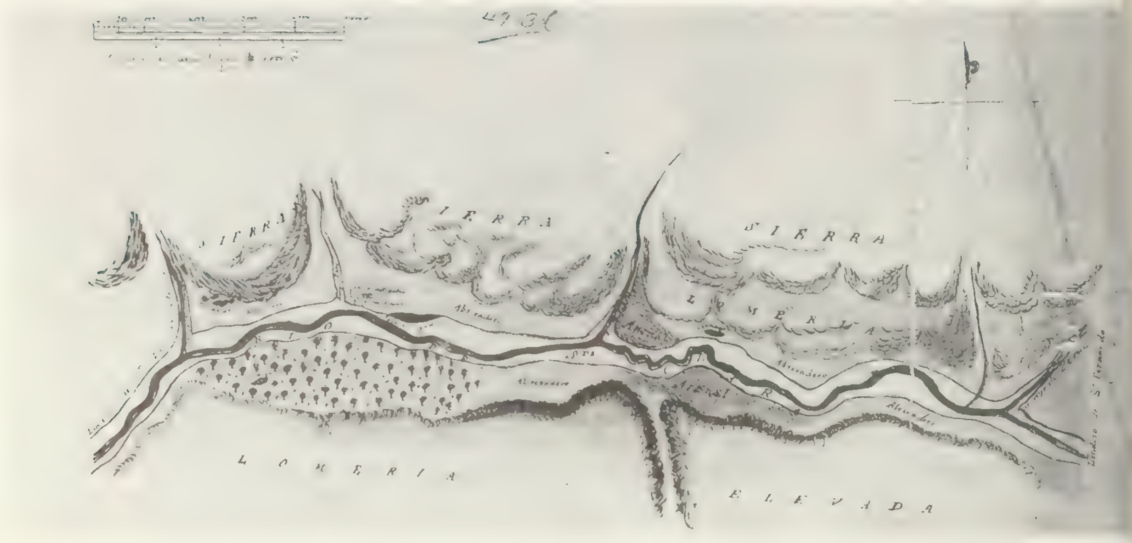
LAND AND LIBERTY

The beginnings of the Californios were much less auspicious than any of the expansive re-creations would suggest. In 1784, Governor Pedro Fages, adversary of the mission strategy for the settlement of California, granted lands to veterans he had commanded as captain of the San Diego presidio. He explained to his superiors in Mexico

> that the cattle are increasing in such manner, that it is necessary in the case of several owners to give them additional lands; they have asked me for some *sitios* which I have granted provisionally, namely to Juan José Domínguez who was a soldier in the presidio of San Diego and who at this moment has four herds of mares and about 200 head of cattle on the river below San Gabriel, to Manuel Nieto for a similar reason that of La Zanja on the highway from said mission . . . and to the sons of the widow Ignacio Carrillo that on the deep creek contiguous to the foregoing.

More than a response to the increase of the retired soldiers' herds, these provisional grants entitled these *inválidos* to use land as a reward for their service to the Crown. While Californios ultimately came to assume the permanence of these ambiguous concessions, they surely began the process by which many of them would be transformed into the grandees of the frontier California landscape. The mission remained the principal and most pivotal institution; fewer than twenty private land grants were awarded before the birth of the Mexican republic in 1821.[8]

About half of these were located within one hundred miles of the little pueblo of Los Angeles, a few near Monterey. All grants were imprecise in the actual terms of the boundaries and of the grantees' tenure; most included the phrase *mas o menos* (more or less) in the description of their confines. Before trade began to flourish with Yankee ships in the late 1820s and before the end of the missions (1834) freed up an Indian labor force, rancho life was quite rough. In one of the famous *recuerdos*, José del Carmen Lugo recalled the rustic beginnings of such grand domains as Rancho San Antonio, near Los Angeles, granted to his father, an ex-soldier from the Santa



A *diseño,* or topographical map, of Rancho Sespe, which embraced six square leagues of land, *"un poco mas o menos,"* along the Santa Clara River, some thirty miles east of Mission San Buenaventura. Under Mexican law, a petition for land included a *diseño,* which showed boundaries and defining landscape features. In 1829 Cárlos Antonio Carrillo of Santa Barbara submitted his claim for Rancho Sespe, and five years later Governor José Figueroa officially confirmed the grant. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

Barbara Presidio: "The house on a little ranch was of rough timber roofed with tules. It rarely had more than two rooms." People slept on cots or "beds of cottonwood or poplar, lined with leather." The presence of "sheets, blankets, coverlets, pillows, and so on" depended on "the resources of the owner." The number of ranchos doubled in the decade after Mexican independence, and they actually began to compete with the missions in production of trade goods, and even more intensely for the devotion of the Indians. As early as 1795 Fray Vicente Santa María noted how the Indians were "fond of the Pueblo of Los Angeles, of the rancho of Mariano Verdugo, of the rancho of Reyes, and of the [rancho of the] Zanja." Preferring the easier life of the rancho over the discipline of the missions, the Indians went about "clad in shoes, with sombreros and blankets, and serving as muleteers to the settlers and rancheros."[9]

It was not simply as laborers that the Indians served the Californios. As they emerged from their modest beginnings at the presidios, the largely mestizo and sometimes mulatto grantees came to refer to themselves as *gente de razón,* or "people of reason." This self-conception can only be understood in the context of its opposite, those *sin razón,* or "without reason." Originally, the Spanish Inquisition had created this concept—most certainly associated with childish inability to distinguish right from wrong as regards theology or deeds—to explain and release Indians from culpability for heretical actions. Positively defined in Mexican California, the phrase *gente de razón* came to refer to anyone who was Catholic, Spanish-speaking, and who renounced instinctual behavior in favor of service to work, community, and the Crown. Negatively, it came to contrast a resident of California with anyone who behaved like an "Indian," or how an Indian was imagined to be. The Californios' self-serving image of the Indian bore little resemblance to the complex spiritual and productive lifeways that the natives had developed over time, but derived from Spanish preconceptions about Indians in general, from the Indians' degradation in the missions, and from the behavior of those outside the missions who resisted, often with violence, further encroachments on their lands and livelihoods. This notion, not the actual qualities of the Indians and their cultures, formed the primary caste distinction in Alta California. The mulatto and mestizo Don Pío Pico, or the mestizo Governor José Figueroa, or one like Don Manuel Domínguez, who was so dark that he was banned from testifying in court after the American conquest, were all considered *de razón. Sin razón* were the Indians tyrannized in the missions, raiding in the wild, or alcoholic in the pueblo; the uncouth lower-class immigrants known as *cholos;* and the vulgar American trappers who wandered into California.

While the emergent Californios valued the efforts of the padres to make the neophytes *de razón,* they came to see only futility and fault in the mission compounds. Pressure mounted against the despotic missions, which were obviously failing to transform the Indians and which monopolized so much land. "It is just that twenty one mission establishments possess all the fertile lands of the peninsula," complained Mariano Vallejo, "and that more than a thousand families of *gente de razón* possess only that which has been benevolently given them by the missionaries." Peruvian-born *criollo* Juan Bandini summed up the dilemma:

> Indeed the system of these missions is the most appropriate to retard their [the Indians'] mental development, but to change it suddenly would cause serious disturbance in the territory. The missions extend their possessions in one continuous line although not needing the land for their crops and herds and in this way they have appropriated nearly all this territory, their object being to keep private parties from coming between the mission grants. This is a system which the *gente de razón* should reform.

Thus, the pressure of the *gente de razón* combined with the waxing and waning faith of Mexican elites in liberal ideology to secularize the missions. This process, which Governor Figueroa initiated in 1834, set the stage for the blossoming of Californio society. Now, with the missions converted into mere churches, stripped of their estates and control over the Indians, the most fertile lands and thousands of laborers were freed from what Figueroa called "monastic despotism."[10]

The administration of Governor Echeandía (1825–1831) had marked the introduction of liberalism in Alta California. "When he arrived in California in 1825," Angustias de la Guerra Ord commented, "he came speaking of the republican and liberal principles which filled the heads of Mexicans in those days." This actually inflexible and quirky man encouraged study groups in the north that excited several young men—most notably Mariano Vallejo, his nephew Juan Bautista Alvarado, and José Castro—about these ideas of liberty and equality. According to Alvarado, Echeandía's encouragement of the ideas of the Enlightenment and of education for all fostered "the true principles of republicanism and liberty" among these young men, concepts that directly and profoundly challenged the reigning beliefs emanating from the missions.[11]

In the Californios' view, secularization, though, would not make of the Indians free and independent citizens, something for which the missions had not prepared them anyway. Seeing the natives as *sin razón* contradicted liberalism's concepts of liberty and equality, but was essential to ensure and to justify that the ex-mission Indians would remain in the lower caste and subservient. Thus it was that the Indians figured in such important and complicated ways in the Californios' lives: contrasting their lives with Indians would reassure Californios that they were *de razón;* the ill-fated Indian participation in the despotic missions proved the latter's utter failure; and quickly the Indians would become the actual producers on the great ranchos.

Mexico's adoption of the Colonization Act of 1824 and a supporting *reglamento* of 1828 intended to encourage immigration to the far northwestern department, but it was secularization of the missions that actually made the civil settlements, especially the rancho, the dominant economic and social institutions on the California landscape. In the thirteen years between secularization and the American possession, the Mexican governors of California made a stunning eight hundred land grants, mostly to Californios. It would appear that individuals simply applied to the governor for a grant, and in the context of Mexico's eagerness to fill the land with loyal citizens in light of the apparent designs of the United States and other nations on the prize of California, millions of acres were simply given away to earnest settlers. Actually, intense political intrigue had positioned only certain people to benefit from the largesse.

In the first place, the male children born to the original settlers and presidial soldiers, *hijos del país,* had successfully asserted control over the affairs of California. In the context of the new republic's regional disunity, economic distress, and political instability, Mexico became the errant mother, or as Alvarado put it, the "stepmother," of California. And, as in New Mexico, Mexico wanted to collect revenues from its province, but neither would, nor even could, send troops to fight Indians. Increasingly the *hijos del país* came to understand themselves as Californios, and more recent immigrants as *mexicanos* and *extranjeros.* California became their *patria,* and

Mexico a foreign place. This sentiment crystallized in the *Manifesto a la República Mejicana,* a series of documents that Governor Figueroa assembled and that were widely circulated in California after 1834. The *Manifesto* affirmed regional control over disposition of the ex-mission lands and California's territorial sovereignty—an nteresting problem should, say, England or the United States attack California. This emerging consciousness provided the proto-nationalist climate in which the Californios stormed against governors Chico and Gutiérrez, both of whom had been sent from Mexico. Their reigns had much to do with arguments over liberalsm and then federalism versus centralism, issues that raged all the more fiercely in Mexico. Particularly decisive, in late 1836, Juan Bautista Alvarado, an *hijo del país,* became governor of California.[12]

Inconsistent with some of the images of graciousness and indolence to which the introductory passages of this narrative introduced us, the *gente de razón* swarmed over the mission lands just as energetically as did the flies over the cowpies in the mission pastures. The governors of California appointed the hijos del país as commissioners and *mayordomos* of the ex-mission lands and of the Indians, to the great advantage of the Californios. "Of the administrators of the missions," stated De la Guerra Ord, "some were incapable, others without morality, and some, a very few, were men of good faith who did everything possible to conserve the properties." Mostly, the ex-mission lands became the property of *hijos del país,* who grabbed them with little or no attention to Indian rights to those lands, or attention to the Indians' *rancherías* (settlements) on or near the sprawling expanses. Liberalism, then, came to mean the right of the Californios to control private property.

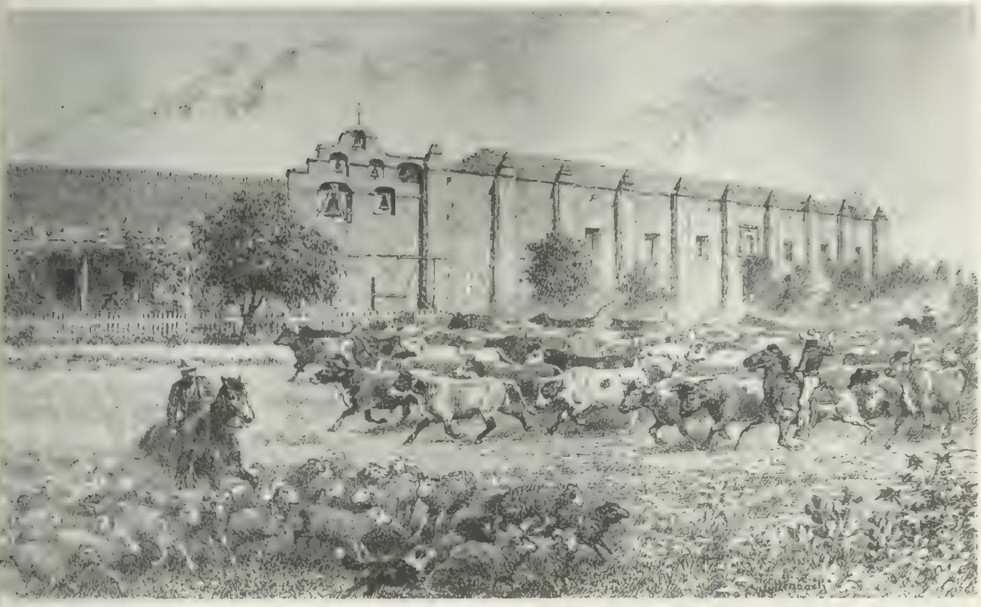
The disposition of the lands of Mission San Juan Capistrano illuminates the process: José Sepúlveda received from his father—the government-appointed administrator of San Juan—a grant of mission lands in 1837, and then two more leagues in 1842. In that year, ranchos El Niguel and La Cañada de los Alisos went to in-laws of the Sepúlvedas (there were many Sepúlvedas among southern California rancheros; those of Rancho Palos Verdes are the most famous), and the year previous saw the granting of Rancho Trabuco to Santiago Argüello, after he too had been administrator of Mission San Juan Capistrano lands. Tomás and Bernardo Yorba were sons of former Sergeant Antonio Yorba, who in 1809 had received Rancho Santiago de Santa Ana, and who was one of the grandest rancheros. Tomás received the only grant from San Juan lands not made to family members of administrators. When Indians, or priests acting for them, contested the grants, civil authorities almost always ruled in favor of the *gente de razón.* When Bernardo petitioned in 1834 for a grant of Mission San Gabriel lands, for example, a priest from the old mission denounced his efforts to the Los Angeles town council, claiming (properly) that the land belonged legally to the mission Indians. The *ayuntamiento,* however, proclaimed the virtues of Bernardo's enterprise and validated his claim.[13]

LIFE ON THE RANCHOS

Stories of the ranchos have been told in various ways; likely there are few better i lustrations of how history consists of our changing relationship with the past. Nu merous books and articles have appeared listing the ranchos, their proprietors, an their geneologies. Often relying extensively on the *recuerdos* and travelers' account such writings described in precise detail social and productive life on the ranchos. O the other hand, little effort was devoted to interpretation of Californio societ though the picture one gets certainly reflects the writers' pastoralist yearnings an assumptions about civilization, the productive hardiness of different cultures, an racial hierarchies.[14] The more recent works cited above have dramatically and fun damentally recast the study of the Californios. Each has attempted to derive *meaning* from the factual descriptions of land tenure, rituals such as fiestas and marriag ceremonies, and relations with the Indians.

As more recent works demonstrate, several factors converged to beget a particular style of life on these fabled ranchos. The availability of land and Indians to work on it, both resulting from the spoliation of the missions, along with trade with the Yankee ships, a seigneurial mindset, and a fecund environment, all combined to produce a particular society. The grasses that grew readily on the warm coastal landscape of California could feed many cows. Later in the century, one Anglo traveler would see at San Gabriel "herds of cattle, lying down, as if oppressed by surplus food." The routine slaughter of a few cows could feed amply everyone attached to a rancho; but in these most majestic days of the ranchos, the cows' only exchange value derived from their hides and tallow. We can only know approximately what quantities were loaded on the American and English ships and exchanged for manufactured goods from the North Atlantic—perhaps a million and a quarter hides and sixty million pounds of tallow between 1826 and 1848. Yet it should be easy to imagine the lifestyle that the trade for cows raised on the nearly half-million acres belonging to the De la Guerras in the Santa Barbara area, on the nearly quarter-million acres of the several Yorba families, or even on the seventy thousand acres that Joaquin Estrada occupied in Monterey County. The Lugo and Avila families probably grazed between forty thousand and twenty thousand head respectively, and in the north the grandee of the Sonoma area, Mariano Vallejo, husbanded twenty-five thousand cows, twenty-four thousand sheep, and two thousand horses on his nearly three hundred thousand acres. The several dons of the Pico family claimed seven hundred thousand acres.[15]

The dramatic size of some of these ranchos should not obscure the fact that most Californios occupied modest-sized holdings. Then, too, many of them labored as ranch foremen or as artisans in the pueblos. The hides that these Californios of the middling sort either raised or with which they were often paid allowed them a

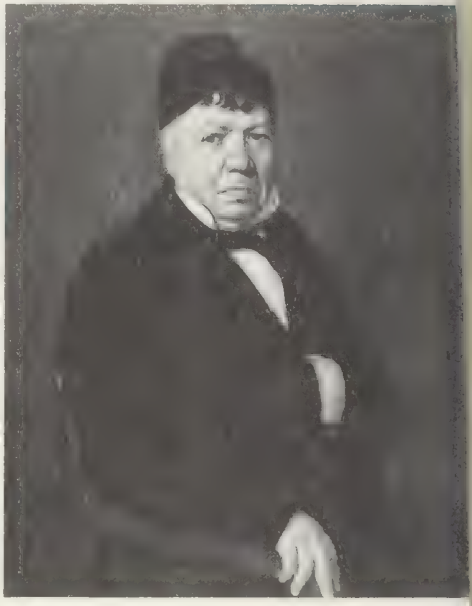


Vaqueros drive a herd of cattle past Mission San Gabriel in a drawing titled *Rodeo* by the artist Emanuel Wyttenbach. During California's pastoral era, cattle composed the source of wealth for the ruling class of rancheros, with the economic development of the province resting almost entirely on the hide-and-tallow trade. *Rodeo* was produced under the direction of William Heath Davis, who first came to California in the 1830s, and who late in the century commissioned a series of illustrations for his reminiscences, *Seventy-Five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929). *Courtesy California State Library.*

lifestyle that received little remark from outsiders who called them "middle class" if they had land, or "greasers" if they did not.[16]

History, place, and culture, though, resolve what sort of society a particular group of people will create from their productive endeavors. The dons did not transform the bovine produce of the land into anything resembling "capital," that is, the sort of machinery, land, or money to reinvest that would generate more profit and wealth. Instead, they sought trade goods to facilitate a particular style of life. With the Yankee traders aboard ship or those who had set up mercantile shops in the towns, they bartered hides and tallow, typically for "the cheapest rebozos for the Indian women . . . (and) pieces of 'Indian cloth'" to clothe their laborers, and for such luxury goods as silk dresses, laces, necklaces, muslin pants, window glass, metal knives and forks, furniture, and even books for themselves. These served not merely for comfort, but also for show.[17]

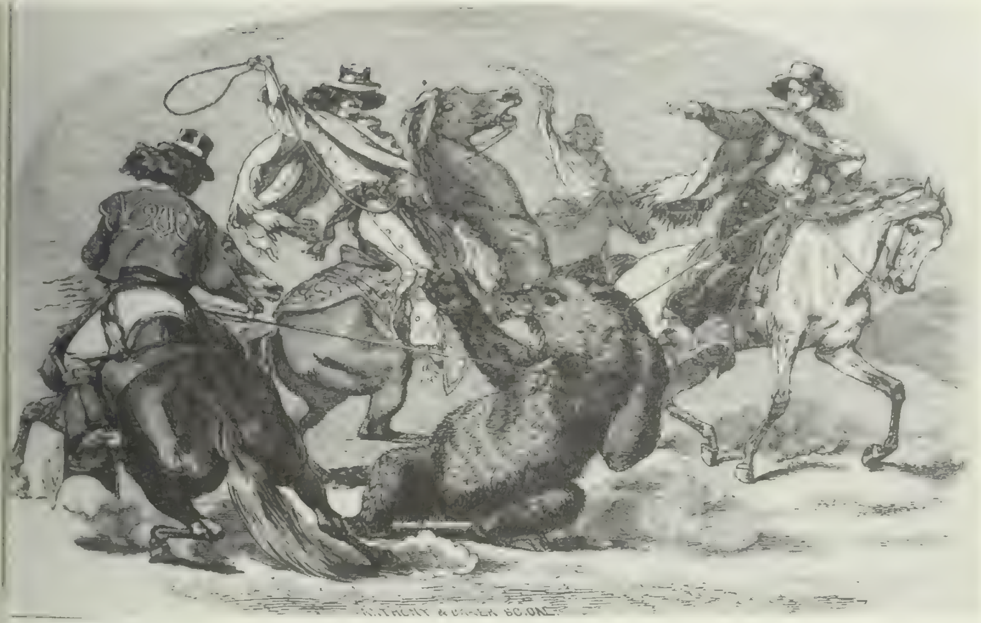
The meanings evoked in the word "seigneurialism" best represent the society that evolved from those rough beginnings on those first ranchos. Affirmation of social standing, not the mere accumulation of goods and capital, motivated the Californios'



José Antonio de la Guerra, soldier, ranchero, and long the illustrious patriarch of Santa Barbara, as painted in 1850 by the Italian-born artist Leonardo Barbieri. De la Guerra, who proudly traced his lineage to Spanish nobility, personified the seigneurial tradition in Mexican California. Revered and respected, a lord of land, labor, and cattle, he exercised wide authority while assuming responsibility for the well-being not only of family and friends but of the larger community as well. *Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Society.*

aspirations for land, production, and trade. Payment in kind and the relations of reciprocal obligation attached the poor—the landless—to both the wealthy and the middling sort—the landed. Notions of honor bound wives to husbands and children to parents. These values of hierarchical societies we connect with "feudalism," rather than those of freely associating individuals we identify with modernity. Yet it is best not to apply the name of this classical system of medieval Europe to mid-nineteenth-century California. This regional social and productive system certainly bears remnants of feudalism, but many other factors also shaped Californio society. The exigencies of the Spanish empire, the profound but ambiguous spiritual and sexual inheritance from the missions, trade with the North Atlantic markets, and the curious and tempestuous bonds between ranchero and Indian laborer all recommend the word *seigneurial*—implying the rule of a "big" man over family, laborers, and land—instead of simply *feudal*.[18] People exist in relation to the spirit world, to their families and enemies, to politics and ideologies, and to labor and their desires for pleasure. Each of these became remarkable manifestations of the Californios' seigneurialism.

The Californios were, above all else, *de razón*. José Antonio de la Guerra, actually an ally of the missions, ex-commandant of the Santa Barbara Presidio, and then grandee of the area and father of the previously cited Angustias, recited how "the Holy Father . . . gave man reason in order to understand, appetite in order to love, liberty in order to work with merit. . . . He gave faith to govern reason, charity in order to guide and balance his appetite, and grace in order to strengthen his liberty."



Vaqueros capture a grizzly bear in a spirited engraving taken from a drawing by the pioneer California artist Charles Nahl. Legendary horsemen, the Californios caught bears for sport, either dispatching the beast on the spot or later pitting it against a wild bull as part of holiday festivities. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-10706.*

These mellifluous words express the views of an elite, but the religious views of common Californios remain obscure. We do know, though, that people typically expressed their devotion through collective ritual that both government and social convention prescribed.

José del Carmen Lugo—son of one of the first soldier grantees, Antonio María Lugo, who in 1810 had received Rancho San Antonio, in present-day Los Angeles—told how "everyone was expected by the government to fulfill the obligations of the Church. Everyone except for the sick . . . had to attend mass on Sundays and other days of obligation." In Lugo's recollections everyone confessed, learned church doctrine, and received the sacraments. He recalled how for the wealthy "the praying of their devotions"—which he claimed began upon awakening at 3:00 A.M.—initiated a family's day, and the nightly praying of the rosary concluded it. A saint's day, for example, provided an occasion for the expression of faith, exuberant festivities, and community solidarity. Carlos Híjar recollected that in Santa Barbara, on the town's patron saint's day, preparation began well in advance. In the morning a solemn Mass would be celebrated, followed by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. In the afternoon would be a bull fight (actually people and a bull chasing one another around an arena), or a bull-and-bear fight. (This was one of the most curious and unique customs of the Californios—pitting a bull against a captured bear and che ing the grisly outcome.) Dancing and drinking brandy (at least for the men) last several more days.[19] The authority of the church remained strong in Mexican C ifornia, despite the wavering intrusion of liberalism. Their celebrations of fai glorified not only God but the Californios' communities, affections, and affectatio

Family life took place firmly within this seigneurial mentality. Ideally, respect a honor prevailed between the patriarch and the rest of his family. Customari women and children submitted to the will and judgment of men, but a father w reciprocally obligated to consider his charges' needs and wishes as he directed t family and production. José María Amador, recipient of a vast land grant in presen day Santa Clara and Alameda counties, described explicitly how he conceived Californio men in the early rancho period, and implicitly the ideal type: "In the yea before 1830, the men were of good habits with few exceptions—without prejudi there were cases of prostitution, drunkenness, games of chance, and abandonment families—these things existed but scarcely." Women had protections. Bancroft relates that "wives were not to be abused. One García was sentenced for maltreatin his wife, and one Higuera likewise for cutting off his wife's hair out of jealousy. soldier who had ruined a girl, and refused to make her his wife, was confined in a for in irons, and forced to pay her $50 out of his savings in the *fondo de retención*." Thes and many other instances indicate that such breaches of public decency happene regularly, and that the culture and civil authorities considered them sufficiently deviant to punish them, however erratically. Honorable men for the most part did no treat people who were *de razón* disrespectfully.[20]

Californio men guarded nothing more closely than their daughters' honor, which, by extension, meant their families' honor. Lugo described a scene at once arcadian and suspicion-filled: "The boys (slept) in the outside porches, exposed to the weather, and the girls in a locked room, of which the parents kept the key, if there was any key." Other *recuerdos* confirm this practice, which paralleled the surveillance of neophyte females at the missions. Richard Henry Dana, whose comments about Californio manners and morals must be approached with distrust, did note that while "the instances of infidelity are much less frequent than one would at first suppose . . ., the very men who would lay down their lives to avenge the dishonor of their own family, would risk the same lives to complete the dishonor of another." Apparently, the rituals of seduction and revenge prevailed much less among Californio *de razón* than they did in New Mexico, yet we see here the complex association of patriarchal authority, women's virtue, and family virtue among those who set the moral tone in California.[21]

Marriage took place firmly within the considerations of the family's fortunes. The *recuerdos* differ slightly on the thoroughness of parental prerogatives regarding marriage. Híjar claimed that "these arrangements took place only between the fa-ers of the children, and they tried hard to keep them from learning of their plans." t could be, though, that for some sons, if a fancy arose at Mass or a fiesta, they could ake their preferences known. Nonetheless, the sources speak resolutely on "the espect and obedience of children towards their parents in those times," as De la uerra Ord put it, "because paternal authority was unlimited and did not cease ven after the children married or even when they had their own children." A renchman who traveled to California in 1827 even noted how "seldom does one see child of either sex sitting at the table of his father who, more often, eats alone, erved by his wife, sons and daughters." Such decorum undoubtedly restrained beavior, but did not necessarily preclude affection; fathers built toys and furniture for heir infants, and relatives exchanged locks of their children's hair.[22]

Production on the ranchos, be they grand or middling, further reveals the cenrality of gender considerations in understanding Californio society. "Riding on orseback and lounging lazily around is the gamut of their days," Juan Bandini told f the men in 1828, "and the women bear all the responsibility of the house." The en's *recuerdos* sung the praises of women for their labors: "A woman of the house," oted Lugo, was always in charge of milking cows (though it took several male serants to hold their feet and another to milk) "so that the milk would be clean and eat." "Women and the Indian servants under the direction of the former," he continued, "made *asaderas* [a sort of curds], cheese, butter, and a mixture prepared to be eaten with beans." To these tasks, Híjar added that they "busied themselves with their domestic duties, cut the wood necessary for the meal, sowed in their gardens the seeds indispensable to the household, using the hoe, pick, shovel etc., and went to the streams to wash under an arbor which they themselves made." An American traveler, Edwin Bryant, affirmed that "while the men are employed in attending to the herds of cattle and horses, and engaged in their other amusements, the women (I speak of the middle classes on the ranchos) superintend and perform most of the drudgery appertaining to housekeeping, and the cultivation of the gardens."[23]

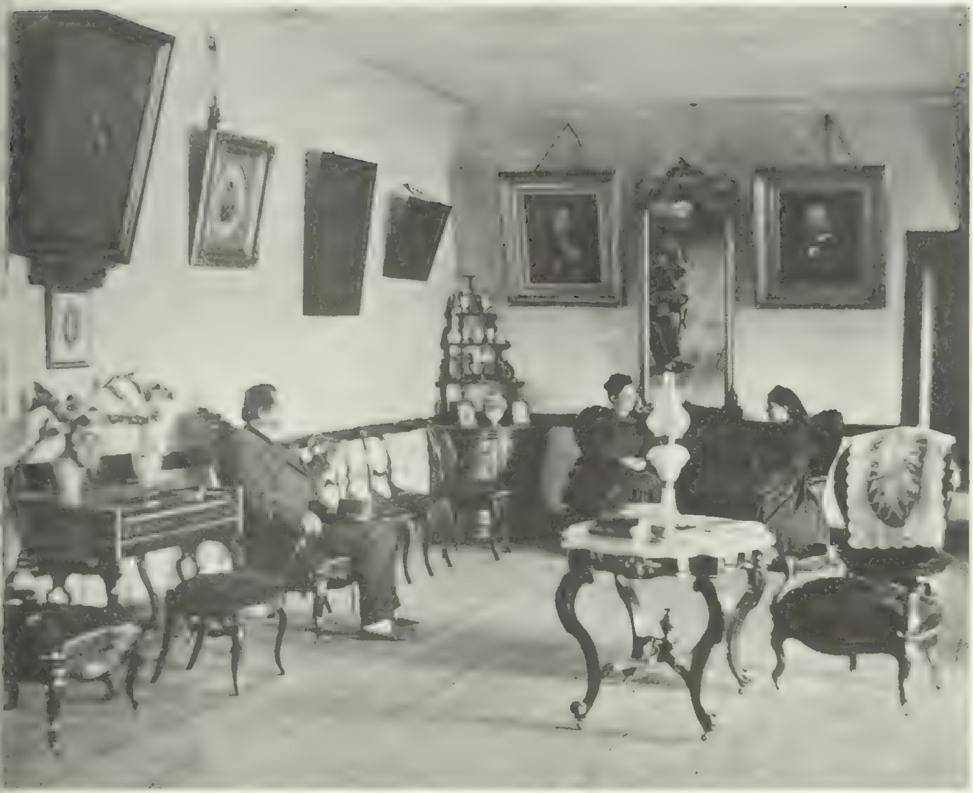
Women, often Indians, did the healing. Eulalia Pérez, the Hispanicized Indian who guarded the virtue of the neophyte women at Mission San Gabriel, recalled "María Ignacia Amador . . . She knew how to cook, sew, read and write, and to take care of the sick—she was a good *curandera* [healer]." The climate and the abundance of the land meant that people did not get sick often but when they did they went largely to Indian practitioners who treated them with local herbs. The record indicates that treatments for infected arrow wounds were especially sought.[24]

The men rode horses. That this was a "cow and horse culture" refers to more than the primary trade goods and the means of herding them. Being *a caballo*, on a horse, meant that one was literally socially elevated, a *caballero*. Lugo affirmed that "no Indian who was not a vaquero was permitted to ride a horse," though this prohibition was unevenly enforced in such a far-flung, loosely governed province. Dons not only supervised the herds and their Indian tenders on horseback, but rac other caballeros. Horse racing, and betting lavishly and sometimes destructively the outcome, provided the outstanding pastime for the men of California.[25]

Not only the horse, but the all-important matter of dress ceremoniously display the hierarchies of Californio society. The representative *chaleco,* or men's waistco and the short-sleeved and voluminous gowns of the women, along with their gi laced pantaloons, sashes, and necklaces and earrings, were all purchased with hid sold to the Yankee clippers. In the *recuerdos,* Californios' descriptions of their cloth ring with pride, and lament for the lost days. In the later fanciful writings abo "California pastoral," dress symbolized what was elegant and genteel.[26] In the ran cho era it symbolized the aspiration of elite Californios—the affirmation of their st tus. Such was the goal of life and work on ranchos grand and middling: tallow an hides and subsistence foodstuffs brought a prosperity that one displayed on one body; a home in which to guide, protect, and sequester one's wife and children; an horses and clothing to project clearly one's distinction both from the repugnan cholos, and especially from the dreaded , frustrating, and frightening Indians.

The famous fiestas that the dons sponsored rendered more than diversion. Thes highly ritualized occasions gathered all elements of Californio society into a publi spectacle at which elites wore their finery, supplied abundant food and copiou drink, and danced with elegance. In other words, they displayed their wealth and sta tus to their Indian laborers, the common folk, and themselves. "All the town was in vited to participate," marveled Alfred Robinson about a De la Guerra family (int which he would soon marry) wedding in Santa Barbara, "when old and young, rich and poor, lame and blind, black and white, joined in the feast." A Californio recalled how they would "kill a calf a day" to feed the guests," another how "they served ther wine in abundance," and another relished wine and brandy "without limit." Lugo recalled with gusto quite an array of dances and about the etiquette of who would dance with whom: the elderly proceeded to the floor first, and young men and women never danced, according to Lugo, "without first having received permission" from their parents. The dances carried on with these formalities, and they did so often for several nights in a row, often for a week if a daughter's wedding provided the occasion. Certainly such decorum waned as the old folks retired for the evening, and as the wine consumption waxed.[27]

The fiesta simultaneously bound the society together via the dispensing of food and drink, especially to the poor, at the same time that it proclaimed the prevailing hierarchies and glorified the status of the big man giving it. Those who appropriated the bounty of the land shared some of it with those who produced so much of it. Caste distinctions prevailed when people danced, or drank, or courted, but everyone, at least in the first decade of the rancho era, mixed in the splendid amusement. It appears, though, that as California drew both more American merchants who quickly



he *sala,* or main room, of the De la Guerra adobe in Santa Barbara, sometime in the 870s. Built a half-century earlier by Don José Antonio, whose portrait hangs to the far eft over his concertina, the house suggests the comfort and provincial elegance enjoyed by ne of the elite families of California society. It was here in 1836 that Richard Henry Dana ttended the wedding feast of a De la Guerra daughter and "found nearly all the people of own—men, women, and children—collected and crowded together, leaving barely room or the dancers." *Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Society.*

ecame prosperous, as well as more troublesome *cholos,* the fiestas of *la gente escojida* the select) became increasingly exclusive.[28]

Californio society was a very personalist one, that is, people related to one another y means of an elaborate series of primary, personal relationships. This included he Californios' fabled and genuine hospitality. The *recuerdos* and the travelers' accounts all marvel at the eagerness with which "they literally vie with each other in evoting their time, their homes, and their means to the entertainment of a tranger," not to mention a friend, family member, or godparent. Upon the arrival of guest, "the men would proceed to kill a calf to eat, a calf which they had run down and lassoed from the road, without noticing whether or not it was theirs. They only were careful that the beast was fat and not tame." This exchange of effects bound society members in yet more webs of reciprocity: "They all treated each other a cousins," noted Híjar (and this also explains how they could connive so easily to control all of the ex-mission lands); "they considered themselves as members of a singl family." Even the poor received donations of beef; such generosity eased any socia tensions that these tremendous disparities of wealth might have created.[29] The Californios' munificence also reveals how in this culture, the more a man gave away th more he increased his social stature, which was, after all, a principal aspiration o these ex-soldiers cum grandees.

This personalism also explains the passions of the Californios' legendary squabbles. It was not just that liberal ideas did not resonate so positively in the south, o that the *abajeños* (literally, "lowlanders") were jealous of the preponderance of political power that the less-populated north held, but rather that regional leaders understood one another to have violated family solidarity. Political differences were personal affronts. The numerous revolts of the Californios (most notably agains Governor Micheltorena, whom Mexico sent in 1842 to re-establish authority) and violent schisms resulted in near civil war in 1845. Pío Pico had been appointed governor and the capital moved to Los Angeles, while his *arribeño* (literally, "highlander") enemies—military commander José Castro in Monterey and Mariano Vallejo from Sonoma—controlled the north.[30]

CALIFORNIOS AND INDIOS

While we behold many of the compelling manifestations of life in the rancho era in these descriptions, one of the bases of Californio society has only dimly emerged here: this was a society based on the work of others. These became halcyon days as recalled in the *recuerdos* and in the later histories because men who presumed entitlement to the service of women and especially people of color, mostly, chronicled them. By the waterholes and the corrals where the herds lingered, Indian laborers lived in their *rancherías* in *jacales* made of tules and sticks tied together and stuck in the mud, or else they lived in the *indiada,* or servants' quarters. Some of these natives had attached themselves to ranchos after the secularization of the missions, others had entered into service on the ranchos as their remnant indigenous societies crumbled under the Spanish onslaught, and some few others had even been captured in the wild and given over to the rancheros for what Híjar called "training." Life on the ranchos did not require the discipline characteristic of the missions; labor on the ranchos was hard, but not consistently demanding, and no one worked very diligently anyway. For their labors they received food, clothing, or perhaps a few hides, which they so often traded for drink. And this was central to the construction of Californio society: the continuing destruction of California Indian society. Those were, after all, Indian lands—which the missions had appropriated for the "Spiritual Conquest"—

on which the cows and horses now grazed. Yet those very Indians did so much of e work, whether the tending and slaughter of cows; the building of palatial homes d digging of ditches (the *ayuntamiento* of Los Angeles prescribed labor on the blic ditches for Indians convicted of drunkenness); or the washing, cooking, veeping, and serving of pampered guests under the direction of the *doña.*[31]

Californio society relied on the Indians in other ways as well. Except for a few ho remained in the dramatically diminished mission compounds, the Indians reained resolutely, in the Californio mind, *sin razón.* Missionization had usually nly succeeded in destroying the intricately forged old ways, replacing them with, at est, a tenuous new sense of discipline. Secularization all too often left the Indians ithout much social organization, a situation that the *gente de razón* indulgently xploited. Drunkenness and vice most apparently manifested the shock of the Euopean conquest, and visibly demonstrated to the *de razón* that the Indians remained nsalvageable. Recall here De la Guerra's felicitous words on the meaning of *de zón:* none of them would he have applied to Indians. Thus their irredeemable nare not only ordained their servitude, but qualified Indians to serve as caricatures of verything that the *de razón* thought they themselves were not. Ascendant Caliornios, often mestizo, were, in other words, *gente de razón* because they were not ndians.

That they grabbed so much land after secularization meant that Californios would ontinue to contest with Indians "in the wild" for those lands to which Indians still id claim. Furthermore, with lands available for hunting and foraging always reeding, these Indians reasonably and fittingly saw cows and horses grazing upon heir lands as legitimate quarry for their subsistence. These factors produced a contant situation of raiding and revenge between Californios and the many Indians ho still ranged free. This was one way in which the Californios forged a collective dentity—they were a people whom hostile forces besieged and from whom their inapable stepmother, Mexico, could not provide rescue. Repeated brutal fights with he Indians necessarily discolor the peaceful, genteel pastoral imagery of Californio ociety.

Historical perspective facilitates an awareness of how the Indians' desperation erived from the consequences of coercive missionization, and how their violent ctions resisted invasion and conquest. Californios understood the Indian raids as riminal acts and proof of *de razón* virtue for protecting civilization from, in Govoror Alvarado's words, "*bárbaros infiéles* (barbarous infidels)." Not incidentally, horses roved an important object of the raids: the Indians were now *a caballo,* too. The overnor received a letter in 1839 from Señor Argüello in Los Angeles exclaiming ow "the number of Indians who have run away to take up criminal pursuits is so reat that the entire southern district is paralyzed." The San Diego area experinced the Indians' desperate fury most spectacularly. Raiders, erstwhile occupants of the lands, plundered most ranchos there at one time or another in the late 1830s, an rancheros periodically evacuated to the town for safety. In 1837 Rancho Jamul, hom to Doña Eustaquia de Pico (mother of Pío and Andrés) underwent the most sens tional episode in Indian-Californio relations. Attackers assassinated Mayordom Leyva and several defenders, and kidnapped Leyva's two daughters, who were nev seen again. This widely related story of the time melodramatically trumpeted th threat Indians posed to the *gente de razón,* and especially to Californio society's mo prized and guarded possessions, its women and girls.[32]

Disease killed far more Indians than swords or guns throughout California his tory, but this is not to say that many Indians did not meet death at the hands of rag ing caballeros. British voyager Sir George Simpson could not help noticing when h visited in 1841–42 how "the Indians of all tribes are, from day to day, rendered mor audacious by impunity. Too indolent to be always on the alert, the Californian overlook the constant pilferings of cattle and horses, til they are aroused beyond th measure of even their patience, by some outrage of more than ordinary mark." A these moments, for which such incidents as that at Rancho Jamul had been con tributing tinder, Californio *gente* took leave of their reason and exploded into violence against people they called, among other things, *bestias* (beasts). Typical of retaliations against Indian raids throughout the Americas, it was the peaceful natives who especially suffered the wrath of the righteous avengers. José del Carmen Lugo arranged an ambuscade in league with his allies, Temecula Indians under the leadership of Juan Antonio, near a pillaged Lugo family rancho near San Bernardino. He claimed that he ordered his men "to fire only at the fighters because they were the chiefs and came only in the middle of the main body." Still, "we made a great slaughter, and falling upon them from the rear killed many of them." "On reaching Aguanga we amused ourselves killing some three Indians who continued fighting," he related. "Perhaps a hundred Indians perished."[33]

Our stories of the Californios must conclude here, but not without a recommendation for further inquiry and reflection. At the beginning of this narrative I suggested that study of the Californios may have something to relate even about "human existence." Indeed Californio society poses questions about the overall purposes of life: Labor or leisure? Familial convivialty or personal choice? Reciprocal obligations or the individual prerogatives of liberalism? Racial hierarchy or biological and cultural mixing? These are all weighty matters about which the Californios press us to reflect. I urge my readers to do so in the Californio spirit of honor and grace. Recall, though, the complexity of this remarkable Californio society, in which people lived with considerable caste distinctions, and yet participated (however unequally) in such experiences as drought and earthquakes, the joyful fiestas and the brutalizing fights with the Indians, salubrious weather and scads of fleas, and vice and faith. "And so they lived," with apologies to Bancroft, "opening their eyes" to the

odern world, but entangled in the gratifying bonds of the old; they believed in rea-
n and gentility, and practiced lust and passion; they bought goods in the world
arket, the very one that would ruin their ranchos after the Americans came; they
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8

Between Crucifix and Lance

Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848

James A. Sandos

UNA MENTIRA

¡Basta ya! (Enough!) This "new" western history began to irritate Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo the more he read. Working in his study at *Lachryma Montis* (tear o the mountain), the two-story, Victorian "Boston House" located outside the plaza o Sonoma, which he had laid out, Vallejo, like a modern reviewer, read carefully th historical text before him, evaluating it in light of his own expertise. Unlike a modern reviewer, however, Mariano had played a prominent role in some of the past recounted in George Tinkham's *A History of Stockton* (1880), and Vallejo knew firsthand many of the people and incidents described.

As he read, Vallejo grew progressively frustrated at both Tinkham's inaccuracie and at the American's preference for recounting the deeds of Anglo "pioneers," thos who in his words "made the wilderness blossom like the rose, and the desert brin forth the fruits of the earth"—as though Mariano and his compatriots had not don likewise. "[O]f their achievements [mainly American]," Tinkham continued in celebratory tones, "I now write that their works may be known and honored."[1] Vallejo at least, would not allow this "new" western history to pass unchallenged. At issu was the political and cultural memory of the Spanish/Mexican colony of Alta California, into which Vallejo had been born, versus that of the rebaptized state of California within the American federal union, about which Tinkham wrote. Vallejo knew an older Spanish and Mexican history and tried to tell it.[2] Where Tinkham had written that "the Californians [Californios] then wore moccasins made o smoked elk and deer skins, prepared by the Indian squaws of the trappers," in the margin Vallejo wrote a single word, "mentira" (lie!).

If this distortion of the truth is true of the state's early historians, how can I, even farther removed from the events, write an account of Indian-white relations in California from the beginning of effective Spanish colonization in 1769, to the

A patriarchal Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo relaxes on the veranda of his Gothic-revival house in Sonoma, probably in 1884. The leading Californio of his day, Vallejo began his military career as a fifteen-year-old cadet at the Monterey presidio, and six years later, in 829, he commanded one of the largest military campaigns ever mounted in the province, rushing the Indian revolt led by the former mission neophyte Estanislao. In the course of a long lifetime, Vallejo achieved not only military power, but acquired vast landholdings hat employed hundreds of Indians and made him one of the richest and most influential men in Mexican California. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30504.*

American conquest and subsequent onslaught of settlers/invaders from 1846 through 850, without also writing a "lie"? One way to avoid that result is to recognize that our known stories of California's history are frequently no more than the most recent elling by the conquerors of their own great deeds, to recognize that recovering a more accurate view of the past demands that we see it as a palimpsest, with other stories written before the current ones erased by subsequent writers. We must also be alert to Indian voices from the past. Although California Indians had no written anguage, and written documents are the core of any historical record, there yet have come down to us Indian views of their experiences in the era being studied.

One of these is the only known example of a Native American's written history of the missionization of his people in California. Pablo Tac, an Indian born at Mission San Luis Rey and educated there in Spanish by the Franciscans, was sent to Europe to further his studies and to become a priest. He died before achieving his—or perhaps his religious mentor's—goal, but at about age thirteen, he wrote his account of the arrival of the Spanish among his people, whom the Europeans called Luiseños and of the missionary activities of the Franciscan priests known as Fernandinos.[4] Because his command of Spanish grammar was weak and because the priests undoubtedly made him write the account, it would be easy to dismiss Tac's documen as childish and reflecting only Christian triumphalism. Such an approach, howeve would blind us to the resistance to Spanish invasion that Tac smuggled into hi version of events. For example, describing the first contact between a Fernandino an a chief of the *Quechnajuichom,* as Tac called his people in his native tongue, the Indian declared in his dialect, "What is it you seek here? Get out of our country!" Ta also concluded his narrative by describing an encounter between a Luiseño man an an armed Spanish soldier seeking to restore order after a ball game between Luiseño and Indians from Mission San Juan Capistrano had become unruly. The Luiseñ challenged the Spaniard by saying, "Raise your saber and I will eat you." Both o these Indian statements, Tac tells us, were made in the original language of *Quechla* his Indian territory, meaning that the Spanish could not understand them.[5] Thank to Tac, however, we can.

Mindful of the way in which Native Americans often, even today, shift to Indian language to convey feelings that cannot be expressed in the dominant language shared by Indian and non-Indian groups, we can understand the powerful opposition to Spanish invasion Luiseños communicated both in precontact and late mission times.[6] Moreover, in recounting daily life at the mission, Tac inserted a trickster tale involving a mission Indian boy who enters the Fernandino's forbidden garden to eat figs, is discovered by the Indian gardener, and then transforms himself into a raven.[7] Whatever else may have happened to Tac in the course of his European-style education begun in California, continued in Mexico, and ended in Italy, where he wrote his history, Tac had not lost his Indian identity or his peoples' sense of outrage at Spanish occupation. A more accurate history of Indian-white relations, then, must include the stories and the messages behind the stories of people like Tac and Vallejo.

FRONTIER PROCESSES

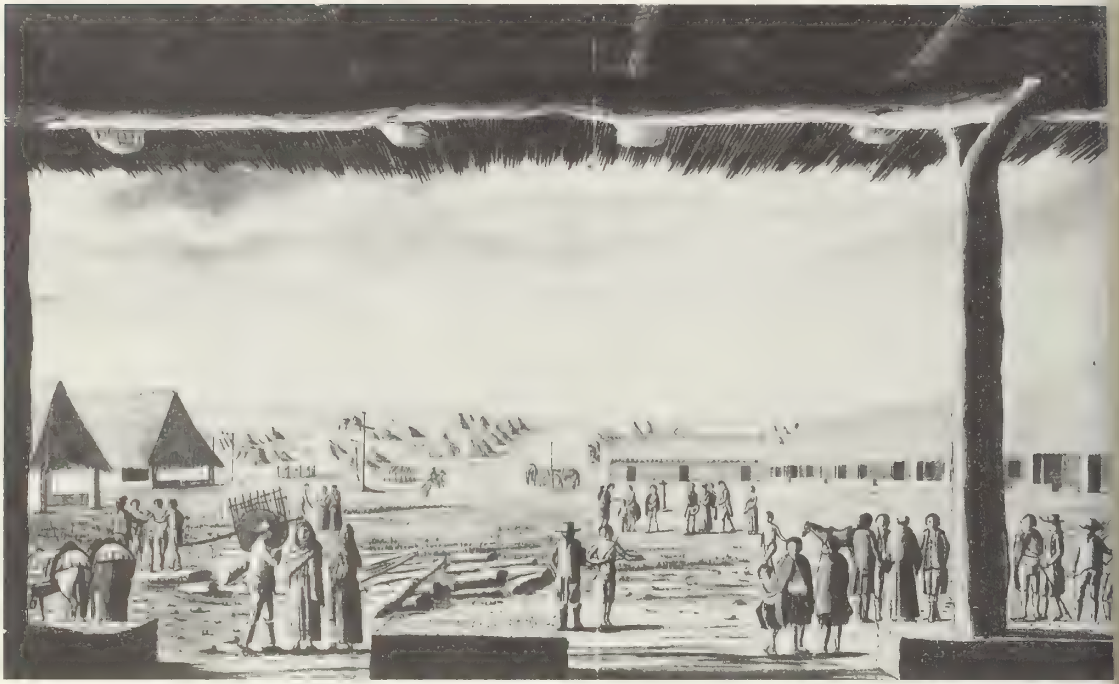
By recognizing that California history is a palimpsest, by listening to the voices of Vallejo and Tac, among others, we can avoid Tinkham's narrowness. To avoid *una mentira* is more difficult because all of the considered events occurred in an ever-shifting cultural frontier, and we must think about frontiers in ways different from the received popular wisdom. Instead of regarding a frontier as an ever-moving line, it is more useful and accurate to think of a frontier as a series of simultaneous processes.

William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, distinguished historians of the ace now called the American West and fully cognizant that many different peo- es contended for power in that space, have proposed six simultaneous processes for ıalyzing frontiers in North America that move us beyond old paradigms. Those ocesses are species-shifting, boundary-setting, state-forming, land-taking, market- aking, and self-shaping.[8] The simultaneity of these processes is particularly perti- nt to our inquiry and helps to explain how, by focusing on only one aspect of the ontier, contrasting views of the past have been ignored.

Species-shifting the authors define as "the movement of alien organisms into osystems from which they were once absent . . . the nonhuman invaders that ac- mpanied Old World migrants: strange crops, new weeds, tame animals, and—orst of all—lethal microorganisms."[9] In the California experience, Spanish col- ıists, soldiers, and priests introduced European horses, cattle, mules, sheep, and gs, which ate Indian foods such as acorns and delicate indigenous grasses, and re- aced them with coarser European varieties through seeds borne in animal hooves, r, and excrement.[10] Because California Indians had no large domesticated animals, ıese new, tame beasts disrupted native proto-agriculture and hunting and gather- g. Since the new grasses and weeds the animals dispersed proved less edible to In- ans, native diet began to suffer as soon as the first Spaniards turned their horses ıd cattle loose to forage.[11]

Because Spaniards failed to recognize and honor Indian cultivation, they settled here they pleased without regard to native concerns. At San Diego, Padre Junípero erra moved his first mission into a cultivated field between two Diegueño (umeyaay) villages, building over an Indian food source and overlapping onto in- igenous human settlements as well. Initially, Indians resisted this encroachment by ıooting arrows into cattle at night, killing the beasts when possible, otherwise dis- oling them, and infuriating the Spanish, who never seemed to appreciate the rea- on for Indian opposition.[12]

Even more tragic were the results of the introduction of Old World microorgan- ms. California natives, like other New World peoples, had been separated from the ncient disease pools in Europe, Africa, and Asia for so long that they had lost all nmunity to their infections. Thus when Europeans entered the New World, in arious stages of exploration and expansion, they unwittingly unleashed disease mi- robes into what demographers call "virgin soil," and the resulting wildfire-like pread of contagion, called "virgin soil epidemics," decimated American Indian pop- lations by the millions in both North and South America.[13] In California, disease ıtensified human destruction in a nearly incalculable way because of the further rav- ges of syphilis. The Spanish introduced syphilis both directly, through sexual con- ress, and indirectly, through their earlier introduction of this venereal infection mong the Baja California Indians, some of whom accompanied the Spanish in orthern colonization. Death by syphilis is almost impossible to diagnose clinically,



Native Californians mingle with Hispanic colonists and explorers in the courtyard of Mission San Carlos, while in the background stands the Indian *ranchería,* or village, in a drawing made in 1791 by José Cardero, an artist with the Malaspina expedition. Europeans inadvertently introduced a variety of deadly diseases to the native population, whic spread especially quickly in the missions, with their confined living quarters and generally unsanitary conditions. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

and without the benefit of modern autopsy in colonial California, thousands o deaths from this early killer passed unrecorded, misattributed to some other cause.[1]

By the time of California's colonization, syphilis had long been endemic in Europe, but the Indians were vulnerable. Many of their cultural and medical activities—scarification for tattooing, and bleeding of the sick—also inadvertently contribute to disease spread. In the missions, uninfected children sleeping with infected parent could have contracted the disease while nursing or by touching the mission blanke or dress or pants infected by a bleeding host. Nearly all observations on the health of mission Indians remarked on the prevalence of venereal disease and lamented it effects.

But eighteenth- and nineteenth-century observers did not know how siniste syphilis, and its fellow-traveler, gonorrhea, could be, especially in causing stillbirths birth defects, and infertility. In addition to painful bone inflammation, crania palsies, and damage to liver, spleen, lungs, stomach, pancreas, and kidneys, eight ou of nine children born with congenital syphilis would also have suffered from anemia.

nd six would have had jaundice; these last two conditions would have resulted in weakness, lassitude, and loss of appetite.[15] Thus, some of the alleged indolence of California Indians noted by Spanish and foreign observers probably had its root in newly introduced diseases.

In colonial California, many syphilitic mothers' pregnancies ended in miscarriage or spontaneous abortion.[16] Along with other colonial practices, such as taking many women from tribal villages into missions, pueblos, and ranchos, venereal disease ontributed mightily to the family disorganization and population decline that devstated many coastal Indian groups. Venereal disease also, ironically, conflicted with Franciscan expectations for female Indian behavior. If a woman suffered a miscariage or if she did not conceive, priests, upon learning of these conditions, precribed a dire punishment. The woman, after being flogged and having her head shaved, would be forced to dress in sackcloth, cover herself with ashes, and carry a wooden image of a child or doll, painted red if abortion were suspected, as she went about her daily duties. At Sunday Mass she stood before the mission church to receive the taunts and jeers of churchgoers, including other Indians.[17] Such punishment, which could last months, was designed to make Indian women exercise a European-mandated control over their bodies that many of them lacked because of European-introduced illness.

This friction between Spanish priests and Indian women also raises another of the frontier processes we are considering, *boundary-setting*. Missionization created boundaries between baptized Indians, called neophytes, and the unbaptized, called gentiles, by which the Spanish meant pagans. When some Indians began living the new life of Christians, the concept of priest-defined sin, frequently accompanied by physical correction when detected, defined another boundary between those Indians who conformed their behavior to priestly expectations and those who did not.

In the theory of Spanish colonial enterprise, Indians were the raw material of another process as well, *state-forming*.[18] Indians were to become the labor force in a new Spanish world, created in Alta California, by being drawn voluntarily into the missions, where they would be converted to Christianity, baptized as neophytes into the new faith, and taught the rules of religion, language, and law.[19] After ten years of tutelage to make mission Indians into good Spanish subjects, they were to receive the mission lands held in trust for them by the padres and to form pueblos. This plan was designed to give Spain effective settlements on its northern frontier and to hold the territory against foreign encroachment. The prominence of mission and padre over presidio and soldier in Alta California, particularly in governing relations with Indians, went against recent Spanish frontier policy and stemmed from royal financial shortages. Paradoxically, according to borderlands historian David Weber, the missions in Alta California became "the dominant Spanish institution in an era when government officials sought to minimize their influence."[20]

For Spanish state-forming to succeed, Indians and colonists needed to know their boundaries and how to live according to the expectations of Crown and cross. Such transformation for Indians was particularly difficult, since it demanded radical cultural change even as another frontier process, *land-taking*, deprived them of their resource base. What Europeans called "'settlement' meant land taking, and land taking meant violence."[21] Personal ownership and control of land by individual Europeans differed sharply from Indian tribal approaches to land-use, and as Europeans, and later Americans, acquired more and more property, Indians lost access to their sources of survival. It is this difference in approaching the land—tribal, communal sharing bounded by river and creek drainages versus Spanish and Mexican grants of extensive acreage to individuals and subsequent American subdivision into personal plots—that caused most of the Indian-white conflict in early California. Neither Spanish colonizer nor American settler found "empty" land in California; each had to fight the Indians for it. In winning the initial struggle, Spain imprinted settlement patterns along the coast. Americans later displaced Mexican, Spanish, and Indian patterns.

When Indians met intruders in California, trade usually ensued, and *market-making* accompanied the other simultaneous frontier processes.[22] Even under Spanish conquest, Indians, both neophytes and unmissionized gentiles, traded labor, services, and products desired by the Spanish in return for beads, axes, cloth, and other material goods. Gentiles who worked building Spanish presidios or serving settler families continued their freedom from mission rule, but entered the market through direct trade. Those within the missions, or working in Spanish settlements under colonial control, were drawn indirectly into the world market through their largely uncompensated labor, as well as through occasional trading. In the region beyond Hispanic settlement, Indians traded goods such as salmon, animal skins, and horses, mules, and cattle, often stolen from Spanish settlements, for firearms, iron objects, beads, and other European material goods, and thus gentiles, too, gradually entered the world market far beyond California. Changing markets reflected changing Indian coping strategies for competing in those markets, a theme for later discussion.

Self-shaping, our final frontier process, refers to the way individuals refashioned themselves to meet new conditions.[23] An adventurer from Switzerland, John Sutter dramatically exemplifies the concept. Sutter arrived in Mexican California posing as a well-financed entrepreneur with impressive foreign references, most of them obtained by falsehood. No one then in California knew that he was a financial deadbeat, a deserter of wife and family, and a clever prevaricator.[24] Sutter became powerful, temporarily wealthy, and a major player in expanding the Mexican frontier. His many roles, some of which will be considered later in more detail, flamboyantly demonstrate one man's capacity to reshape himself many times over.

On a less visible scale, others in the Spanish-Indian frontier shaped themselves—

ayed roles—to suit their circumstances. The Spanish sovereigns' intentions toward e Indian were, as Herbert E. Bolton, the dean of borderlands historians, wrote, "to nvert him, to civilize [sic] him, and to exploit him. . . . It was soon found that if the vage were to be converted, or disciplined, or exploited, he must be put under con-ol."[25] Hence, Indians became neophytes and worked at priest-assigned tasks. Some dians did so through genuine transformation, but others did so only reluctantly and mporarily. A thirty-five-year-old Christian Indian at Mission San Juan Capis-ano (Juaneño), for example, dying of European disease, renounced his baptism nd Christian religion on his deathbed. Padre Gerónimo Boscana asked the neophyte confess his sins before meeting his god. "I will not," replied the Indian vehe-ently. "If I have been deceived whilst living," he continued, "I do not wish to die in e delusion!"[26] To Boscana, this was the action of an apostate.

Shape-shifting among Indians did not proceed in any simple or single direction. uring the large Chumash uprising in 1824 in the Santa Barbara area missions, for xample, an unnamed neophyte caught in a chapel surrounded by armed Spaniards ring upon it, spied a crucifix. Disregarding the Spanish-taught polite speech to be sed by Indians in addressing their superiors, including the Christian god, this neo-hyte used the familiar *tú* form, and spoke to the god on the crucifix as an equal. Now I will know if you are god almighty as the padre says. Carrying you completely idden so that no one will see you, I am going alone to fight against all of the sol-iers. If they don't kill me or shoot me, I will serve you well until I die."[27]

The armed Indian concealed the crucifix under his shirt, then fled the church. nce outside he emptied his quiver at the soldiers and returned, walking at a nor-al pace, to the chapel. Despite the shots fired at him he remained untouched. Af-erward, he fulfilled his vow by working as sacristan at the mission until he died. This stance of Indian self-shaping occurred during one of the largest rebellions in Cal-fornia mission' history, one in which Indians from missions La Purísima, Santa nés, and Santa Barbara challenged Spanish and Franciscan authority; this personal ncident within the collective episode raises the larger issue of Indian resistance to he missions.

ISSIONS AND RESISTANCE

n the last twenty years, scholars have amassed impressive detail about Indian resis-ance to the missions, yet such knowledge has not been accompanied by a corre-ponding increase in our conceptual understanding of it.[28] This anomaly seems aused by the tendency of recent mission critics to focus almost exclusively on the aterial exploitation of the Indian, at the expense of the christianization and civi-ization components of Bolton's triad.

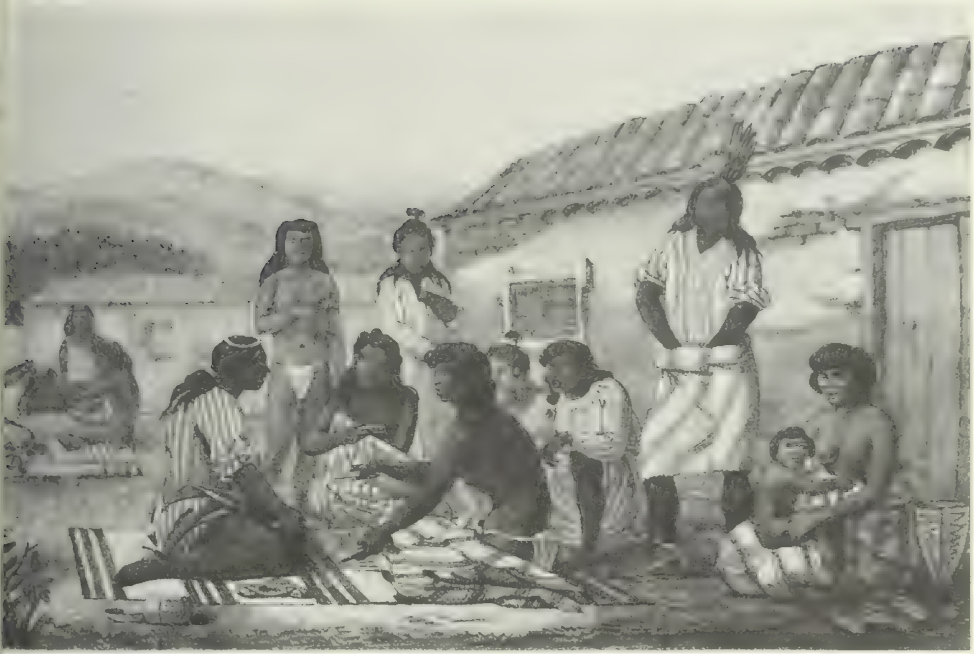
Anthropologist James Scott, however, in studying colonized peoples, proposes to emphasize "the issues of dignity and autonomy, which have typically been seen a secondary to material exploitation."[29] In a situation of dominance by involuntar subordination, Scott argues, elites create a public record that usually serves as th official story of the relationship between rulers and subordinates. This public recor encompasses three areas: an imposed division of labor; a specification of public rituals of hierarchy, deference, speech, punishment, and humiliation; and an ideological justification for inequalities flowing from the dominant group's religious belief and political world view. Spanish colonization and dominance over native peoples o Alta California demonstrates the validity of many of Scott's insights.

An uprising, such as the 1824 Chumash rebellion, was portrayed as aberrant in th official explanation of events in California because it challenged the notion o smooth Spanish control of the colony and its people. Since elites leave the writte documents of their rule, and present the view of subordinates, if at all, within th dominant tale, the elite view is often mistaken for the totality of experience by others. From the elite perspective, only bloody, violent acts constitute resistance, and because such acts are portrayed as rare, they constitute the only real, but infrequent, opposition to foreign power.

Scott contends, to the contrary, that subordinate groups respond to the public record of elites by creating a hidden story of their own. However, since many subordinate groups lack a written language, and many are illiterate in the dominant tongue, and since their acts must be conducted in secrecy, it is difficult for the outside observer to detect the hidden story. Moreover, according to Scott, the creation of the hidden story is site-specific, meaning that in California one would need to study carefully the elite-written documents and histories of all twenty-one missions to reconstruct the many hidden native stories.

Nevertheless, Scott argues, the hidden story is present in the public transcript but in disguised form. The hidden story is frequently conveyed in rumors, folktales, trickster stories, wish-fulfillment, gambling, gossip, and a host of other indicators of opposition to domination that it is encumbent on us to recognize. Thus, from the hidden story, cryptically contained within the public record, we can see the wish-fulfilling language of the original Luiseños in Tac's history of their missionization and the transformation of the neophyte trickster who became a raven. In the Juaneño neophyte's renunciation of his baptism lies the hidden affirmation of Indian culture, which the priest who told the tale saw as Indian apostasy. And in the Chumash neophyte's disregarding foreign-imposed deferential speech, and the asymmetrical power relationship it entailed, we can see a deal-maker negotiating with the Christian god as an equal, rather than a divine act of intervention to help sustain the mission system.

That the hidden story of mission Indian resistance is long should not surprise us given the anomalous position of the Indian within that institution. Proselytized by



ndian neophytes at Mission Dolores wager on a game of chance in a lithograph based n a watercolor made in 1816 by the expeditionary artist Louis Choris. Widely popular mong native men, gambling was invariably prohibited by the Franciscans, and the ractice of the custom at the missions was both a source of entertainment and a form f everyday rebellion against Hispanic authority. From Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque utour du monde* (Paris, 1822). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30509.*

nissionaries offering gifts of beads, and later, food, with the threat of Spanish arms earby, and beset by new diseases their shamans or doctors could not heal, California Indians faced a bewildering offering of European spiritual and material culture nd were torn between trying to sustain existing Indian ways or joining the new. As allejo saw it, Spaniards offered Indians the crucifix or the lance, leaving them, in the vords of an Indian leader, "no room to choose between Christ and death."[30]

"Most [Indian] individuals," anthropologist Randall Milliken wrote in an important study of the San Francisco Bay area missions with applicability to the entire ystem, "struggled with mixed feelings, hatred and respect, in a terrible, internally detructive attempt to cope with external change beyond their control. . . . Day in day ut . . . ambivalent people struggled with a choice to join the mission. They could nake the choice to reject the mission life ways a thousand days in a row, but they were allowed to make the choice to join a mission community only once."[31] When Indians voluntarily joined the missions, symbolized by baptism following eight or more days of religious instruction, they were not permitted to change their minds.[32]

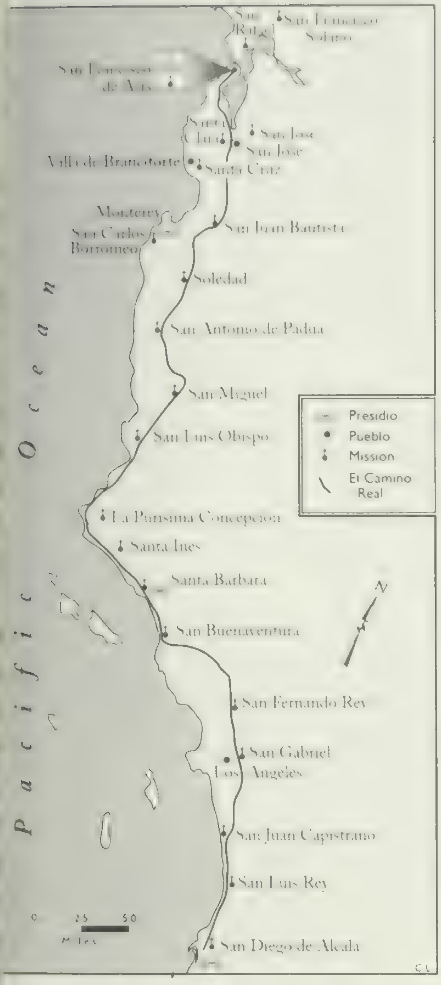
Baptized Indians became legal wards, children subservient to their priests/fathers the mission to which they were assigned. Mission Indians lost personal freedom an could travel about only with a pass signed by a priest. California historian and Stat Librarian Kevin Starr called it "churchly captivity."[33]

In the missions, Indians were subjected to a hierarchy and a subordination by gen der previously unknown. "In the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia," Tac wrote, "th Fernandino Father is like a King, having his pages, Alcaldes [Indian officials an overseers], Mayordomos [Spanish overseers], Musicians, [and] Soldiers."[34] *Alcald* had particular responsibility to get other Indians to work in every activity needed t sustain the mission, including farming, herding, gardening, adobe-making, carpentr blacksmithing, tallow-making, hide-skinning and tanning, weaving, corn-grinding and food preparation. *Alcaldes* were masters of the Spanish language and of the Eu ropean sense of time, since, regulated by clock and sundial, the daily tasks were an nounced by the sound of the bell. The bell tolled for religious and secular purposes but each toll reinforced for the Indians a time-consciousness and a sense of timel performance of duty unknown to them before colonization.

Priests taught Indians patriarchy and, in the process, lowered the status of India women within Indian culture. Such devaluation was further compounded by th shameful rape of Indian women by Spanish and Mexican soldiers and settlers. An gry Indian men were killed for their opposition to the rape of tribal women.[35] Partl to protect them from soldiers, priests in the missions had unmarried Indian wome above the age of seven locked together at night in a room known as the *monjerí* (nunnery) to preserve their chastity. Female separation from the extended famil must have been emotionally painful. Confining them in a group, moreover, sprea infectious disease, making them more vulnerable to microbes than men. All of thes changes created tension and required personal adjustment, profoundly difficult fo some, less so for others.

In the public record, priests equated baptism with conversion and viewed mora backsliding, along with the failure of many neophytes to learn Spanish, as indications of the innately limited moral and intellectual capacity of their charges.[36] To the Franciscans, baptism was supposed to symbolize the Indians' rejection of native religion, accompanied by the unconditional acceptance of Christianity. From the Indians' perspective, however, conversion was a process of some indeterminate length subsequent to, rather than signified by, baptism.[37] Over time, this process involved tension between nominal and effective conversion—if effective conversion occurred at all—and we can glimpse it through the priestly concern over sin.[38]

Viewed from the perspective of the hidden story, Indian "sin" constituted resistance. Sin affirmed Indian culture through reiteration of aboriginal social and sexual practices that the priests proscribed and for which observed sinners were physically punished. These corrections included flogging, being hobbled with irons, or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San Francisco de Asís
Santa Clara
San Jose
San Jose
Villa de Branciforte
Santa Cruz
Monterey
San Carlos Borromeo
San Juan Bautista
Soledad
San Antonio de Padua
San Miguel
San Luis Obispo
La Purisima Concepcion
Santa Ines
Santa Barbara
San Buenaventura
San Fernando Rey
San Gabriel
Los Angeles
San Juan Capistrano
San Luis Rey
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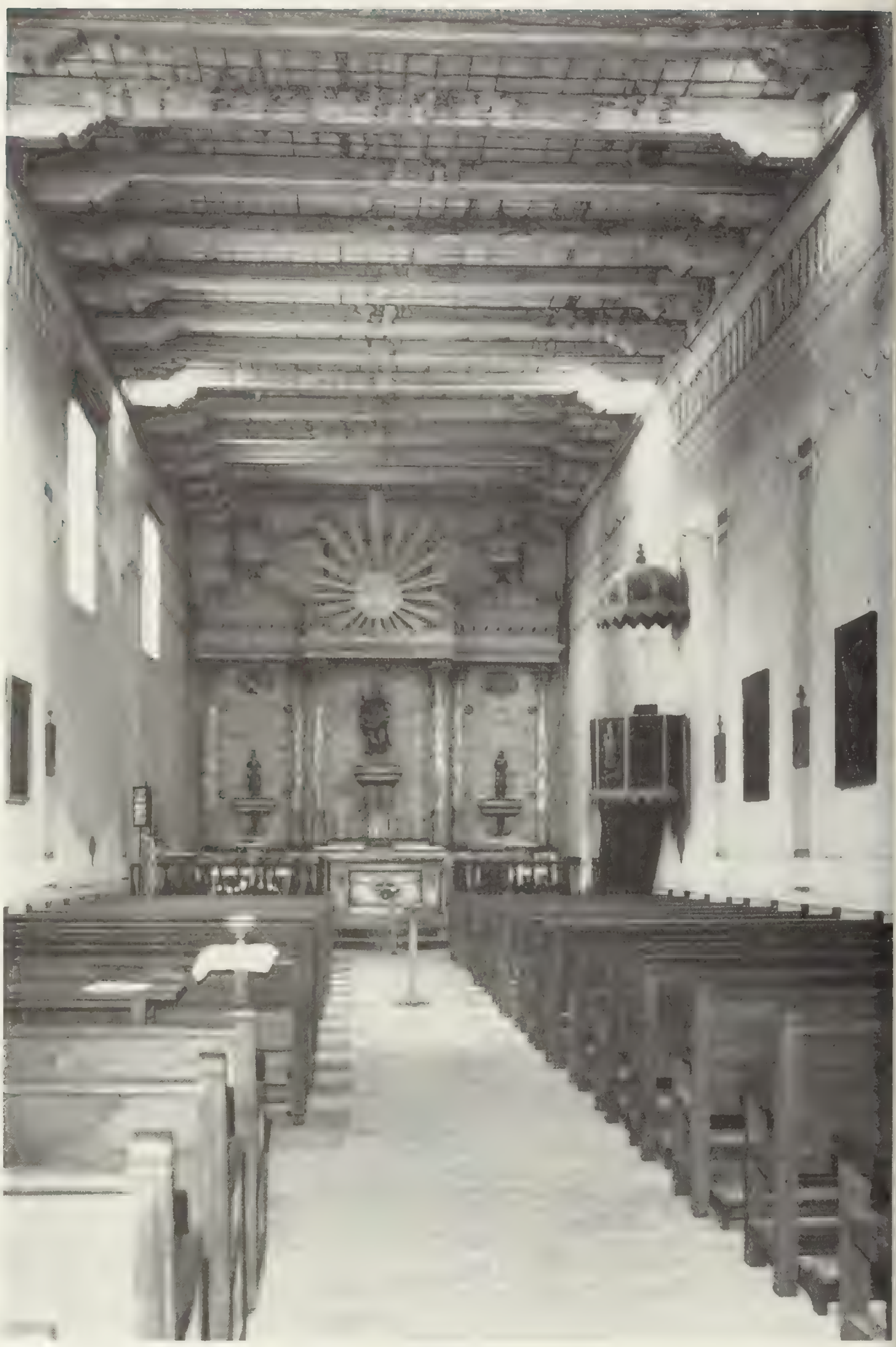
Spanish missions, presidios, and pueblos to 1824.

being placed in stocks. In their preoccupation with Indian sin, priests blinded themselves to something more fundamental and important: Indian resistance and the continuation of native culture within the mission compound.

Indians learned ways to camouflage their resistance. Franciscan dedication to the ritual of the Stations of the Cross prompted them to have Indians paint a fourteen-scene set at Mission San Fernando. Historian George Harwood Phillips, in a controversial study, has argued that the faces of Jesus' tormentors along the *via dolorosa,* while artistically crude, are the only ones with recognizable features, and they are Indian. Phillips thinks that these portrayed Indians are *alcaldes,* the Indian overseers.[39] If such protest is hidden in authorized graphic renderings, what might be present in clandestine drawings?

Art historian Norman Neuerburg contends that graffiti, unauthorized graphic works by Indians in the missions, which he calls "abusive," must have been "found in



The murals in the church of Mission San Miguel were executed about 1820 by the Spaniard Estevan Munrás, who was assisted in his labors by mission Indians. Subsequent to completing the painted decorations, which were intended to suggest an elegant and ornate ecclesiastical architecture, neophytes surreptitiously incised native designs into the walls, one of numerous forms of Indian resistance to a conquering culture. *Photograph by Anthony Kirk.*

nost, if not all, of the missions." Neuerburg has found them at only five missions because the priests tended to whitewash them when they were discovered. Yet he has ound these Indian-made symbols at the earliest level of whitewash, indicating that his form of resistance began at the earliest stages of church building.[40] "These abusive drawings are either painted or scratched," Neuerburg continued. "They are the quivalents, on mission walls, of [precolonial] pictographs and petroglyphs of which hey are really a continuation." Although not all the symbols can be deciphered, at Mission San Juan Capistrano there appear to be at least two depictions of the Tobet, a human figure wearing a headdress and a skirt, the primary Juaneño god.[41] Did uaneños continue to practice their religion in the Christian compound, and if so, when, if ever, did they stop?

At Mission San Miguel, Indian graffiti entered the church proper, where, according to Neuerburg, "the number of scratched designs is enormous. . . . Presumably, all the Indian ones were done while the Indians were seated on the floor, quite possibly during mass. Most are concentrated in the area of the choir loft itself, the area beneath it, and surprisingly, opposite the pulpit."[42] Even if, these inscriptions were no more than doodling, which seems doubtful, they suggest that the Indian churchgoer's attention was not always on the Christian ritual.

Emphasizing material exploitation of Indians means subtly accepting missionzation on exclusively priestly terms, and uncritically accepting the public record. Certainly the missionaries wanted to accept as many Indians as they could feed, but such was not always the case.[43] When Indians chose to enter the missions in large numbers, as did the Miwok and Costanoan (Ohlone) of the San Francisco Bay area n 1794 and 1795 and the Chumash of the central coast in 1803 and 1804, for example, the priests were overwhelmed by what they took to be the success of their preaching and the will of their god.

The Indian population of Mission San Francisco increased by 75 percent from October 1794 to May 1795 (628 to 1,095), and at Mission Santa Clara in the same period it grew by 83 percent (852 to 1,558).[44] A decade later, 25 percent of all Chumash baptized in the mission era entered the compounds of Santa Barbara, Santa Inés, and La Purísima.[45] In each case Indians made a tactical decision about coping with the Spanish by entering their missions, and in each case they disoriented their colonizers, who could neither feed nor manage their numbers for some months or years to come.

Such disorienting behavior testifies to the complexity of Indian response to the missions. Once inside the compound, the sheer numbers ensured at least temporary cultural perpetuation.[46] To guarantee sufficient food, priests often had to give them frequent passes to leave the missions and to hunt and gather in the traditional manner. Simultaneously, however, the massing made Indians more susceptible to disease. At the simplest level, proximity to the Spanish permitted more Indians to observe and plot against the colonizers.

Even before such large-scale ingress, Indians conspired to overturn the mission In 1785, in Gabrielino (Kumi·vit) territory, for example, the gentile female shama and leader Toypurina, with assistance inside the mission from neophyte Nicolas Jos led a pan-tribal movement against Mission San Gabriel designed to expel the Spanish. After scaling the walls and entering the quadrangle, Toypurina and her attacking party were surrounded and disarmed by Spanish soldiers already alerted to th plot. At her trial she allegedly denounced the Spanish and declared her purpose wa to drive the foreigners from her land. Sentenced to banishment to Monterey, an threatened with death by her former allies, she accepted baptism and received th Christian name Regina Josefa. At Monterey she married a presidio soldier, bore hi four children, and died ten years later of European-introduced disease.[47] Other large scale rebellions by neophytes and nearby gentiles led to the murder of priests and annihilation of missions at San Diego in 1775 and along the Colorado River in 1781.[4

Even beyond the famous, full-fledged uprisings, a strong current of Indian resistance ran through the entire mission period. In 1801, for instance, before the dramatic Chumash influx two years later and perhaps the cause of that influx, durin the course of an epidemic of pneumonia and pleurisy, a female neophyte at Missio Santa Barbara had a dream. The Chumash god Chupu appeared to her with a warning: all gentiles must refuse baptism or they would die, and all neophytes must renounce their baptism and give offerings to Chupu, or they too would die. Neophytes were to wash their heads with a special water called "tears of the sun" t cancel the Christian holy water. Almost all neophytes, including *alcaldes,* came t visit her, bringing beads and seeds as offerings and undergoing the new ritual. Th conspiracy extended to all Chumash settlements of the channel and mountains before the priests discovered it. How they suppressed the movement is unknown, but certainly the woman was made to recant publicly.[49] Nevertheless, this incident instilled suspicion and no little fear in Franciscan hearts. In both instances at San Gabriel and Santa Barbara, it appears that women leaders saw more clearly than others exactly what their gender would lose in the new social order of Spanish "civilization."

ALCALDES: RESISTANCE AND ACCOMMODATION

Women could not be *alcaldes* in the Franciscan missions, and this office became progressively more important as the missions persisted, grew, and became more complex communities. As suggested by Phillips's interpretation of the Stations of the Cross, the alcalde's position was anomalous, part Indian, part Spaniard, with a wide degree of power over subordinates that could be used or abused for personal advantage. Conventional thinking has been that priests generally chose the *alcades,* deliberately seeking to undermine traditional Indian village chiefs' authority by selecting new men who were approved by a vote among mission Indians. These newly elected officials were rank accommodationists who gave little thought to the people from whom they had come. *Alcaldes,* in this view, represented a sharp break from the tribal kinship groups of pre-contact days. Historian Steven Hackel, in his important study of alcaldes at Mission San Carlos Borromeo from 1770 to 1833, disputes the conventional view. He finds that the political accommodation at the mission depended not so much on personalities as on functions and that the duties of village chiefs resembled those of mission Indian officials. Both, for example, "performed police duties, were responsible for the economic stability of the Indian group, had proven military skills, and enjoyed similar advantages of office."[50]

A strong convergence, therefore, existed between precolonial Indian and Spanish office. Moreover, half of the mission Indian officials in the fifty years of study came from high-status Indian families, thus conserving some elements of traditional Indian leadership. Yet the remaining 50 percent of officials whose extended families could not be found in the mission registers leaves room for the type of individuals described in the conventional view. Indian officials, then, were probably of two types: those with traditional ties to the Indians they served based on kinship and prior status, and the new men. Both types could, and in some instances did, abuse their office, depending on Spanish or Indian perspective.

During the 1824 Chumash uprising, *alcaldes* played significant insurgent roles. Those Indians who occupied La Purísima for a month, reinforced by other neophyte fugitives and gentiles from the interior region called the *tulares* (reeds), sought an armed confrontation with the Spanish. Certainly the neophyte who struck a deal with the Christian god during the fight at La Purísima faced great odds with gritty determination. Spanish arms prevailed, however, reinforced with muskets clandestinely supplied by the Russians from their distant colony at Ross.[51] This proved the first instance in which competing imperial powers cooperated to vanquish native resistance in California, a resistance sustained and led by native mission officials.

Alcaldes from Santa Barbara took their followers to the tulares of the southern San Joaquin Valley, where all reverted to Indian cultural practices and made camp with the Yokuts. Only after pursuit by Spanish soldiers, accompanied by Franciscans as peacemakers, and following several violent skirmishes, did these *alcaldes* shift shape to accommodate a reality they could not change, and bring their people back.[52] Andrés Sagimomatsse had been the most prominent of the *alcaldes,* going from trusted aide of the Franciscans to Indian insurgent and back again, seeking to cope with the changing pressures of his position. The Chumash flight to the interior during the 1824 uprising both reflected and contributed to a process of neophyte fugitivism and cooperation with gentiles that began to intensify from the 1820s onward. The general purpose of such flight was not individual freedom per se but joint action, combining neophyte knowledge of the foreigners with gentile military force, to raid the

Spanish/Mexican settlements to seize livestock and supplies and to revenge themselves on the settlers.

Many factors were contributing to this process by the 1820s, most notably th spread among the Indians of a previously unknown common language (Spanish), th acquisition of horses by the natives, particularly the gentiles, and the enlargement o market opportunities provided by other outsiders among interior Indians. This coincided with political and military instability among the Spanish-speaking elites i California and was intensified by demands by leaders in Mexico that the Indians b emancipated from the missions. In short, Indians progressively used Spanish a their lingua franca for joint actions both in trading and raiding, while colonials, divided by struggles over political rule, presented a weakened common front agains Indian depredation just as Indians began to be freed from the missions. A series o Mexican decisions in the 1820s would culminate in total neophyte emancipation through secularization of the missions from 1834 to 1836.[53] Beset by these multiple changes, mission Indian officials experienced a role crisis.

The most dramatic of the insurgent alcaldes, and perhaps the most tragic, proved to be Estanislao of Mission San José. Estanislao seems to have been born of high-status among the Lakisamni Yokuts of the northern San Joaquin Valley about 1800, and brought to the mission for baptism at an early age. He rose in the mission hierarchy, and Padre Narcíso Durán eventually made him an *alcalde.* With the release of selected married neophytes under the orders of Governor José María Echeandía in 1826, dissatisfaction among remaining Indians at Mission San José mushroomed. In the fall of 1828, Estanislao and many other neophytes, while on a pass to visit relatives in the interior, simply stayed. Estanislao sent a defiant warning to Padre Durán that the Indians were in rebellion, that "they have no fear of the soldiers because they, the soldiers, are few in number, are very young, and do not shoot well."[54] Other neophyte fugitives from missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz, the latter led by *alcalde* Cipriano, joined Estanislao at his cluster of Lakisamni villages along a tributary of the San Joaquin River, and a pan-Indian movement of gentiles and neophytes of some magnitude now challenged Mexican authority.

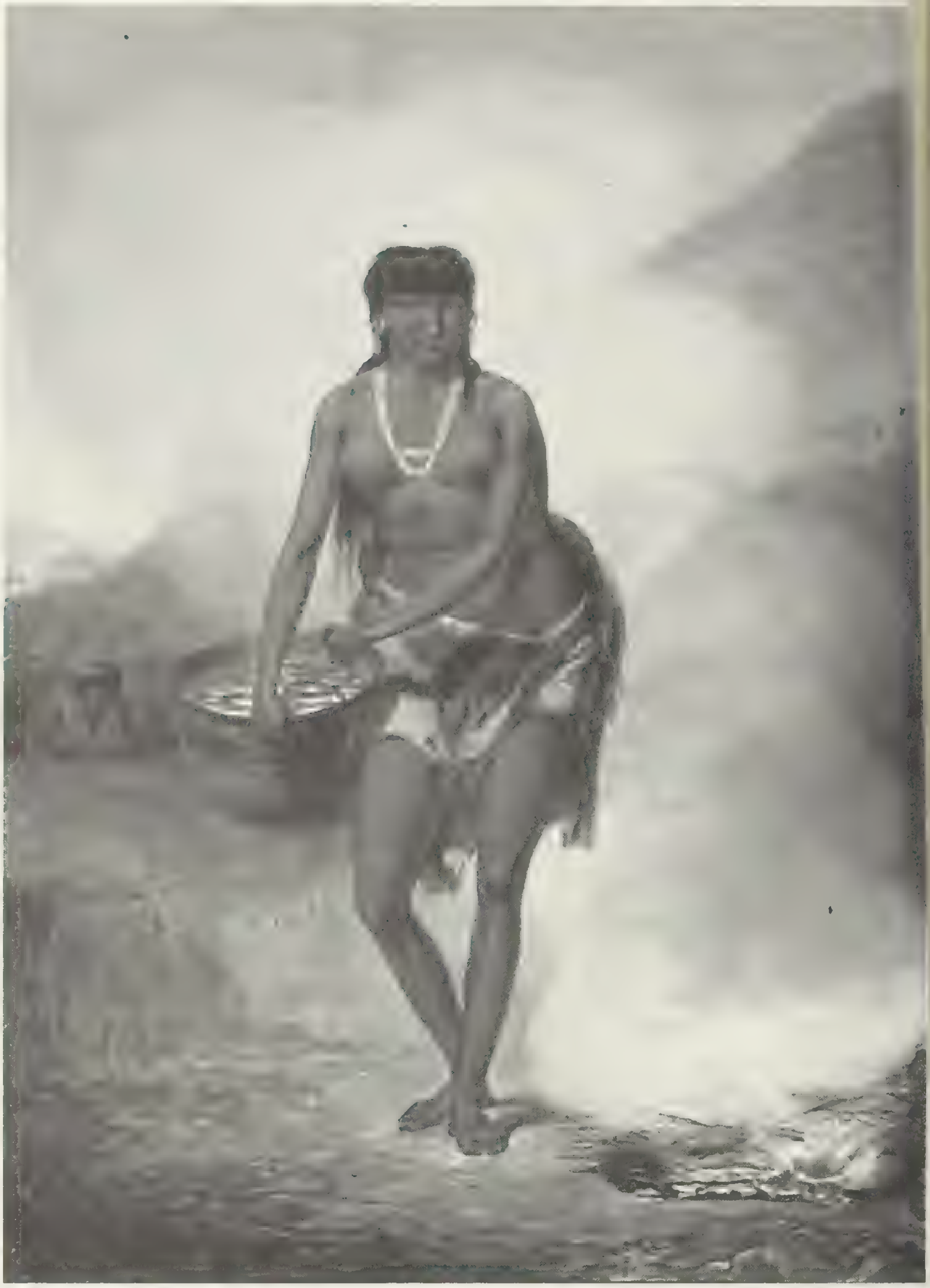
Californios mounted two expeditions against Estanislao, and he defeated both. The rebellious villages lay in an extended, dense thicket, and, by using breastworks and trenches covered with vines and trees, Estanislao denied Europeans the advantage of their horses, muskets, and cannon. Through taunts and challenges to their *machismo,* Estanislao lured the soldiers into the thicket for hand-to-hand combat. Mexican dead were mutilated and their body parts paraded in defiance. As Estanislao's reputation among Indians grew, his followers increased to nearly one thousand ex-neophyte and gentile warriors. Since throughout California about 22,000 Indians remained in the missions, and the colonial population numbered only a few thousand, Estanislao's success and continued defiance aggravated white fear and demanded action.

In retaliation, in May 1829, the California government massed its meager north-n military forces and sent them under twenty-two-year-old Lieutenant Mariano . Vallejo to attack Estanislao. After three days of relentless fighting, Vallejo won. stanislao, however, with many of his followers, disappeared. Despite atrocities ommitted by his soldiers and Indian auxiliaries seeking revenge against their eneies, Vallejo returned a hero because he had accomplished what no one else had. But allejo found new frustration when he learned that Estanislao secretly had returned Mission San José, and Padre Durán had secured the governor's pardon for him. pon his return, Estanislao refashioned himself once again, becoming a skilled unter of fugitive neophytes until smallpox killed him four years later.

Following his "victory" over Estanislao, Vallejo rose to greater prominence with land grant eventually comprising 66,000 acres, called the Rancho Petaluma, and vith a military post at Sonoma carrying an assignment to secure the northern fronier against both Indians and Russians. To help him succeed, the Mexican governnent also gave Vallejo the right to introduce colonists to his lands. Vallejo's most mportant white ally proved to be George Yount, a widower and former trapper and rader, who had grown up on the Indian frontier in southern Missouri. Yount early arned a reputation as an exceptional marksman. Yount's childhood—as he recalled t, living in "constant danger, with continual privations, the rifle always in my hand as soon as I could hold it, and ever on the alert against scouting enemy"—prepared him well for his role in California with Vallejo.[55] Vallejo laid out the plaza of Sonoma, some forty miles north of San Francisco, in 1835. This followed on the establishment of missions San Rafael (1819) on the Marin peninsula and San Francisco Solano (1824) at Sonoma, all of which were designed to counter possible southward movement of the Russians from their northern California coastal outpost.

MEXICAN FRONTIER CONCERNS

By the time of Vallejo's northern venture, Russians were hunting sea otter as far south as Monterey. In 1811, after months of negotiations with local Coast Indians to secure their permission, the Russian-American Fur Company had established a colony eighteen miles north of Bodega Bay and called it Rus, after an old name for Russia (later translated as "Ross" by Americans).[56] The company pursued a twofold purpose in California, hunting sea otter for their pelts for the international market and producing food in this milder climate to supply its other hunting operations at Kodiak and Sitka. Russians, their Aleut assistants, and the native Pomo felled trees to build a large log stockade, and in the cleared land cultivated grain and cereals and raised cattle. The population varied from two hundred to four hundred depending on the otter-hunting season, which lasted from December through March. Russians



Inhabitant of Rumiantsev Bay, a watercolor executed in 1818 by the expeditionary artist Mikhail Tikhanov, portrays a young Indian woman, probably Coast Miwok or Kashaya Pomo, at the Russian settlement at Bodega Bay, some twenty-five miles south of the colony at Ross. Unlike the Spanish and Mexicans, the Russians lived generally in more amiable accord with the native peoples of California. The woman's handsome decorative necklaces and ornamented basket suggest she had achieved high social standing or had recently been given in marriage. *Courtesy Art Research Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Photograph courtesy Anchorage Museum of History and Art.*

cted as officers, supervisors of hunting parties, mechanics, tanners, craftsmen, and arm and cattle overseers. Aleuts hunted and fished; local Indians worked as agriultural laborers, vaqueros, and servants.

Missionaries traded illegally with the Russians, who regularly brought goods down to San Francisco by boat along with Aleuts, their sea going *baidarkas* (kayaks), and Russian supervisors. While Russians and Aleuts occasionally defected when in Spanish/Mexican territory, it seemed to at least one observer that the natives fared better at Ross than did their missionized brethren to the south. According to Otto von Kotzebue, "the inhabitants of Ross live in the greatest concord with the Indians, who repair, in considerable numbers, to the fortress, and work as day labourers, for wages. At night they usually remain outside the palisades. They willingly give their daughters in marriage to Russians and Aleutians; and from these unions ties of relationship have arisen which strengthen the good understanding between them."[57]

Russians thus brought the local Indians into a local market, and through it native agricultural labor contributed to the international fur trade. At Ross, Indians spent their money on materials provided by the company; and Indians responded to the sound of a bell to report for work details. Religious proselytizing at Ross, however, was low key, and Indians who wanted baptism had to ask. Spanish and Mexican settlers worried that Russian treatment of Indians at Ross set a potentially dangerous example for mission Indians.

Meanwhile, to counteract the Russian threat to the Mexican colony, Vallejo and Yount, along with their own Miwok allies led by chiefs Solano and Jota, battled hostile Indians while following the Roman principle of divide and rule. Vallejo and Solano campaigned vigorously against the Indians below Ross, who were raiding the missions and ranchos around Sonoma. But Vallejo also continued to trade with the Russians.[58]

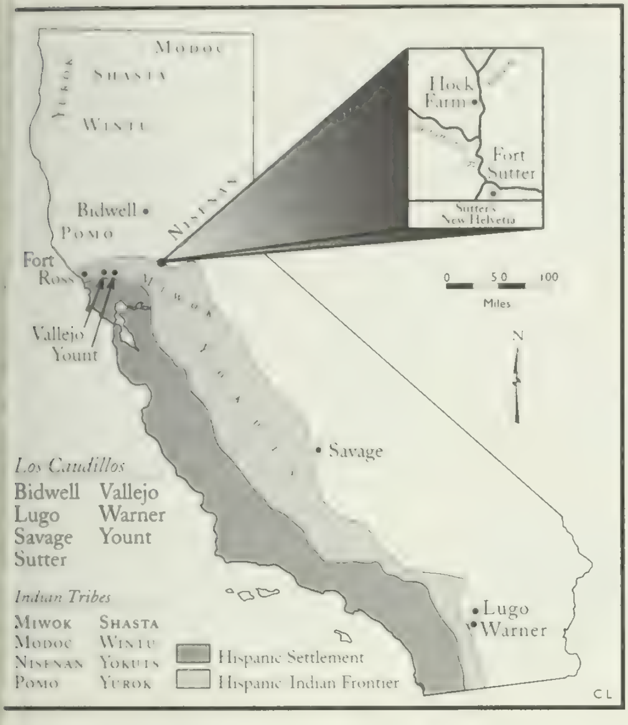
In late 1837, Vallejo sent a detachment of men to Ross to purchase cloth and leather goods for his troops at Sonoma. In addition to these products, they also brought back smallpox. Indian California had remained unaffected by this disease until 1828, when it arrived through San Francisco Bay and ravaged some communities south of the bay and spread slightly inland. In contrast, the epidemic of 1837–1839 spread quickly throughout the valleys of Sonoma, the Russian River, Petaluma, Santa Rosa, and Sacramento as far north as the slopes of Mount Shasta. Vallejo knew enough about medicine to move the Mission San Francisco Solano Indian population to a distant spot for quarantine, but nonetheless they "died daily like bugs."[59] Smallpox devastated the Indian population, killing perhaps 60 percent of the gentiles in the north of Vallejo's territory but, incredibly, never reaching the south. The disease reduced the company of Vallejo's personal Indian guard by half.[60]

Such decimation in areas of recent or established Hispanic settlement, caused by species-shifting, was paralleled by another virgin soil epidemic among the Indians of the *tulares* of the San Joaquin Valley in the early 1830s, this one by malaria. Fu traders and trappers coming south from the Pacific Northwest undoubtedly broug the disease with them into the great Central Valley in 1833, and mosquitoes sprea it among the Indians. J. J. Warner, with the Ewing Young expedition of 1832–183 observed dense Indian settlements in the interior upon his entrance in 1832. "Th banks of the Sacramento River," he wrote, "in its whole course through the valle were studded with Indian villages," many containing fifty to one hundred dwellings "On our return, late in the summer of 1833," Warner continued, "we found the valleys depopulated."[61] In another reminiscence, Warner detailed his observations, noting that, as the dead became too numerous to bury, the survivors burned the corpse until, losing strength even for this, the barely living fled their villages singly or in small clusters to die in the open near a spring or beneath a tree. "Around the naked villages," wrote Warner, "graves and the ashes of funeral pyres, the skeletons and swollen bodies told a tale of death such as no written record had ever revealed."[62] Demographer Sherburne F. Cook later estimated that this epidemic killed at least twenty thousand Indians.[63]

Destruction of interior Indians by disease did not mean permanent weakening of Indian resistance to colonization, however, because secularization of the coastal missions accelerated mission Indian flight to the great valley. Former *alcaldes* and neophytes combined with survivors among the gentiles to intensify raiding of mission and rancho settlements in the 1830s, particularly for livestock. The horse had radically transformed Indian life, especially among the gentiles, because the horse changed everything. Sedentary life eroded as native peoples became mobile. Newfound mobility encouraged encroachment on previously unavailable food sources, either among neighboring tribes or colonials, and thus warfare escalated. And, as the market for saddle-broken horses for the New Mexican trade increased, so did Indian assaults on Californio herds. Toward the decade's end, Mexican officials in California began to take action to expand the frontier, to check Indian depredations, and to monitor more closely and curtail if possible the increasing intrusion of foreigners.

CALIFORNIA CAUDILLOS

By the 1830s and 1840s, powerful men operated on the interior edge of Spanish/Mexican settlement in California, men who expanded that frontier at the expense of Indians living there. These men primarily exploited Indian labor to produce goods and render services for themselves that stimulated the simple domestic economy and, over time, brought Indians and themselves into the more complex European market economy. Regardless of their original nationality, such men functioned in a Spanish/Mexican culture to carve out personal fiefdoms in the wilderness. Their independent enterprises, no matter how much they might wish to appear as self-


Modoc
Shasta
Yurok
Wintu
Hock Farm
Fort Sutter
Sutter's New Helvetia
Nisenan
Bidwell
Pomo
Fort Ross
Vallejo
Yount
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0 50 100
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Los Caudillos
Bidwell
Lugo
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Warner
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Shasta
Wintu
Yokuts
Yurok
Hispanic Settlement
Hispanic Indian Frontier
Lugo
Warner
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Hispanic and Anglo influences on California's interior Indians, 1820s to 1850s.

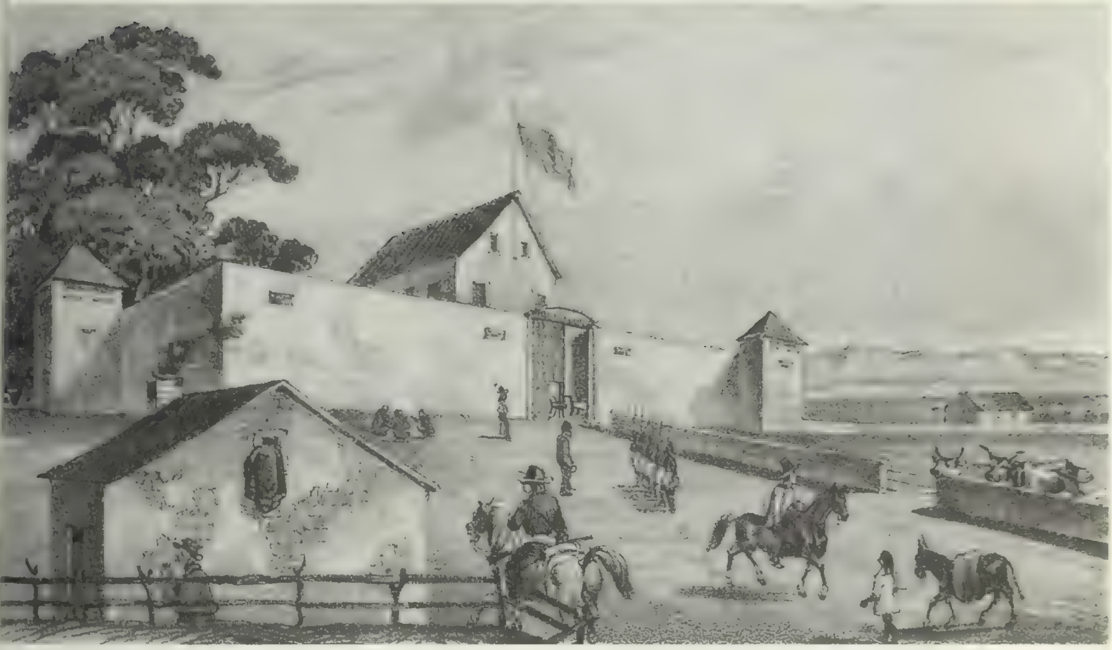
ufficient, nevertheless were linked to the larger society by economic, military, and olitical ties. For some, the ties also included family.

Geographically, these men acted as individual vanguards in an arc running from resent-day Sonoma to Sacramento, down the great valley named for the San oaquin River, and from the Cajon Pass to northeastern San Diego County. From orth to south, these men were: Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, George C. Yount, John Bidwell, John August Sutter, James D. Savage, José del Carmen Lugo, and Jonathan Turnbull (J. J.) Warner. All knew and used the Spanish language, along with some Indian dialects from their areas of operation; all but one also spoke English. Employing the precept of divide and conquer, these men made alliances with one group of Indians to combat another. For their own part, Indians made those alliances to use the white man's power to augment their own in order to adjust to a rapidly changing world.

A group portrait of general traits, allowing for individual variations, would reveal men of some cunning and ruthlessness, cruelty in dealing with Indians, boldness in striking out into uncharted terrain, strong desire for personal wealth, and an uneven record of business success. They were also military powers and sexual conquistadores. In searching for an appropriate Spanish term for these warlords of California, *caudillo* (man-on-horseback) seems right. A *caudillo* is a man who seeks to dominate the space he occupies socially, sexually, politically, and economically; a leader wl acts as though his word is law, his authority absolute, even if the reality of his sit ation belies his assumptions. In later Mexican California, with official institutio and power structures weakening, these *caudillos* proved critical in holding the fro tier against Indian depredations from the interior and in extending Hispanic rule b yond the zone of effective occupation. Their role heretofore has been unappreciat because the later influx of American settlers accompanying the Gold Rush pull some of the *caudillos* effectively into the new political orbit, drastically limited the old power, and provided several reversals of fortune.

One of these frontier lords, John Sutter, recently has been reconsidered by histo rians in the context of the larger history of the American West, thereby ignoring th Mexican character of much of his behavior and the Mexican context in which he op erated.[64] Sutter achieved status and lands not because his initial deceitful represen tations had been believed, but because the California governor wanted someone t check Vallejo's power, and Sutter, a Swiss émigré and an outsider, seemed a likel choice. Moreover, Sutter chose to locate in 1839 near the confluence of the Ameri can and the Sacramento rivers, at a point accessible to navigation from San Francisc and by land through the great valley or over the Sierra Nevada. Vallejo knew the rea sons for Sutter's governmental favors—a 44,000-acre land grant and civil militar authority nearly equal to his own—resented them, and became even more outrage when Sutter acquired the Russian improvements at Ross to add to his operation a Sutter's Fort.[65]

At his fort, Sutter envisioned a "New Helvetia," his own empire, where, he wa fond of declaiming, "I, Sutter, am the law."[66] Sutter favored acculturating Indians. H used the Russian bells to teach Nisenan, Miwok, and Yokuts the European calendar sense of time, and work rhythms that Franciscans and Russians had taught coasta peoples. "The Indians I did not marry or bury," he wrote, "I was everything [to]: patriarch, priest, father & judge."[67] Sutter eliminated polygamy among the Indians who worked for him and lived on his vast holdings, and he taught them the precepts of patriarchy. In this way he followed the practices of Vallejo and Yount. On his own 22,000-acre Chico Rancheria, ninety miles north of New Helvetia, John Bidwell, Sutter's former employee, taught the same precepts to Maidu, Wintun, and Yana.[68] In the south, J. J. Warner made the same efforts among the Cupeño on his 48,000-acre ranch northeast of San Diego.[69] James Savage, on the other hand, found many Indian practices compatible, even desirable. As a boy in Illinois with a flare for learning languages and as one who "never refused a dare,"[70] Savage grew into a tall, handsome, vigorous young man and made his way to California in the mid-1840s. He served in the California Battalion during the Bear Flag Revolt and later worked with James W. Marshall in building Sutter's mill. In working for Sutter, he learned how to use Indian labor. Savage then drifted down into the great valley, learning



Sutter's Fort as depicted in a lithograph based on a drawing by the American naval officer and amateur artist Joseph Warren Revere, who arrived in California early in the Mexican-American War. Like other powerful frontier men in California, John Sutter maintained complex relations with the Indians he employed at his fortified feudal empire in the Sacramento Valley, protecting them as well as exploiting them. From Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30530.*

Indian dialects as he went, impressing Indians with his physical prowess, and earning the nickname *El rey huero* (the blonde king), which he refashioned into *El rey tulareño* (king of the tulare Indians).[71]

In his new role Savage married at least five Indian women from different tribes and formed alliances with Indian leaders such as José Juárez of the Chowchilla Yokuts. Through these kinship networks and alliances, Savage, just like all the other *caudillos,* drew Indians to him as laborers, food-gatherers, and personal soldiers. He created trading posts on the Fresno and Mariposa rivers and encouraged Indians to bring him anything to exchange for clothing, food, and beads. In this trade he learned of and became the first to exploit the southern mining district of the California gold fields with Indian labor. Bidwell employed similar tactics in securing Indian labor to locate and extract mineral wealth for him in the central mining district. In contrast to Sutter, who failed to make anything lasting from the gold findings on his holdings, both Savage and Bidwell amassed significant wealth in gold from the labor of their Indians.

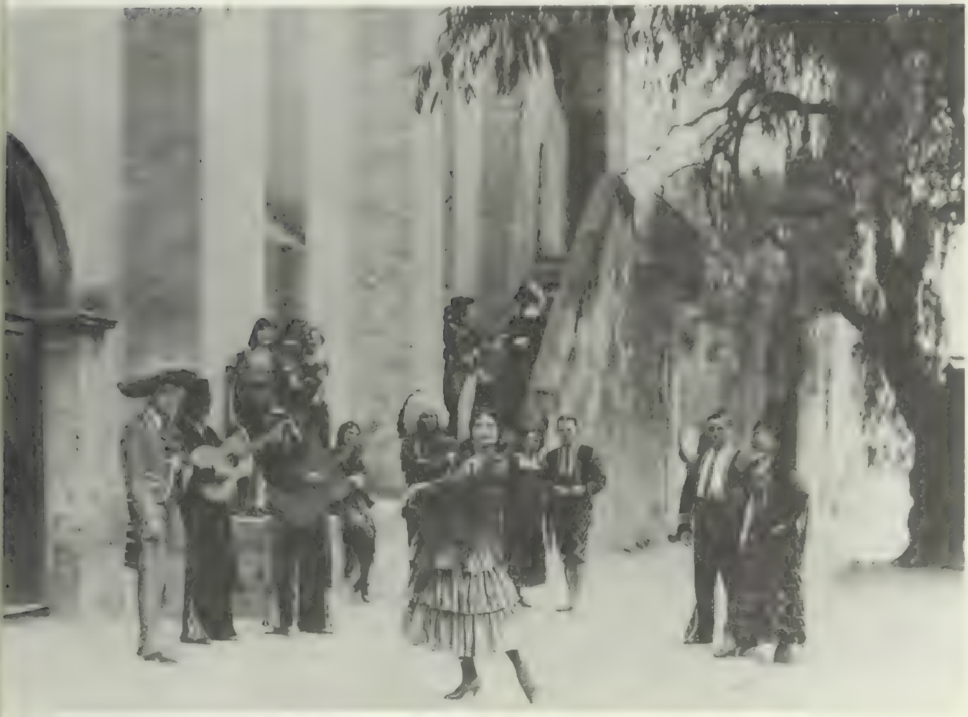
After 1846, the number of American settlers in the interior steadily increased, an Savage discovered through one of his wives that many of his former Indian friends dismayed by this influx, were conspiring to expel whites. When in a series of depredations Indians burned his trading posts, Savage retaliated by raising a white compan of soldiers, and, with some of his Indian allies, he punished those Indians who dare oppose him. The 1851 conflict, known as the Mariposa War, reestablished Savage' power. As an unintended consequence of hostilities, whites "discovered" Yosemit Valley, the allure of which meant the end of effective Indian occupation of it.

Savage's difficulties were mirrored by those of Lugo and Warner farther south Those *caudillos* made alliances with Cahuilla and Cupeño chiefs, such as Antoni Garra and Manuelito, to curb horse and mule theft by other Indians. Such rustling fed an ever-growing trade with New Mexican rustlers and made life on the southern California frontier hazardous. But with the American takeover, former allies became adversaries, as white encroachment invariably meant Indian loss.[72]

As American emigrants to California increased in the 1840s, especially when the lure of gold overcame the natural apprehension that followed the Donner Party tragedy, wayfarers entered overland by crossing the Sierra, traversing Cajon Pass, or trekking from the Colorado River. Sojourners and settlers found respite and refreshment north at Sutter's Fort and south at Warner's Ranch. The emphasis placed by historians on Sutter's Fort as the gateway to California overlooks the fact that Santa Fe traders, with their large retinues, and many American emigrants routinely passed through Warner's Ranch, so that in the late Mexican and early American period tens of thousands had stopped there.[73]

In coping with the American takeover, the *caudillos* played important, albeit brief, roles in continuing to manage Indian labor. Based on their frontier knowledge and their paternalism, they sought to protect Indians from what they regarded as abusive treatment by Americans, while still maintaining, sometimes harshly, their own privileged access to Indian workers.

Vallejo and Bidwell, who secured their standing in American California in part by working in the new state legislature, took the most important actions on behalf of Indians, but their work had long-range, unanticipated negative consequences. The "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians," enacted in 1850 and later expanded, permitted three unpleasant means of labor control. Indians arrested for vagrancy or any other minor offense could be hired out for up to four months by any white man who could pay their bail. Whites could also obtain Indian children legally as servants, and Indian adults could be hired as indentured servants. Abuses under the law led to virtual Indian slavery. Not until the Civil War, and following the Emancipation Proclamation, was the California law repealed, since it countered Union policy.[74] The *caudillos'* ambiguous legacy thus left California Indians still subordinate in their native land.



publicity photograph taken for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in the early ventieth century testifies to the popular image of the California missions that evolved in e decades following publication, in 1884, of Helen Hunt Jackson's great novel, *Ramona.* romantic conception of an imaginary Spanish aristocracy—of music, dance, and colorful ostumes—supplanted the hard reality of mission life, a life of hardship and drudgery in hich thousands of Indians fell victim to foreign diseases and died in virtual confinement. ronically, the only American Indian evident in the tableau is a Great Plains warrior with feathered headdress. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo ollection, University of Southern California.*

EMEMBERING THE PAST

or over a century, California's colonial past has been remembered largely through ts missions. Helen Hunt Jackson, through her novel *Ramona* (1884), and Charles letcher Lummis, through his writings in the magazines *Land of Sunshine* and *Out Vest,* along with his promotion of mission restoration, helped to sell a romantic imge of Spanish California that captured the popular imagination. Pageants, elaboately staged and costumed, became the rage in southern California early in the wentieth century, with John Steven McGroarty's "Mission Play" performed thouands of times adjacent to Mission San Gabriel, and "Ramona" performed as a ageant and reenacted even today at Hemet.[75]

Such portrayals of a glorious, arcadian past, one in which, according to Kevi Starr, "grateful Indians, happy as peasants in an Italian opera, knelt dutifully befor the Franciscans to receive the baptism of a superior culture, while in the backgroun the angelus tolled from a swallow-guarded campanile and a choir of friars intone the Te Deum," have produced enduring, stereotypical images in popular conscious ness.[76] Scholarship produced by Franciscans and their sympathizers, primarily geare since the 1930s to support a campaign to canonize California mission founde Junípero Serra, built upon these popular images.[77]

Such uncritical studies of missionaries belong to a tradition that David Weber ha called "Christophilic Triumphalism."[78] It rests upon an assumption of Europea superiority, forgetting, as Weber points out, that "Franciscans did not succeed unles Indians cooperated, and Indians only cooperated when they believed that they ha something to gain from the new religion and the material benefits that accompanie it, or too much to lose from resisting it."[79]

Christophilic Triumphalists have had their critics, however, and, beginning i the 1940s, psychologist and demographer Sherburne F. Cook initiated a sustaine examination of the missions from an Indian perspective.[80] Cook focused on the reduction of Indian population caused by missionization and accompanying European diseases. Postulating the number of California Indians at contact as 310,000, Cook calculated a decline from 1770 to 1830 of about 21 percent, or 65,000 people. In the missions, the decline was far more precipitous. Cook estimated that approximately 72,000 Indians had been in the missionized zone in 1770, but only 18,000 remained in 1830, prior to secularization, meaning a decline of 75 percent. Although violence contributed, decline came primarily from the unintended introduction of disease.[81]

Both Indian and non-Indian scholars and activists have recently made the mission Indian death rate the center of a progressively more critical and one-sided version of mission history. In this telling, missionaries have become monsters, and nothing positive came from the Spanish experience. Some have even directly and wrongly accused the Franciscans of genocide, comparing Serra to Adolf Hitler and the missions to Nazi death camps, thereby confusing results with intent. I have called this school of writing "Christophilic Nihilism," since it is reminiscent of Christophilic Triumphalism, but in the opposite direction.[82]

Despite the contemporary polarization of much writing about the missions, it is now possible to detect the beginnings of a "new school" of historiography, one that, at least nominally, seeks to move beyond the old pro- and anti-mission dichotomy. These scholars seek to incorporate new social history, demography, cultural anthropology, ecological science, ethnohistory, and comparison to other colonial situations so that previously excluded Indian voices can be heard. In the process, these researchers have discovered new sources and innovative methods for analyzing them.[83]

I applying some of these new approaches in this chapter, I hope to demonstrate t t a richer, more interesting, and more inclusive history of colonial California a its.

NOTES

1. George H. Tinkham, *A History of Stockton* (San Francisco: W. M. Hunton, 1880), iv, w h marginal comments by Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo on pp. 60 and 63, copy located at t Huntington Library, San Marino. A superior new biography of Vallejo, focusing on his r ddle years, is Alan Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo and the Advent of the Americans* (Albu- erque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

2. Mariano G. Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memoirs Relating to Alta California," 5 v s., ms, given to Hubert Howe Bancroft, April 10, 1875, translated by Earl R. Hewitt, Ban- oft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

3. I use the long-standing names for Indian groups, since most general readers are more f niliar with them than with the more precise names anthropologists now employ. Where propriate, however, I note newer names in parentheses.

4. Pablo Tac, "Studio garammaticali sulla lingua della California, ca. 1835," mss., Mezzo- f nti, Caps. III, I, Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna, Italy, Huntington Li- ary. Minna and Gordon Hewes, eds., "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: Record of California Mission Life Written By Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte (Rome, ca. 35)," *The Americas* 9 (July 1952): 87–106, is a generally fine and accessible English trans- l ion of a published Italian version. Where I differ from their translation, I cite the Italian le at the Huntington Library.

5. Hewes and Hewes, "Indian Life and Customs," 94, 106.

6. Keith Basso, *Portraits of "the Whiteman": Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols Among the stern Apache* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 8–12.

7. Tac, "Studio garammaticali," page following 862, in which Tac uses *"cuervo,"* and it is ore accurate within Luiseño folklore to translate this as "raven" rather than as "crow."

8. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, "Becoming West: Toward a New eaning for Western History," in William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *nder an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 27.

9. Ibid., 11.

10. Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe* (New ork: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

11. Thomas C. Blackburn and M. Kat Anderson, eds., *Before the Wilderness: Environ- ental Management by Native Californians* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1993), presents teen essays published over the twenty years prior to publication, which demonstrate that alifornia Indians in many ways were the functional equivalent of what anthropologists call ood producers." I have used the older term "proto-agriculture," as it is more familiar to gen- al readers.

12. Florence C. Shipek, "California Indian Reactions to the Franciscans," *The Americas* 41 985): 480 92.

13. Alfred W. Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulati in America," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Series, 33 (April 1976): 289–99.

14. My discussion, unless otherwise noted, comes from James A. Sandos, "An Aphor Cry: Syphilis and Gonorrhea Among the California Mission Indians," ms., part of a book progress on the California missions.

15. David Ingall and Daniel Musher, "Syphilis," in Jack S. Remington and Jerome Klein, eds., *Infectious Diseases of the Fetus and Newborn Infant,* 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: W. Saunders, 1983), 335–74.

16. Ibid., 345, notes this as a potential contemporary outcome, but historically it wou have been more common. Moreover, a mother also infected with gonorrhea, or with gono rhea alone, would have a progressively greater likelihood of spontaneous abortion as t scarring of her fallopian tubes gradually obstructed them.

17. [Mariano] Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *T Century Magazine* 41 (December 1890): 186; Hugo Reid, "New Era in Mission Affairs," Robert Heizer, ed., *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852* (Los Ang les: Southwest Museum Papers, No. 21, 1968), 87; Edward D. Castillo, trans. and ed., "A Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony Over the Missionize Indians of California," *American Indian Quarterly* 12 (Fall 1989): 397–98. Hugo Reid, a Sc married to a high-status Gabrielino woman, and Lorenzo Asisara, a former mission San Cruz neophyte, along with Vallejo, constituted a knowledgeable spectrum of observers.

18. Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, "Becoming West," 16.

19. The notion, first advanced by Sherburne F. Cook, that the Spanish military forcib rounded up gentiles and brought them to the missions to be baptized—the "forced-conversio thesis—has been shown to be wrong, based on Cook's incorrect translation of the Spanish ter *empressa.* See Francis F. Guest, "An Examination of the Thesis of S. F. Cook on the Force Conversion of Indians in the California Missions," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (1979 1–77. Unfortunately, other scholars have continued to repeat Cook's error. See Ed D. Castill "The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California," in *Columbian Consequences,* vo 1, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West,* David Hurs Thomas, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 379.

20. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale Universit Press, 1992), 264.

21. Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, "Becoming West," 14–15.

22. Ibid., 12–13.

23. Ibid, 18.

24. Iris H. W. Engstrand, "John Sutter: A Biographical Examination," in Kenneth N Owens, ed., *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994) 76–92.

25. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish America Colonies," *American Historical Review* 12 (October 1917): 44–45.

26. Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich: Historical Account of the Belief, Usages, Customs an Extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano Called the Acagcheme Tribe,* Alfred Robinson, trans., John P. Harrinton, anno. (Banning: Malki Museum Press 1978), 80.

27. Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California* Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, trans., (Madison: University of Wisconsi

ss, 1996), 68. This is, in general, an excellently translated and superbly annotated edition
an important early California manuscript published now for the first time. My translation
lows theirs, but with differences. The copy of the original version of Osio's account that I
:d, entitled "Cronica de los acontecimientos ocurridos en California desde 1815 hasta
16," p. 78, copiado por Gulielmo B. Chase, 1876, and called the Doyle version, after John
yle for whom it was made, is at the Huntington Library. Although the Doyle copy is cor-
pt in spots, this account is not and accurately reflects the *tú* rather than the *usted* usage first
vided in the original.

28. No one has done more over the last two decades to bring forward data on Indian re-
tance than Edward D. Castillo, a descendant of missionized Indians (Cahuilla-Luiseño).
e his: "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in *Handbook of North
nerican Indians,* Vol. 8, California (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press,
78), 99–127, henceforth *HBNAI,* 8; *Native American Perspectives on the Hispanic Coloniza-
n of Alta California* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991); "Neophyte Resistance and
ccommodation in the Missions of California," in *The Spanish Missionary Heritage of the
nited States* (San Antonio: National Parks Service, 1993), 60–75. Additional works by
astillo are cited in other notes. George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central
alifornia, 1769–1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), argues that Indians in
e interior after 1810 engaged in "defensive resistance" to the Spanish and after 1830, initi-
ed "active resistance." Phillips does not clearly define these concepts, nor does he apply
em to mission Indians. See the review of Phillips's book by James A. Sandos in *American
dian Quarterly* 18 (Spring 1994): 266–67. Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians,
anciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 73–86, try to distinguish among pri-
ary and secondary, passive and active, resistance, but, as they indicate on page 73 in dis-
ssing primary and secondary, "there was no clear discontinuity between the two forms of
sistance." On the conceptual problems plaguing analysis of mission Indian resistance see
mes A. Sandos, "Neophyte Resistance in the Alta California Missions," in Timothy J.
'Keefe, ed., *Columbus, Confrontation, Christianity: The European-American Encounter Re-
isited* (Palo Alto: Forbes Mill Press, 1994), 170–78.

29. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven:
ale University press, 1990), xi and passim.

30. Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memoirs," I, 15.

31. Randall Milliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People of the San Francisco Bay
rea from 1770 to 1810" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 2, 23. Mil-
ken's dissertation has been published as *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal
ulture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995).

32. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company,
889), I, 590 ff.

33. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York:
Oxford University Press, 1985), 58.

34. Tac, "Studio garammaticali," 64–65.

35. Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest:
Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in Adela de la Torre and
Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*
Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15–33.

36. Failure to learn a new language, or feigning such ignorance, is an old trick of resistance, one that caused Eric Hobsbawm to claim that "the refusal to understand is a form o class struggle." Quoted in Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* 133, n. 46.

37. James A. Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash: An Ethnohistoric Approach," *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Winter 1991): 65–89.

38. Sandos, "Neophyte Resistance," 173.

39. George Harwood Phillips, "Indian Paintings for Mission San Fernando: An Historical Interpretation," *Journal of California Anthropology* 3 (Summer 1976): 96–114. Ed Castillo "The Other Side of the 'Christian Curtain': California Indians and the Missionaries," *Th Californians* 10 (Sept/Oct 1992): 8–17, commented on the paintings, following Phillips, an drew a harsh letter from art historian Norman Neuerburg; see *The Californians* 11 (Sept/Oc 1993): 4, 50.

40. Norman Neuerberg, "Indians As Artists In California before and after Contact wit the Europeans," in Román Piña Homs, ed., *Les Illes Balears i Amèrica* (Palma: Congrés Internacional d'Estudis Històrics, 1992), 43–60, quoted at 47. This is a "much revised version of Georgia Lee and Norman Neuerburg, "The Alta California Indians as Artists before an after Contact," in *Columbian Consequences,* I, 467–80. See also Norman Neuerburg, "Indian Pictographs at Mission San Juan Capistrano," *The Masterkey* 56 (1982): 55–58.

41. Neuerburg, "Indians As Artists," 47. Boscana, *Chinigchinich,* facing 58.

42. Neuerburg, "Indians As Artists," 48.

43. Much of the fuel for the argument that Franciscans carefully balanced baptism against food resources can be found in the work of anthropologists Gary Coombs and Fre Plog. See their "Chumash Baptism: An Ecological Perspective," in Lowell John Bean an Thomas F. King, eds., *?Antap: California Indian Political and Economic Organization* (Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1974), 137–53; and "The Conversion of the Chumash Indians: A Ecological Interpretation," *Human Ecology* 5 (1977): 309–28. The evidence does not suppor their thesis. See Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 68–70.

44. Milliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People," 202–206.

45. Calculation derived from John R. Johnson, "Chumash Social Organization: An Ethnohistoric Perspective" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1988), 88.

46. An important topic, which space does not permit covering, is the examination o abortion and infanticide as acts of resistance.

47. Edward D. Castillo, "Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18 (1994): 67–93, especially 78–81.

48. Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve: First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), 70, 121–29.

49. Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 73–74; Robert F. Heizer, "A California Messianic Movement of 1801 Among the Chumash," *American Anthropologist* New Series 43 (1941): 128–29.

50. Steven Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations in Alta California: Mission San Carlos Borromeo, 1770–1833" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994), 202 and passim.

51. *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817–1832,* trans. and anno. by Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976), 130.

52. In addition to the fight the Chumash waged at La Purísima and the flight to the tu-

l. s, other Chumash took Mission Santa Barbara's two ocean-going plank canoes (*tomols*) a fled to the Channel Islands. Yet others among those who fled initially to the tulares w it farther inland into what is now Kern County in the area later called Walker Pass, w re they fused Spanish and traditional ways to form a new culture. See James A. Sandos, " vantamiento!: The 1824 Chumash Uprising Reconsidered," *Southern California Quar- t y* 67 (Summer 1985): 109–33. See also Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 7-86.

3. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders*, 65–106, which also incorporates his earlier work on In- d ns and secularization; C. Alan Hutchinson, "The Mexican Government and the Missions o pper California, 1821–1835," *The Americas* 21 (April 1965): 335–62; Manuel Servin, "The S ularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," *Southern California Quarterly* 47 ne 1965): 133–49.

54. My reconstruction of Estanislao's revolt is derived from: Sherburne F. Cook, "Expe- c ions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1820–1840," *Anthropological Records* 20 (62): 168–80, 205–206; Osio, *The History of Alta California*, 89–94; Richard J. Orsi, "Es- t islao's Rebellion, 1829," in Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The l sive Eden: A New History of California*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), -68; Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo*, 11–12.

55. George C. Yount, "Memoirs," ms., Huntington Library; Rosenus, *General M. G. lejo*, 13–14.

56. Unless otherwise specified, my reconstruction of Fort Ross comes, inter alia, from: *lonial Russian America*, 106–34; [no author given], "The Russian Colonies in California: Russian Version," E. O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," and Adele Ogden, ussian Sea-Otter and Seal Hunting on the California Coast, 1803–1841," all from the *arterly of the California Historical Society* 12 (September 1933): 189–239; Robert A. Thomp- n, *The Russian Settlement in California Known as Fort Ross* (Santa Rosa: Sonoma Democrat blishing Co., 1896), 1–34.

57. Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World in the Years 1823, 1824, 1825, and 26*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), II, 123–24.

58. Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memoirs," I, 4–5, passim; Transcript of the Pro- edings in Land Commission Case Number 243, George C. Yount, Claimant, vs. the United ates, Defendant, for the Place Named "Caymus," Case 32nd in District Court, 1852, Hun- gton Library; hereinafter Proceedings of California Land Cases, followed by the district urt case number.

59. Sherburne F. Cook, "Smallpox in Spanish and Mexican California, 1770–1845," *Bul- in of the History of Medicine* 12 (February 1939): 182, 184–87.

60. Ibid., 185, n. 45; Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California Including a De- iption of the Gold Region and an Account of the Voyage around Cape Horn* (New York: CCS ancis and Co., 1849), 119, reports that Vallejo told him that half of the Indians living in the noma Valley died in a single year from this epidemic.

61. Warner, quoted in Sherburne F. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830–1833 in California d Oregon," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 3 955): 318.

62. J. J. Warner, "The Indian Pestilence in 1833," *Los Angeles Daily Star*, August 23, 1874, printed in the *Kern County Weekly Courier*, August 29, 1874, both newspapers in the Cali- rnia Section of the California State Library. Warner frequently used the initials J. J. after

Juan José, the names he adopted in becoming a Mexican citizen, replacing his christen names Jonathan Turnbull.

63. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830–1833," 322. Throughout his essay, Cook assesses t data carefully and holds to conservative estimates. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders,* 94–95, 1 n. 4, thinks that Cook's figures are too high because the disease did not spread into the T lare Valley.

64. Owens, ed., *John A. Sutter and a Wider West,* presents essays by historians Howa R. Lamar, Albert L. Hurtado, Iris H. W. Engstrand, Richard White, and Patricia Nels Limerick.

65. Vallejo had hoped to acquire the Russian improvements (they could not sell the lan Russians argued, because they leased it from the Indians, ignoring the Spanish land claim a together) by waiting for the asking price to drop. Sutter, however, did not wait and accept the Russian terms.

66. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, trans, ed., anno., *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846–1850: T Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard* (Los Angeles: The Calafía Society, 1941), 77.

67. John A. Sutter, "Personal Reminiscences of General John Augustus Sutter," ms., 2 Bancroft Library.

68. Dorothy Hill, *The Indians of Chico Ranchería* (Sacramento: State of California R sources Agency, Department of Parks and Recreation, 1978), 1–7. See also Annie K. Bidwe *Rancho Chico Indians,* Dorothy Hill, ed. (Chico: Bidwell Mansion Cooperating Associ tion, 1980).

69. Lorrin L. Morrison, *Warner: The Man and the Ranch* (Los Angeles: Published by t Author, 1962), 20–22. Warner also bought four Indians from the Mojave as house servant

70. "Princeton Woman Furnishes Much Historical Data on Life of James Savage Princeton, Illinois, *Bureau County Record,* July 17, 1929, clipping in the file "Material Rela ing to James D. Savage," compiled by Lilbourne Winchell, Bancroft Library.

71. In addition to the Winchell file, I have drawn my picture of Savage from Annie I Mitchell, *Jim Savage and the Tulareño Indians* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1957); Albe L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Pres 1988), 112–42; and various newspaper clippings and fragments, especially about the Maripo Indian War, from the John G. Marvin Scrapbook, Huntington Library. Mitchell, p. 34, giv the names of two of Savage's wives as Ho-mut and Ee-ki-no, but without tribal affiliatio

72. George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 47–165; "José del Carme Lugo, Life of a Rancher," Helen Pruitt Beattie, trans., *Historical Society of Southern Califo nia Quarterly* 32 (September 1950): 185–236; Roy Elmer Whitehead, *Lugo: A Chronicle Early California* (Redlands: San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1978), 130–37 George William Beattie, "San Bernardino Valley before the Americans Came," *Quarterly the California Historical Society* 12 (June 1933): 11–124.

73. "Crumbs of '49," Journal of Benjamin Butler Harris, Part 1, Huntington Librar Morrison, *Warner: The Man and the Ranch,* 39, claims that over a thirty-year period "mo than 200,000 people entered and left California through the valley [Warner's]."

74. Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Di crimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of Cal fornia Press, 1971), 39–58, 212–17, for text of act and amendments; Rosenus, *General M. Vallejo,* 211.

75. See the extended discussion in David Hurst Thomas, "Harvesting Ramona's Garden: e in California's Mythical Mission Past," in *Columbian Consequences,* Vol. 3, *The Spanish rderlands in Pan-American Perspective,* David Hurst Thomas, ed., (Washington, D.C.: ithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 119–57.

76. Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 58.

77. James A. Sandos, "Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The erican Historical Review* 93 (December 1988): 1253–69; and "Junípero Serra, Canonizan, and the California Indian Controversy," *The Journal of Religious History* 15 (June 1989): 1–29, summarize both the literature and the process of sainthood through 1988.

78. David J. Weber, "Blood of Martyrs, Blood of Indians: Toward a More Balanced View Spanish Missions in Seventeenth Century North America," in *Columbian Consequences,* l. 2, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East,* David Hurst omas, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 429–48, reprinted in Keefe, *Columbus, Confrontation, Christianity,* 128–50.

79. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America,* 115.

80. Cook published a series of studies in the 1940s in the scholarly journal *Ibero Americana,* which were gathered together and reprinted after his death as Sherburne F. Cook, *The nflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

81. Sherburne F. Cook, "Historical Demography," *HBNAI,* 8, pp. 91–98, is the culmination much of his earlier work. Although he died in 1974, and volume 8 appeared in 1978, Cook's t-minute revisions continued to appear long after his death. Sherburne F. Cook and Cesare Marino, "Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest," *HBNAI,* Vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 2–80, gives figures of 83,000 Indians baptized, with 17,000 remaining in the missions in 32, meaning a decline of 79.5 percent. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Fronr,* 1, follows Cook's earlier figures. Much contemporary Indian population work seeks to fine Cook's mission figures while ignoring the non-missionized Indians. See John R. Johnn, "Mission Registers as Anthropological Questionnaires: Understanding the Limitations of e Data," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12 (1988): 9–30, which discusses ose doing mission population research to 1988, and his "Chumash Social Organization"; lilliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People," and *A Time of Little Choice;* Hackel, "Inan-Spanish Relations in Alta California"; Robert Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The lissions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico ress, 1994); Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization.* For an exeme statement of the anti-mission school, see Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo, eds., *The lissions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987).

82. Sandos, "Neophyte Resistance in the Alta California Missions," 171–72, 178, n. 8.

83. See the works cited in this essay, and others, by (in alphabetical order): Rose Marie eebe, Thomas Blackburn, Antonia Castañeda, Edward Castillo, Iris Engstrand, Steven lackel, Albert Hurtado, Robert Jackson, John Johnson, Randall Milliken, Richard Orsi, eorge Phillips, Alan Rosenus, Robert Senkewicz, David Hurst Thomas, and David Weber. ee also Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: niversity of California Press, 1995); and William McCawley, *The First Angelenos: The abrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Banning, Calif.: Malki Museum Press/Ballena Press Coperative Publication, 1996).

9

Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769–1848

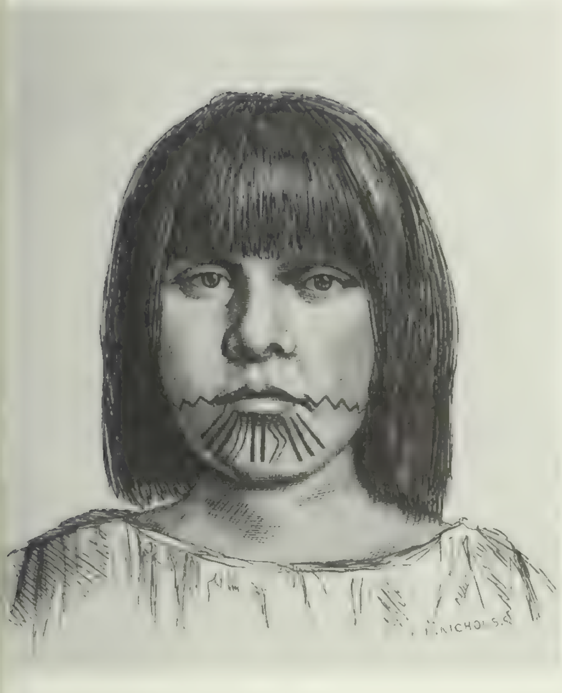
Gender, Sexuality, and the Family

Antonia I. Castañeda

> The frontier is a liminal zone . . . its subjects, interstitial beings. . . . For more than two centuries the North was a society organized for warfare.
>
> Ana María Alonso[1]

From 1769, when the first *entrada* (incursion) of soldiers and priests arrived in California to extend Spanish colonial hegemony to the farthest reaches of the norther frontier, women and girls were the target of sexual violence and brutal attacks. In th San Gabriel region, for example, soldiers on horseback swooped into villages, chase lassoed, raped, beat, and sometimes killed women.[2] As had occurred in successive incursions into new territory since the fifteenth century, sexual aggression against native women was among the first recorded acts of Spanish colonial domination i Alta California. This political violence effected on the bodies of women made colonial California a land of endemic warfare.

This essay examines the gendered and sexualized construction of the colonial order and relations of power in Alta California from 1769 to 1848 as this land passe from Spanish to Mexican to Euro-American rule. Using gender and sexuality a categories of analysis, it explores how women articulated their power, subjectivity, an identity in the militarized colonial order reigning on this remote outpost. In thi study, gender denotes the social construction of masculinity, as well as of femininity— and thus the social construction of distinctions between male and female. Gender i also a principal realm for the production of more general effects of power and meaning. Thus, gender is here interpreted as a relational dimension of colonialism and a one aspect of an imperial power matrix within which gender, sexuality, race, class, an culture operate. This matrix is brought to bear in recent studies on gender and colo



A young Huchnom woman with the characteristic facial tattooing of her people. Although knowledge of pre-Hispanic Indian gender and sexuality systems is slender, it is generally thought that, despite male dominance in most spheres, a more open and flexible relation existed between the sexes than obtained in European society. Among the Huchnom, whose lands lay along the South Fork of the Eel River, it was the custom for newly married couples to settle with the bride's relations, one of several exceptions to the otherwise patrilocal practice of California Indians. From Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30507.*

alism on the northern frontiers of New Spain by historian Ramón Gutiérrez and thropologist Ana María Alonso, who examine the ideology of honor in order to eorize and interpret constructions of masculinity and femininity within the power lations of colonialism.[3]

This chapter examines how indigenous and mestiza women (Indo-mestiza and fro-mestiza) became subjects of colonial domination in California. It draws on dies that view gender and sexuality as dimensions of subjectivity that are both an ffect of power and a technology of rule," and that analyze colonial domination in lation to the construction of subjectivities—meaning forms of personhood, power, d social positioning. It also focuses on female agency, that is, the ways in which omen manipulated circumstances and used cultural, spiritual, religious, and legal tions to resist patriarchal domination.[4]

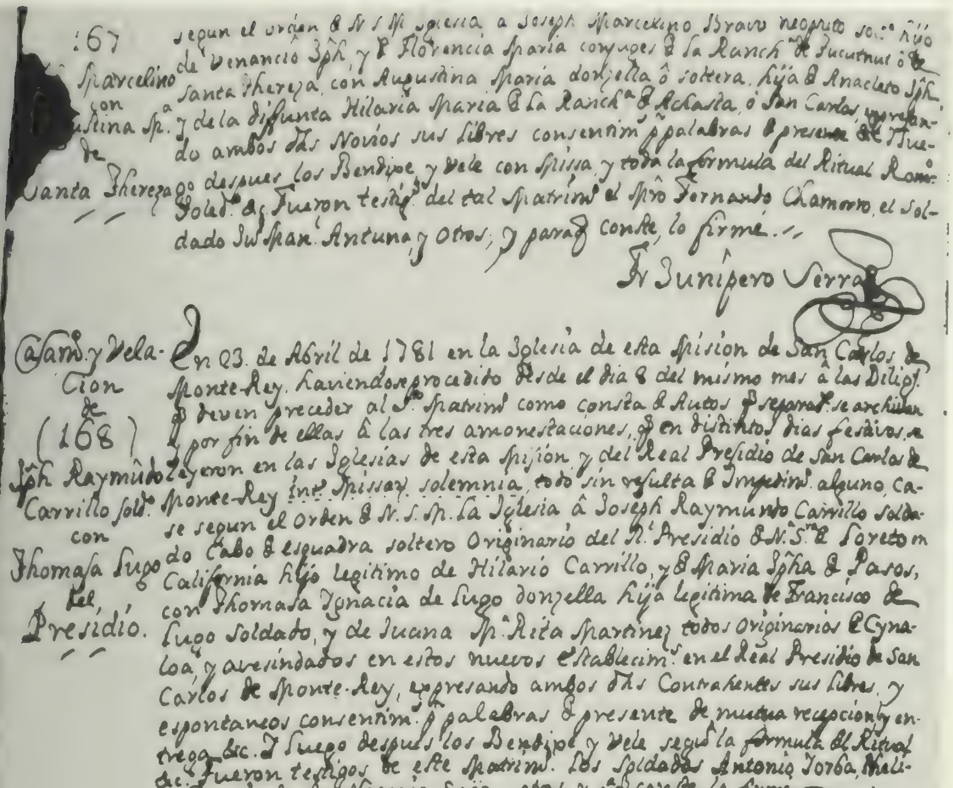
Recent interdisciplinary works center women and other subordinated (subaltern) oups as subjects of history and use gender and sexuality as categories of analysis to amine broad historical processes. This scholarship seeks to find and analyze the balterns' voices, agency, and identities in the fissures and spaces, the interstices, the dden, masked meanings of events and documents.[5] Using gender and sexuality to alyze resistance strategies within larger structures and processes, these studies exore women's power to reshape and refabricate their social identity—to fashion eir own response, their own experience, and their own histories.

GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND OPPOSING IDEOLOGIES

Little is known about native systems of gender and sexuality in California at the tim of the Spanish invasion.[6] Nevertheless, it is clear that indigenous practices were an tithetical to a patriarchal ideology in which gender hierarchy, male domination, an heterosexuality were the exclusive organizing principles of desire, sexuality, mar riage, and the family. In the European order, until passage of the Bourbon Reform in the late eighteenth century, Roman Catholic ideology and canon law, which con ceptualized the body as base and vile, imposed a regime of sexual repression that tie sexuality to morality.[7] While canon law regulated marriage and the sociosexual life of the physical body, civil law regulated the body politic and controlled family law reinforcing inheritance and property rights and strengthening the patriarchal fam ily. In this ideology, woman was conceptualized in opposition to, and as the posses sion of, man. Woman's reproductive capacity, as the vehicle for the production o legitimate heirs and the transference of private property, was defined as the single most important source of her value. Spanish law defined women as sexual beings an delineated their sexual lives through the institution of indissoluble, monogamou marriage. And although canon law upheld the principle that marriage required th consent of both parties, that principle was not always adhered to.

Sexual intercourse, in theory, was confined to marriage, a sacrament intended fo the procreation of children, for companionship, and for the containment of lust Woman's sexuality had to be controlled through virginity before monogamous mar riage and fidelity after in order to ensure legitimate transference of the patrimony. B regularizing inheritance of status and property, marriage institutionalized the legal ex change of women's bodies. The family, the sociopolitical organization within whic these transactions occurred, reproduced the hierarchical, male-dominated social or der. The Spanish cultural idiom of honor—the ideology of personal subordination t familial concerns—held the larger patriarchal edifice together at the fundamental uni of the family and family relationships.

Gender was a key dimension of honor, which defined the value accorded to bot the individual person (personhood) and the family. Thus, ideal social conduct wa defined by gender and differed according to appropriate male and female qualitie and roles. Women's honor centered on their sexuality, and on their own and thei family's control of it. Men's honor and ideal conduct centered on their conques and domination of others, including women, as well as on protection, which in cluded protecting the honor (sexual reputation) of females in the family. These gen dered qualities of honor maintained the patrimony and perpetuated an honore image of the self and family across time. The result was extreme sexual oppressio of women and a double standard of sexual behavior. Individuals possessed individ ual honor, and families possessed collective honor.



[illegible]67
Marcelino
con
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de
Santa Thereza
/ /

segun el orden de N. S. M. Iglesia a Joseph Marcelino Bravo neophito solt.º hijo de Venancio Jph. y de Florencia Maria conyuges de la Ranch.ª de Sucutnut ó de Santa Thereza, con Augustina Maria donzella ó soltera, hija de Anacleto Jph. y de la difunta Hilaria Maria de la Ranch.ª de Achasta, ó San Carlos, expresando ambos dhs Novios sus libres consentim.tos por palabras de presente &c. Luego despues los Bendixe y Vele con Missa, y toda la formula del Ritual Rom.º Solad.ª &c. Fueron testig.s del tal Matrim.º el Mro Fernando Chamorro, el soldado Juan Man.l Antuna y otros; y para q.e conste, lo firmé.

Fr. Junipero Serra

Casam.to y Velacion
de
(168)
Jph. Raymundo
Carrillo sold.º
con
Thomasa Lugo
del,
Presidio.
/ /

En 23 de Abril de 1781 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de San Carlos de Monte-Rey, haviendo precedido desde el dia 8 del mismo mes á las Diligs. q. deven preceder al S.to Matrim.º como consta de Autos q. separad.te se archivan y por fin de ellas de las tres amonestaciones, q. en distintos dias festivos se hizieron en las Iglesias de esta Mision y del Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monte-Rey int.r Missar. solemnia, todo sin resulta de Impedim.to alguno, case segun el orden de N. S. M. la Iglesia á Joseph Raymundo Carrillo soldado Cabo de esquadra soltero originario del R.l Presidio de N. S.ra de Loreto en California hijo legitimo de Hilario Carrillo, y de Maria Jph.a de Pasos, con Thomasa Ignacia de Lugo donzella hija legitima de Francisco de Lugo soldado, y de Juana M.ª Rita Martinez todos originarios de Cynaloa, y avesindados en estos nuevos establecim.tos en el Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monte-Rey, expresando ambos dhs Contrahentes sus libres, y espontaneos consentim.tos por palabras de presente de mutua recepcion y entrega &c. Y luego despues los Bendixe y Vele segun la formula del Ritual &c. Fueron testigos de este Matrim.º los soldados Antonio Yorba, Felipe Garzia, Justo Nazario Saez, y otros; y p.a q.e conste lo firme.

Fr. Junipero Serra

169.
Christoval Jph.
con
Dorothea M.ª
Viudos
de
San Carlos.
/ /

En 24 de Abril de 1781 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de San Carlos de Monte-Rey, despues de las Diligencias prerequisitas, y de leidas int. Missar. solemnia en tres dias festivos las amonestaciones del sacro Concilio Tridentino ordena, sin resulta de Impedim.to alguno, Case, segun el orden de N. S. M. Igl.ª á Christoval Joseph Carrillo, neophito de esta Mision de la Ranch.ª de Achasta ó San Carlos, Viudo de Delphina de Jesus del num. 15 de este libro, enterrada en esta Mision, como consta en el libro de Dif. num.º 193. con Dorothea Maria tambien neophita, de la Ranch.ª de Sucutnut alias Santa Thereza Viuda, ó solt.ª desde su gentilidad Madre de Petronila, y otros Christianos, expresando dhs Contrahentes sus libres consentim.tos por palabras de presente &c. Y en atencion á ser por parte de la muger sus prim.s nupcias Christianas, luego despues los Bendixe, y Vele &c. Fueron testigos el soldado Toribio Martinez, el Mro Fernando Chamorro, y otros, y p.a q.e conste, lo firmé.

Fr. Junipero Serra

page dated April 1781 from the San Carlos Borromeo "First Book of Matrimony," in hich Fray Junípero Serra recorded marriages of neophytes, as well as of Spanish soldiers, erformed in the mission church. The ceremony of Christian marriage, with its attendant nperatives of appropriate social and sexual relations between men and women, was part the complex pattern of Hispanic life that the Franciscans imposed on the California idians, thereby radically reshaping traditional native society. *Courtesy California Historical ciety/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

Systems of gender and sexuality among indigenous peoples, in contrast, general conceptualized females and males as complementary, not opposed, principles Woman was not a derivative of man, sexuality was not repressed, and both gend and sexual systems were relatively fluid. With variations, native systems include gender parallelism, matriarchal sociopolitical organization, and matrilineal form of reckoning and descent. Within these diverse cultures, women's power and authority could derive from one or more elements: the culture's basic principle of individual autonomy that structured political relationships, including those betwee men and women; women's important productive or reproductive role in the economy; and the authority accorded women by their bearing and raising of children Further, women's power and authority were integral to, and also derived from, th tribe's core religious and spiritual beliefs, values, and traditions, which generally accorded women and men equivalent value, power, and range of practices.

As part of the natural world, sexuality, for many indigenous people, was related t the sacred and, as such, was central to their religious and cosmic order. Sexuality wa celebrated by women and men in song, dance, and other ritual observances to awake the earth's fertility and ensure that they were blessed with fecundity. Accepted practices extended to premarital sexual activity, polygamy, polyandry, homosexualit transvestitism, same-sex marriage, and ritual sexual practices. Divorce was easily attainable, and, under particular conditions, abortion and infanticide were practice

Woman—the female principle—was a pivotal force in American cosmologie and worldviews. Woman, whether in the form of Grandmother, Thought Woman or another female being, was at the center of the originating principle that brough the people into being and sustained them. On arriving in California in 1769, Europeans confronted the reality of Amerindian societies in which women not only controlled their own resources, sexuality, and reproductive processes, but also held religious, political, economic, and sometimes, military power.[10] The colonial churc and state sought to eradicate native traditions that were centered on and controlle by women. In California, the Franciscan mission system was the principal vehicle fo efforts to extirpate native systems of gender and sexuality and hence of women's resistance to them.

In the confessional, priests queried both women and men about their sexua lives and activities and meted out punishments. While prohibitions against fornication, adultery, masturbation, sodomy, incest, bestiality, and coitus interruptus applied to all, abortion and infanticide—violations of the Fifth Commandment which condemned killing—applied specifically to women and were punishe harshly.[11] Hugo Reid writes that the priests at Mission San Gabriel attributed al miscarriages to infanticide and that Gabrielino women were punished by "shaving the head, flogging for fifteen subsequent days, [wearing] iron on the feet for thre months, and having to appear every Sunday in church, on the steps leading up th ar, with a hideous painted wooden child [a *monigote*] in her arms" representing e dead infant.[12]

The imperative to control and remake native sexuality, in particular to control omen's procreation, was driven as much by material interest as by doctrinal issues. lifornia needed a growing Hispanicized Indian population as both a source of la- r and as a defense against foreign invasion, and thus missionaries sometimes took raordinary measures to assure reproduction. Father Olbes at Mission Santa Cruz lered an infertile couple to have sexual intercourse in his presence because he did t believe they could not have children. The couple refused, but Olbes forcibly in- ected the man's penis to learn "whether or not it was in good order" and tried to in- ect the woman's genitalia.[13] She refused, fought with him, and tried to bite him. bes ordered that she be tied by the hands, and given fifty lashes, shackled, and ked up in the *monjero* (women's dormitory). He then had a *monigote* made and mmanded that she "treat the doll as though it were a child and carry it in the pres- ce of everyone for nine days." While the woman was beaten and her sexuality de- aned, the husband, who had been intimate with another woman, was ridiculed and miliated. A set of cow horns was tied to his head with leather thongs, thereby con- ting him into a cuckold, and he was herded to daily Mass in cow horns and fetters.

Franciscan priests also prohibited initiation ceremonies, dances, and songs in the ssion system. They sought to destroy the ideological, moral, and ethical systems that fined native life. They demonized noncomplying women, especially those who re- ted openly, as witches. Indeed, Ramón Gutiérrez argues that, in the northern bor- rlands of New Spain, "One can interpret the whole history of the persecution of In- n women as witches . . . as a struggle over [these] competing ways of defining the dy and of regulating procreation as the church endeavored to constrain the expres- n of desire within boundaries that clerics defined proper and acceptable."[14]

ATIVE WOMEN, POWER, AND RESISTANCE

> No trayaba armas . . . vino para animarlos a que tubieran corazón para pelear. (She was unarmed . . . she came to animate their will to fight.)
>
> —Toypurina, "Ynterrogatorio de la india gentil" (1785)

me indigenous women countered the everyday violence inflicted upon them with nder-centered strategies that authorized them to speak, to act, to lead, and to power others. They fought the ideological power of the colonial church and state th powerful ideologies that vested women with power and authority over their wn sexuality.

Toypurina, the medicine woman of the Japchavit *ranchería,* in the vicinity of Mis- n San Gabriel, used her power as a wise woman in an attempt to rid her people of the priests and soldiers. On October 25, 1785, Toypurina and three Gabrielino men l eight villages in an attack against the priests and soldiers of the mission. Toypurin who had been about ten years old when the villages from the coast and the near mountains had attacked the mission some thirteen years earlier, used her influence a medicine woman to recruit six of the eight villages that joined the 1785 battle.

At San Gabriel, the soldiers got wind of the attack and, lying in wait, captured To purina, her three companions, and twenty other warriors. Governor Pedro Fages co victed the four leaders and sentenced them to *prisión segura* in the missions. After three-year imprisonment at San Gabriel, Toypurina was exiled north to Mission S Carlos Borromeo in 1788. The twenty warriors captured with her were sentenced between twenty and twenty-five lashes plus time already served. This punishment w levied as much for following the leadership of a woman as for rebelling against Spa ish domination. On sentencing them, Fages stated that their public whippings we "to serve as a warning to all," for he would "admonish them about their ingratitud underscoring their perversity, and unmasking the deceit and tricks by which *they a lowed themselves to be dominated by the aforesaid woman*" (emphasis added).[15]

Toypurina's power and influence derived from a non-Western religious-politic ideological system of power in which women were central to the ritual and spiritu life of the tribe. Neither the source of Toypurina's religious-political power nor th threat she posed to the colonialist project in Alta California was lost on Fages, wh refusing to acknowledge her political power, constructed her instead as a sorceres In his account, Fages sought to erase Toypurina's actual identity and to fabricate a identity consistent with colonialist gender values and ideologies.

Archival records show that native women continued to resist colonial dominatio with a range of actions and activities, including religious-political movements tha vested power in a female deity and placed the health and well-being of the community in the hands of a female visionary.[16] In 1801, at the height of an epidemi ravaging the Chumash in the missions and the *rancherías,* a woman at Missio Santa Barbara launched a clandestine, large-scale revitalization movement. Drawin her authority from visions and revelations from Chupu, the Chumash earth goddess this neophyte woman—who remains unnamed in the documents—called for a return to the worship of Chupu, who told her that "The pagan Indians were to die i they were baptized and that the same fate would befall the Christian Indians wh would not give alms to [her] and who refused to wash their heads with a certain water."[17] Her revelation "spread immediately through all the houses of the mission. Almost all the neophytes, the *alcaldes* included, went to the house of the visionary t present beads and seeds and to go through the rite of renouncing Christianity."

Precisely because historical documents portray both Toypurina and the Chumash visionary of 1801 as "witches and sorceresses," we need to understand witchcraft within gendered relations of power in the Spanish/European world in general and hin gendered relations of power and subordination under conditions of colo- lism in particular. Ostensibly, all women in colonial Mexico and Latin America, their counterparts throughout the Christian world, were suspected of being ches on the basis of gender, but women of colonized groups were suspect on ltiple grounds.[18] Indian women, African-origin women, and racially mixed men—whether Indo-mestiza or Afro-mestiza—were suspect by virtue of being nale, by virtue of deriving from non-Christian, or "diabolic," religions and cultures, d by virtue of being colonized or enslaved peoples who might rebel and use their eged magical power at any moment. Thus, in the Christian imperialist gaze, non- ristian women and their mestiza daughters were sexualized, racialized, and de- onized for the ostensibly religious crime of witchcraft, although they were often ed in secular courts, where witchcraft was treated as a political crime.

Yet, while ecclesiastical and civil officials dismissed, discredited, exiled, or some- nes put to death nonwhite women charged with witchcraft, women themselves ed witchcraft as a means of subverting the sociosexual order sanctioned by religion d enshrined in the colonial honor code as an ethical system.[19] Ruth Behar argues at women used sexualized magic to control men and subvert the male order by nbolically using their own bodies and bodily fluids as a source of power over en. Accordingly, sexual witchcraft included the use of menstrual blood, wash wa- , pubic hair, and ensorcelled food to attract, tame, or tie men into submission or, netimes, to harm or kill a physically abusive or unfaithful husband or lover. In the lm of sexualized magic, women developed a rich symbolic language and actions at were as violent as men's beating of wives. Women's actions within this spiritual main represented a form of power.

If colonizing males thought of Indian women's bodies, both symbolically and ma- ially, as a means to territorial and political conquest, women constructed and used eir bodies, both symbolically and materially, as instruments of resistance and sub- rsion of colonial domination. Toypurina and the Chumash visionary placed their dies in the line of fire and organized and led others to do likewise. Other women sisted in less visible, day-to-day practices: they poisoned the priests' food, practiced gitivism, worshipped their own deities, had visions that others believed and fol- wed, performed prohibited dances and rituals, refused to abide by patriarchal sex- l norms, and continued to participate in armed revolts and rebellions against the issions, soldiers, and ranchos. Participants cited the priests' cruelty and repression traditional ceremonies and sexual practices among primary reasons for the at- cks on the missions, for the assassination of the friar Andrés Quintana at Mission nta Cruz in 1812, and for the great Chumash *levantamiento* of 1824.[20]

Secularization of the missions after 1834 ended the systematic, day-to-day insti- tional assault on native peoples' sexuality. It did not, however, end the sexual vio- nce against indigenous women in the ensuing eras of Mexican and Euro-American rule. Although Albert Hurtado examines the violence toward native women in th second half of the nineteenth century and initiates an important discussion of India survival, the nature of Amerindian women's resistance and strategies of survival i the post-mission era remains largely uncharted terrain.[21]

That colonialism for all its brutal technologies and distorted narratives, could no completely destroy native women's historical autonomy is something native people have always known, but scholarly researchers are just beginning to learn.[22] Native or traditions have preserved the histories, telling and retelling women's identities and remembering across time, space, and generations. Through oral and visual tradition and other means of communicating counter-histories, native women's power, authority, and knowledge have remained part of their peoples' collective memory, historical reality, and daily struggles of "being in a state of war for five hundred years."

Certainly ideologies of resistance and social memory, as the recent wealth of Native American literature reveals, center women as pivotal figures in historical an contemporary resistance in their peoples' collective memory. Thus, Vera Rocha, th contemporary hereditary chief of the Gabrielinos, received the story of Toypurin and the Gabrielinos as a very young girl from her great-grandmother, who receive it from her mother.[24] Rocha, in turn, transmitted the story to her children an grandchildren and, more recently, to the world in general in the form of a publi monument—a prayer mound dedicated to Toypurina developed in conjunction wit Chicana artist Judith F. Baca. Such histories remain archived in tribal, family, an individual memory, as well as in other texts—some written, most not.

The effort to reconstruct the historical agency of Amerindian women is inseparable from the effort to reconstruct the autonomy of the racially and culturally mixe women who, with their families, were recruited by the colonial state to coloniz Alta California five years after the initial arrival of soldiers and missionaries in 1769 The second part of this chapter examines mestiza women's agency, and the recor they left of it, within the contradictory roles they occupied as both dominated an dominating native subjects.

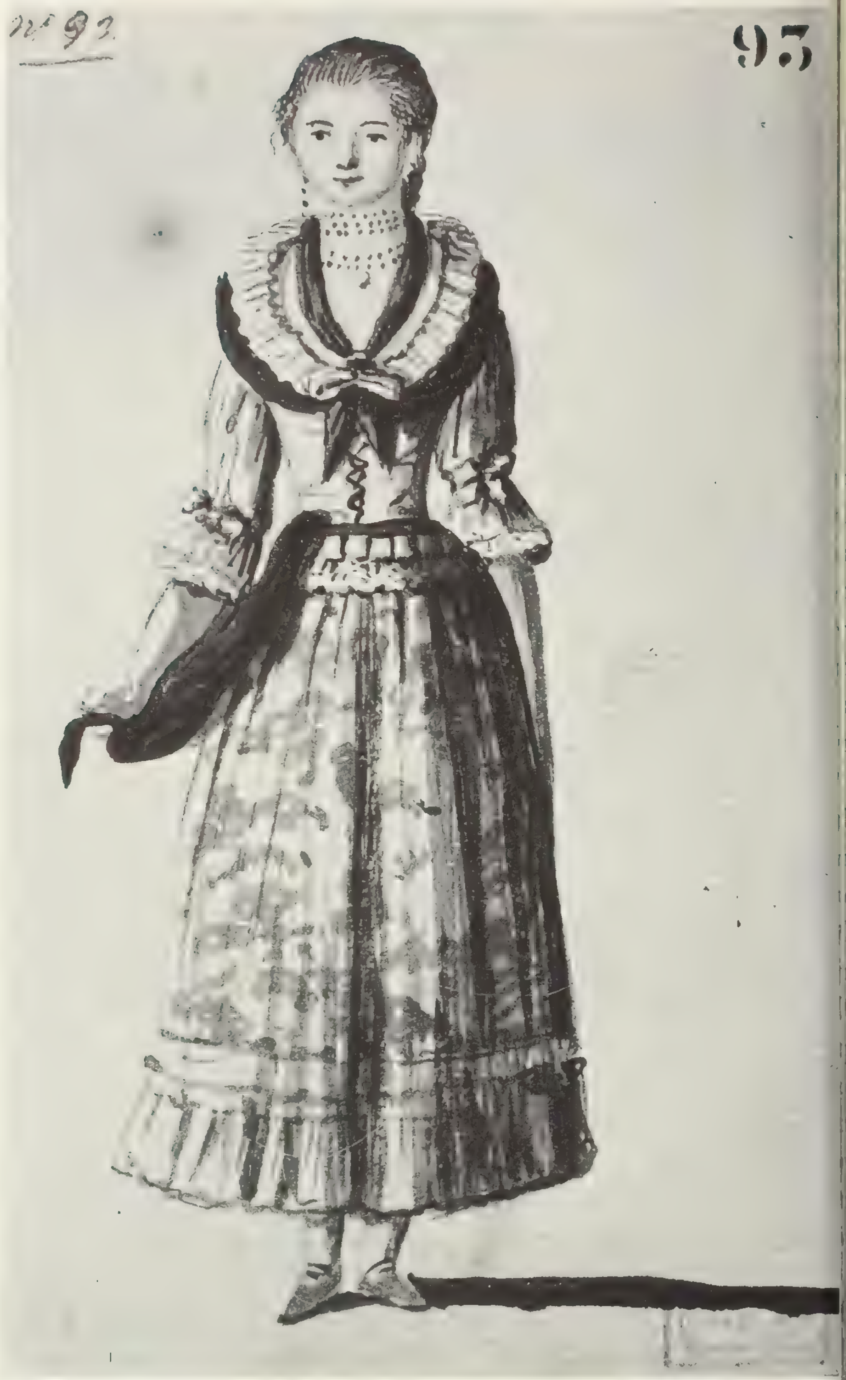
REPRODUCING THE COLONY: GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND THE FAMILY IN ALTA CALIFORNIA

> Settlers must be men of the soil, tillers of the field, accompanied by their families . . . of upright character . . . likely to set a good example to the heathen.
>
> —Teodoro de Croix, 1781,
> quoted in *Southern California Quarterly* 15, 1931

In Spain's New World empire, the central role of the conjugal family in consolidating the conquest of new territory was rooted in methods initially developed durin t · wars of the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Muslims.[25] First for- ulated in the charters of medieval Spanish towns, the role of the family in impos- i; Spanish hegemony was transplanted to the Americas in the form of social leg- ition and colonization policies such as the policy of domestic unity, or unity of idence.[26] Backed by royal decrees and a system of economic and political rewards d punishments, this policy was designed to solidify the development of the insti- ion of Christian marriage and the patriarchal family and to reproduce Spanish- tholic civilization in the colonies.

The arrival of single soldiers and priests in California in 1769 reproduced socio- xual conditions similar to those of Spain's earlier sixteenth-century conquests else- here. By 1772, fearing that the California settlements were on the verge of collapse d acknowledging the slow rate of local Amerindian conversions, Junípero Serra ar- ed that the survival of the colony required the presence of "Spanish," meaning ispanicized, women and families.[27] Thus, racially mixed soldier and settler fami- s were recruited, outfitted, subsidized, and transported by the colonial state to pop- ıte Alta California and to reproduce Christian family life and society. Attracting nilies to the remote military outpost, however, was no easy matter. Serra first pro- oted intermarriage between soldiers and newly Christianized native women in alifornia as a way to establish Catholic family life, to foster alliances between the ldiers and the Indians, and to curb the soldiers' sexual attacks against native omen. To promote these families, Serra recommended that soldiers who married digenous "daughters of the land" be rewarded with three kinds of bounty: a horse, rm animals, and land.[28]

In 1773, five newly converted Rumsien women married Catalán and mestizo sol- ers at the Mission San Carlos de Borromeo, three married at San Luis Obispo, and ree married at San Antonio de Padua. California's first mestizo families derived om these and similar unions at the presidios and missions. However, the inter- arriage of soldiers with native women could neither meet the immediate need for milies to populate the colony nor fulfill the civilizing mission assigned to sturdy panish families. To that end, between 1774 and 1781, colonial officials sent captains ernando Rivera y Moncada and Juan Bautista de Anza on three modestly success- l expeditions to recruit and bring to Alta California soldier, settler, and artisan *gente razón* (Hispanicized) families from the northern provinces of Sonora-Sinaloa d Guadalajara. Subsequent attempts to recruit more families were decidedly un- ccessful, however. The Yuma rebellion of 1781, which closed the land route from onora, effectively arrested overland migration, and travel by sea was always perilous. uring the decades of the 1780s and 1790s, colonial efforts to sentence convicts to alifornia in lieu of other punishment and to bring settlers from Guadalajara also et with little success. Although a handful of families came with supply ships, most ther new settlers were men.



The Wife of a Monterey Soldier, drawn in 1791 by the Spanish expeditionary artist José Cardero, is the earliest known image of a Hispanic woman in California. Efforts to recruit single women from Mexico met with little success throughout the colonial period, and most soldiers who married on the California frontier took Indian brides. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

Governor Diego de Borica repeatedly sought to recruit single women as marriage, a d thus sexual, partners for these men. However, viceregal authorities were unable t meet Borica's call in 1794 or his requests in 1798, first for "young healthy maids" (*ncellas*) and then simply for 100 women.[29] Instead, in 1800, with the help of the c urch, colonial officials shipped nineteen *niñas y niños de cuna* (foundlings)—ten g ls and nine boys—to Alta California, where, according to Apolinaria Lorenzana, w o arrived as a seven-year-old, they were "distributed like puppies" to various fam-i es.[30] With the exception of Apolinaria Lorenzana, all of the young women even-t ully married, though not without resistance.

The foundlings of 1800 were part of the last government-sponsored effort to r ruit or promote colonizing families until the era of Mexican rule, when new i aders—Europeans and Euro-Americans—began arriving in California. Mexico r ponded by sending the Híjar-Padrés expedition of 1834, which arrived with forty-t o families, including fifty children, plus fifty-five single men and thirteen single omen.[31] Instead of soldiers, this expedition was comprised of teachers, artisans, f rmers, and their families. By this time, "Anglos" from the United States had begun t intermarry with Californio "daughters of the land," descendants of California's f st soldier-settler families.

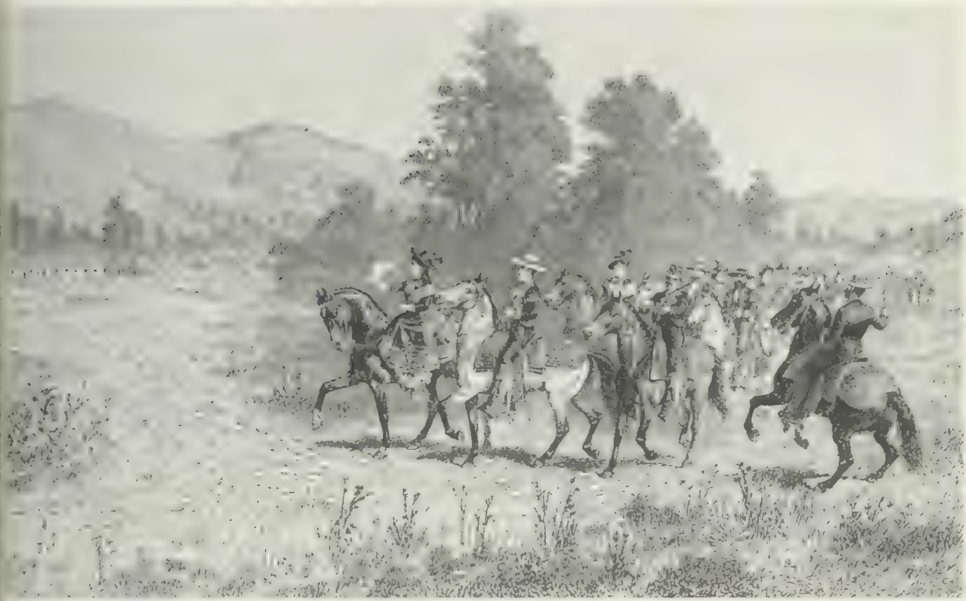
Despite the scarcity of *hispanas* despite the church's promotion of intermarriage b tween soldiers and Christianized Indian women, despite the colonists' own racially m ixed backgrounds, and despite the blurring of racial and ethnic distinctions, rates o intermarriage between the soldier-settler population and Amerindians in the M onterey area, where I have completed the research, were high only in the initial pe-r od.[32] Between 1773 and 1778, 37 percent of the soldier-settler marriages were with C hristianized Amerindian women. For the entire colonial period, however, only 15 p rcent of all marriages in Monterey were interracial. As elsewhere in the Spanish c lonial world, conquering and colonizing men in California seldom formalized t eir sexual relations with Amerindian women after the early stages of conquest, w hen there were fewer alternative mates and intermarriage held particular eco-n mic, political, and military dividends. To reproduce the colony in Alta California, w omen's race and ethnicity mattered as much as their procreative capacities.

The betrothal and marriage of María Antonia Isabela de Lugo to Ygnacio Vicente errer Vallejo illustrate the interrelation between race and contractual marriage.[33] ugo was betrothed to Vallejo, a soldier serving escort duty at Mission San Luis, on e day of her birth. The contract between Vallejo and Lugo's parents bound her to arry him when she reached menarche. On February 18, 1791, at the age of fourteen nd a half, Lugo married Vallejo, by then forty years old and retired from military ser-ice. Vallejo had entered into a marriage contract with a family who, like himself, was lassified as "Spanish" rather than as mestizo, mulato, coyote, pardo, or any other ixed-blood designation. Once married, he applied for an official decree of *legitimidad* *y limpieza de sangre* (legitimacy and purity of blood) for the Vallejo name. In 1806 after fifteen years of marriage, the family received the decree, which certified tha the Vallejo bloodline was untainted by Jewish, African, or any other non-Christia blood.[34] Henceforth, the Lugo-Vallejo family, two of whose daughters married Euro-Americans while a third married a Frenchman, rested their prominence and high social standing, in good part, on their officially certified purity of blood. Thus, thoug historically, racially, and culturally related to indigenous and African peoples, th *gente de razón* soldiers and families articulated their own identity as “Californios”[3

During the Mexican era, after 1821, an expansionist North American neighbo sent a new group of single, foreign males—Europeans and Euro-Americans—t California’s shores.[36] Some came as individual wanderers, some as part of exploring expeditions, merchant capitalist ventures, or reconnaissance missions. Spain’s earlie economic and political reforms and Mexico’s independence from Spain in 1821 established the basis for an expanding economy and related developments that affected marriage and family life in California. The rise of private property in the form o large rancho grants, liberalization of colonization and trade policies, the secularization of the missions, the development of an agropastoral economy, and the increasing demand for imported goods established economic ties between Euro-American merchants and entrepreneurs and the landowning Californio families.

The intermarriage of daughters of the Californios to Euro-Americans and other foreigners who converted to Roman Catholicism and became naturalized Mexican citizens was, in many cases, the basis of these economic relationships.[37] From the early 1820s to the end of Mexican rule in 1846, intermarriages were celebrated between the daughters of families who controlled the economic and political power in California and the Euro-Americans, who would join in the overthrow of Mexican rule. These unions, which generally gave the Anglo husbands landed wealth (sometimes in the form of women’s dowries, sometimes not) created still another group of mixed parentage. They also became the basis for the “old Spanish Californio family ancestry” claimed by Euro-American pioneers in narratives, memoirs, and histories of “Spanish California” published in the latter part of the nineteenth century, though often written in the wake of the U.S.-Mexican War and subsequent dispossession of the Californios.[38]

These narratives, many of which were commissioned and collected in the 1870s and 1880s by Hubert Howe Bancroft for his multivolume *History of California*, became the primary source for the interpretations of gender and gender relations, women’s sexual and moral conduct, their racial characteristics, and the nature of the family that dominate subsequent histories of early California.[39] Descriptions of the patriarchal Spanish-Mexican family, reproductive patterns, and family size abound in these nineteenth-century narratives of Euro-Americans and elite Californios, produced within the conflicting ideologies of the prewar and postwar eras. Becom-



ne of a series of pen-and-ink drawings produced by Emanuel Wyttenbach under the pervision of William Heath Davis, *A California Wedding Party of 1845* conveys some of e color and pageantry associated with marriage among the great rancheros. A successful erchant, Davis himself married into a Californio family in 1847. His bride, the sixteen- ar-old María Estudillo, inherited part of her father's Rancho San Leandro, which added gnificantly to the couple's estates, in a pattern typical of unions between *hijas del país* and nkees since early provincial days. *Courtesy California State Library.*

g the authoritative social and cultural histories, the texts described California omen as "remarkably fecund" and frequently commented that families were ex- ptionally large, with women bearing twelve, fifteen, and twenty children.[40] Women California did, indeed, marry young, but the story is more complex. The study of arriage and the family in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century California far from complete.

Examining lists of colonizing expeditions, marriage investigations (*diligencias*), arriage records, baptismal records, and population censuses for 1790 and 1834 for anta Barbara and Los Angeles, historian Gloria Miranda has charted differences etween and changes in the traditional, essentially military community of the pre- dio and the less economically stable, more flexible community of the pueblo.[41] lumerous factors, including the stage of colonization, the paucity of eligible women, nd the young age and frequent turnover of military personnel, contributed to the oung age of first marriages in the presidios. They also contributed to the very low umbers of single women and to the continuation of arranged marriages among the *ispano* population. Widowhood was generally short-lived, and multiple serial marriages were common for women. By custom, as well as because of frontier conditions both sexes attained adulthood at a chronically tender age, and marriage registers document girls marrying between the ages of thirteen and sixteen and boys marrying between sixteen and seventeen. Across the span of the colonial period, however, the average marriage age in presidial society was sixteen to seventeen years for women and twenty-seven years for men. And although the population of the pueblo was more stable and permanent than in the presidio, the greater diversity of the population and economic instability of Los Angeles delayed the age of marriage there. The average age of marriage for women in Los Angeles was twenty years, while men married in their early thirties.

Similarly, Katharine Meyer Lockhart concluded that a steady increase in wealth, particularly among the *pobladores* whose occupation was ranching, was a distinctive, positive feature that affected the demographic pattern at the pueblo of San José.[42] San José registered a steady two-year increase in women's average age at marriage and a small decrease for men across three generations.

During the Mexican period, the rising social and economic complexity of town life, the marked emergence of an increasingly diversified population of foreigners, and the decline in the prestige of the military establishment as the presidio brought California closer to the marriage patterns that had emerged much earlier in Spain's older frontiers. Thus, in the era after Mexican independence, marriage age increased slightly for women, the age gap between spouses decreased, and, with the immigration of foreigners, racial exogamy increased. Interestingly, the rate of intermarriage between Californio women and Euro-American and European men during the Mexican period in Monterey was 15 percent—the same rate of intermarriage recorded for Amerindian women and mestizo men during the colonial period.[43]

Despite the young age at marriage, families in California were considerably smaller than commonly thought, although there were regional variations. While Miranda found a provincial average of slightly more than three children per family in 1790 and a homogeneous pattern of three to four children across the forty-four-year span between the 1790 and 1834 censuses, Lockhart found an average of seven children per family in San José.[44] Although "for some Californians, having large families was considered a mark of status" and some members of affluent clans, including the De la Guerras, the Ortegas, and the Vallejos, had as many as thirteen and even nineteen children, this was not the norm in the province.[45] Similarly, demographic studies of colonial New Mexico and Texas have shown that, contrary to common belief, large families were not the norm in either of these two colonies.[46] Miranda and other scholars attribute small family size among married *gente de razón* couples to various factors, including high infant mortality rates, miscarriages, infertility, marital discord, the extended absence of husbands, and personal choice.

Miranda's and Lockhart's studies, and my own research in progress, reveal that age a marriage and family size of the mestizo population in colonial California are c nsistent with patterns identified for the borderlands region writ large and for p ts of colonial Mexico and Latin America.[47] This was generally true for other patt ns, including high incidence of female-headed households, concubinage, illegiti acy, adultery, and premarital sex. Across time, sexual patterns in California inc asingly resembled the broader nineteenth-century postcolonial Mexican and L tin American world.[48]

The meaning of these patterns, which challenge conventional notions of marriage a d the patriarchal extended family, as well as standard analytic categories, has yet t be fully interpreted. Analytic and interpretive categories that explain the larger d ferences between colonials and European patterns as well as internal differentiat on remain elusive, and, at this juncture, questions more than answers are at the f refront of scholarly discussion. Certainly part of the problem besetting the devel ment of interpretive models remains rooted in the difficulty of reconstructing the l es of subaltern subjects from written sources that often ignore or distort their ex ence. The evidence historians have developed thus for, however, illustrates that the atriarchal family—ostensibly the norm in colonial California—was always a highly c ntested realm.

ONTESTING FAMILIES: OMEN'S POWER, RESISTANCE, AND CONTRADICTIONS

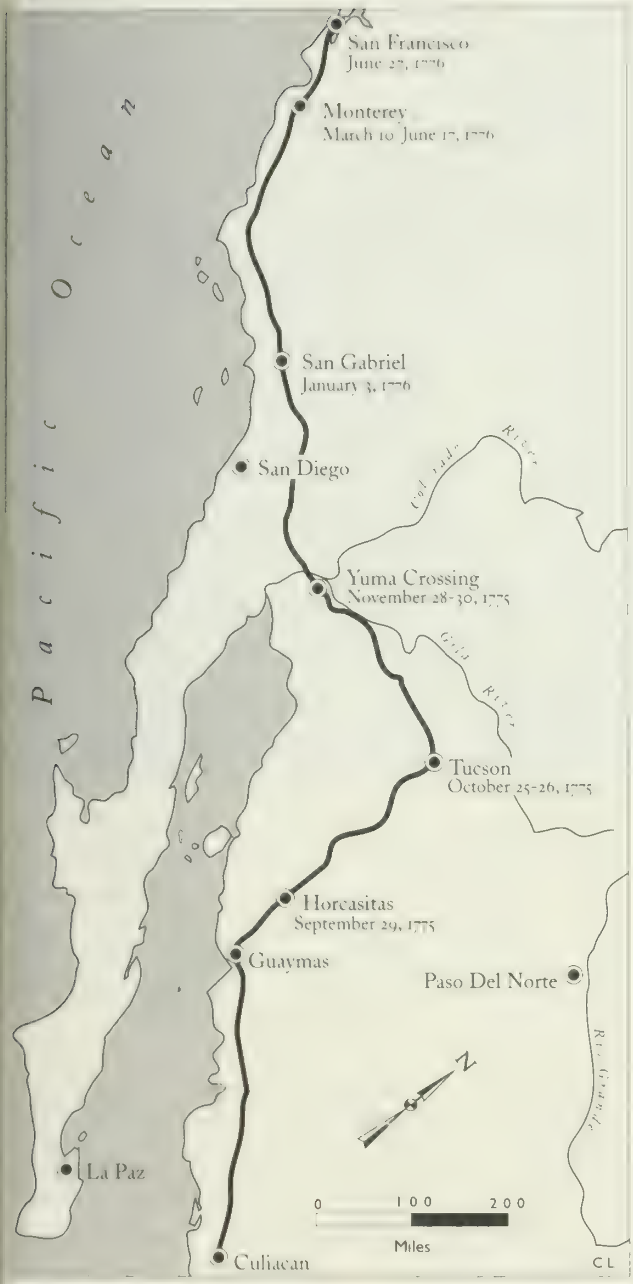
> I am a woman and helpless . . . [but] they will not close the doors of my own honor and birth, which swing open in natural defense and protection of itself.
>
> —Eulalia Callis, 1786

hough few women and men who colonized Alta California in the latter third of he eighteenth century were literate, their voices and actions are inscribed in official nd unofficial sources detailing the colonization of this remote outpost. Women's ac ons, if not often their words, appear in documents written largely by men, though ometimes penned in women's own hand and at other times written at their behest. hese documents expose internal hierarchies, tensions, and contradictions in power elations among women and men as well as among women themselves. The follow ng discussion of mestiza resistance is framed by the acknowledgement that, in the words of historian Florencia Mallon, "No subaltern identity can be pure and transparent; most subalterns are both dominated and dominating subjects, depending on he circumstances or location in which we encounter them."[49]

These sources reveal that women frequently contested Hispanic patriarchal norms and acted outside the cultural constructions of femininity that required of women not merely chastity, if single, and fidelity, if married, but also demanded submissiveness, modesty, and timidity in order to affirm their sexual purity. During the period under study, some women in Alta California—from the high-born Eulalia Callis to the impoverished widow María Feliciana Arballo—consistently resisted and defied patriarchal control of their social and sexual bodies. In some cases, they openly defied the norms that were supposed to control them; in others, they strategically used the idiom of honor to defend themselves, even as their actions violated the honor codes of femininity.

We can only speculate what words and language the twenty-three-year-old, recently widowed Feliciana Arballo spoke to convince Juan Bautista de Anza, over Father Pedro Font's strenuous objections, to let her, a woman alone with two young daughters and no male guidance or protection, accompany his overland expedition from Sinaloa to Alta California in 1775–1776.[50] Arballo's husband had died after the family signed up with the expedition to establish settlements on San Francisco Bay, but before they had left Horcasitas. Throughout the journey, Font publicly castigated and rebuked the widow Arballo and remonstrated De Anza for her presence. On the freezing night of December 17, when the weary but jubilant colonists held a dance to celebrate their safe crossing of the treacherous Colorado desert, Font, who was already angry because people were partying instead of praying, became incensed when the young widow joined the party and began singing. "Cheered and applauded by all the crowd," he wrote, "a very bold widow sang some verses that were not very nice."[51] For these *poblador* families, whose subsidy upon becoming colonists allowed them rations for five years, the wages of sailors for two years, and free transportation to the new colony, joining the expedition to Alta California signified a release from the grip of poverty and misery in which the depressed economy of Sinaloa-Sonora submerged them.[52] Arballo, however, did more than defy the priest. She subverted his effort to shame her and control her behavior by inverting the positions, appropriating the public space, and performing within it.

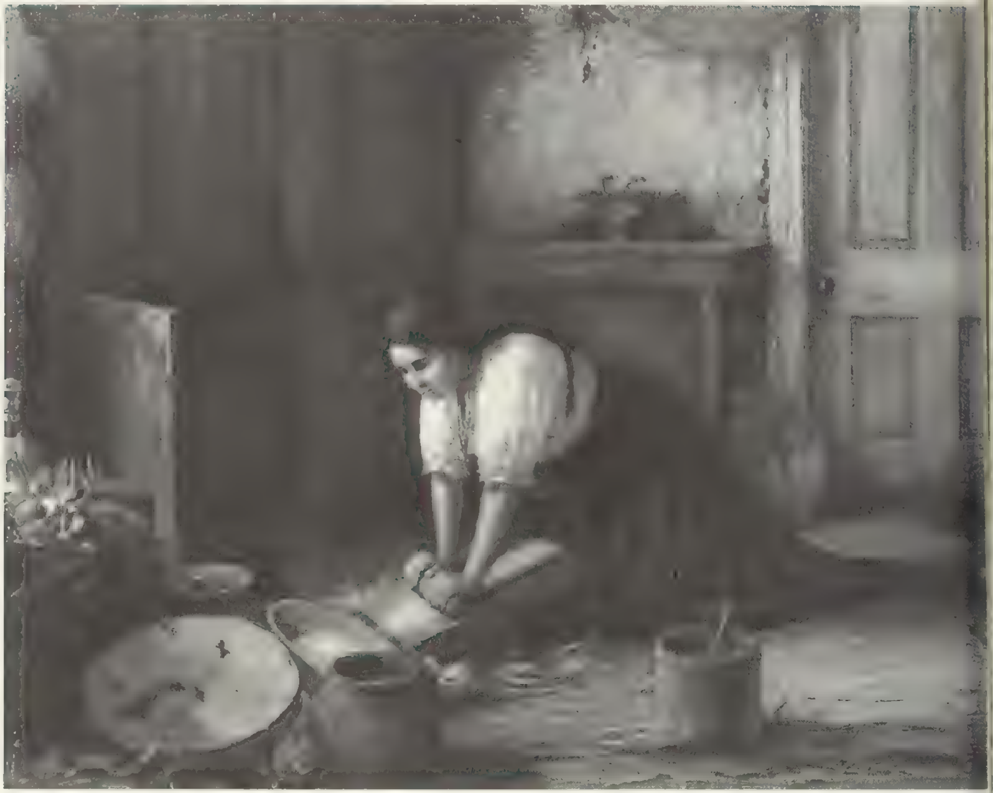
At the other end of the social and economic spectrum, Eulalia Callis, La Gobernadora, also refused to abide the dictum of feminine submissiveness, timidity, and enclosure in the home.[53] Like Arballo, Callis made private matters public and "created a scandal" in February of 1785 by publicly accusing her husband, Governor Pedro Fages, of infidelity and refusing to sleep with him. Fages denied her accusations, saying she fabricated his infidelity as a ploy to force him to relinquish his governorship and return with her and their two children to Mexico. In her petition for legal separation, Callis stated that when she refused the advice of her priest and other men to be *recogida* or *depositada* (sheltered or deposited in another's home) and continued to accuse her husband publicly, she was arrested and, although ill, taken to Mission San Carlos Borromeo, where she was kept incommunicado in a locked and guarded room for several months. During her incarceration, Father de Noriega excoriated her from


Pacific Ocean
San Francisco
June 27, 1776
Monterey
March 10 June 17, 1776
San Gabriel
January 3, 1776
San Diego
Colorado River
Yuma Crossing
November 28-30, 1775
Gila River
Tucson
October 25-26, 1775
Horcasitas
September 29, 1775
Guaymas
Paso Del Norte
Rio Grande
N
La Paz
0 100 200
Miles
Culiacan
CL

The Anza expedition, 1775–1776.

he pulpit and repeatedly threatened her with shackles, flogging, and excommunication. Callis, a wealthy woman from an influential family, was manipulating the idiom f gender-honor and notions of women's helplessness to defend her actions.

Historians of early California have dubbed Eulalia Callis the "notorious *gober-adora,*" writing with tongue-in-cheek about Fages's domestic problems and alter-



A Californio woman grinds corn on a *metate* in a painting by Alexander Harmer, an American artist who in 1893 married the daughter of an old California family in Santa Barbara. On the ranchos, as in the towns, men typically spent their days on horseback or lounging about, while women, as a traveler observed in the 1840s, performed "most of the drudgery appertaining to housekeeping, and the cultivation of the gardens." ***Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.***

nately portraying Callis as a fiery, tempestuous Catalán woman or as a hysterical woman suffering postpartum depression.[54] Today, Callis's actions seem to have been more a strategy for survival. Callis, who was pregnant four times in six years, was all too familiar with the precariousness of life on the frontier. She gave birth to Pedrito in 1781, had a miscarriage at Arispe in 1782, traveled to California while pregnant with and was ill after the birth of María del Carmen in 1784, and buried an eight-day-old daughter in 1786. Thus her demand that the family return to Mexico City, her public denouncement of Fages, and her suit for ecclesiastical divorce can be reasonably interpreted as part of an overall strategy to ensure her own survival and that of her two remaining children.

Though from different ends of the social spectrum, and with attendant differences of power, Arballo and Callis refused to obey male authority and subverted gender-h ior requirements that they be subservient, meek, and powerless. Both made priv matters public and refused their respective priest's mandate of conduct. Both not o y subverted the gender-honor code for women, they also undermined the Christi izing and "civilizing" mission by which *gente de razón* women were to be exemp r models of Spanish-Catholic womanhood's subservience to male authority. In C lis's case, her behavior further subverted the sociopolitical order that Spanish o cials were attempting to impose on a racially and culturally mixed population of c onists, whom they already judged to be unruly, undisciplined, and disrespectful of a hority.[55] Callis's actions, which carried the weight of her family's wealth and i luence in Spain as well as her position as La Gobernadora, posed a particularly g ve threat to the imposition of Spanish hegemony in the newly conquered territ y. If the scarcity of *gente de razón* women and their importance to survival of f ntier colonies liberalized some aspects of gender inequality, patriarchal structures r vertheless remained fundamentally unaltered and the technologies of rule enf ced. Thus women's strategies of resistance, how they manipulated their circums nces, had to be carefully and subtly laid.

In view of the political and military imperative to populate Alta California with hristian families, officials of the colonial church and state consistently pressured omen to marry, or, in the case of widows, remarry.[56] Despite the pressures, some omen resisted entering the institution that gave them status in the community. Al ough the foundling girls of 1800 were brought explicitly as marriage partners for alifornia soldiers, five of the ten girls informed the paymaster at Monterey in 1801 at they "did not want to receive suitors because they did not want to be burdened th marriage."[57] Apolinaria Lorenzana, the one *niña de cuna* who never married, lls us in her *testimonio* that although she had received a proposal of marriage as a ung girl, "I refused his offer . . . because I was not particularly inclined toward that ate [of matrimony] even though I knew the merits of that sacred institution."[58] Instead, Lorenzana, who became known as *La Beata* (the pious one), entered a life work and service in the missions as a *llavera, enfermera, cocinera,* and *maestra* eeper of the keys/matron, nurse, cook, teacher). She maintained her indepen ence, earned her livelihood by working for the Catholic Church, devoted her life to e "civilizing mission" the state assigned to mestiza colonists, and taught herself and thers to write. A resourceful and intelligent woman, Lorenzana was respected and ell-loved for her good works and selfless devotion to the health and well-being of dians and mestizos alike. Lorenzana escaped the bonds of matrimony and control f her sexuality. As the *llavera* at Mission San Diego, however, her duties included olicing the sexuality of the young neophyte women living in the mission com ound by locking them in the *monjero* at nightfall and releasing them in the morn g. She both resisted and enforced the control of women's sexuality and the sexual orms that Spanish colonial hegemony imposed in California.

The famed southern California ranchero Juan Bandini and his daughter Margarita, who, like her sisters, was celebrated for her beauty, ca. 1857. In domestic life among the Californios, women and children were expected to honor and respect the family patriarch, who, in turn, took pride in providing for the needs of wife and children, especially the protection of a daughter's honor. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

Other women—both single and married mestiza women—contested patriarchal control of their sexuality by engaging in "scandalous" and illicit sexual activity.[59] During the period of conquest and settlement, women's sexual "transgressions" appear, in the records at least, to have been confined to adultery and *deshonra* (premarital sex). As California during the Mexican era evolved from a subsidized, military society to a more complex agropastoral, ranching, and market economy with more pronounced racial and social stratifications, cases of concubinage and prostitution were added to the list of mestiza women's illicit sexuality. Sexual violence, in the form of rape and incest, and sexually related violence—beating women to correct their sexual behavior—were present throughout.

Female and male sexuality in the Spanish colonial world was strictly regulated by the civil code, to say nothing of the moral code. Fornication, adultery, concubinage, prostitution, rape, incest, sodomy, bigamy, bestiality, and scandalous behavior were civil crimes for which perpetrators were prosecuted, and women were prosecuted more vigorously than men.[60] Moreover, since civil and canon law vested authority over a woman's sexuality in the male members of her family, the sexuality of a mother with a grown son, such as forty-year-old Josefa Bernal, was subject to her son's authority as well as to that of all other male relatives, whether living in the household or not. Bernal barely escaped being beaten by her twenty-five-year-old son Francisco when he found her in an adulterous relationship with Marcelo Pinto.[61]

It is clear that women's sexuality was also at risk within and without the family. An instance each of rape and incest appears in the colonial records, though a few more ses of rape, and a case of a teacher accused of molesting female students, were orded during the Mexican period.[62] In this era, too, cases of concubinage, pros- ution, and a significant increase in family violence, most specifically directed at omen, appear in the records. Whether the low incidence of sexual violence toward estiza women in colonial California was due to its nonexistence, to underreport- g, or to the fact that most of the sexual violence was directed at Amerindian omen has not yet been researched. What is clear is that across the eighty years of anish-Mexican rule, sexual violence and sexually related violence toward women came generalized throughout society. Some women responded with equal vio- nce. Most, however, filed formal criminal charges against violent spouses in court.[63] omen had frequent recourse to the judicial system, and the records of Mexican tri- unals contain cases that women filed in civil as well as criminal court, where they pear as both plaintiffs and defendants.

One approach to analysis of women's resistance during the Mexican period centers n the nineteenth-century narratives. Thus, Genaro Padilla finds that while Cali- rnio men's narratives remained embedded in patriarchal constructs, Californio omen's narratives “voiced resistance to patriarchal domination that characterized so- al relations . . . and assertively figured themselves as agents in the social world they habited.”[64] Women's narratives offered gendered perspectives that were critical of pa- iarchal constraints, affirmed women's presence in the public realm, and refuted the ommon assumption that Californio women welcomed the Euro-American conquest.

ONCLUSIONS

he construction of Amerindian and mestiza women's subjectivities in Alta Cali- rnia, as this essay has demonstrated, has historically been contested terrain. Most ecifically, women's sexual and social bodies, their sexuality, their procreation, and e control of it have been the province of the patriarchal family, church, and state. ome women resisted, defied, and subverted patriarchal control of their sexuality ithin the family and without. From differing positions of power, as well as from ntradictory locations, they carved out spaces, took actions, and fashioned re- onses within the family, which was at once a primary place of resistance, power, au- hority, and conflict.

The family was, and is, the most basic unit of sociopolitical organization and re- ations of power internally as well as externally. It was the primary place where omen in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Alta California constructed identity nd subjectivity within the historical process of successive waves of conquest and olonialism, wherein mestizas were alternately part of the colonizing forces and part f the colonized peoples. In the Spanish colonial world, and particularly in new erritories under conquest, the “Western” family, in its Spanish-Catholic incarnation, was deployed as a pivotal technology of rule. We are only now beginning to grapp with the complexities and contradictions of what that meant in the construction "native" women's identities and subjectivities on the California homeland that w then, as it is now, contested space.

Engendering the history of Alta California, moving gender and the body to th center of historical inquiry, challenges us to rethink our conceptual, empirical, analytic, and interpretive categories.[65] It challenges us to question and reevaluate extan sources and our own assumptions as we approach them, and further summons us t expand the sources we use to study nonwritten text and other constructs of histor This chapter forms a small part of the larger feminist effort to engender and rethin history.

NOTES

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2. Fray Junípero Serra to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, 21 May 1773, in Antonin Tibesar, ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra,* 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of Franciscan History, 1955), 1: 363; Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies o Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in Adela de la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15–33; Antonia I. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: The Journey North and Life in Frontier California," in *Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph* 8 (1990–91): 25–54; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Albert L. Hurtado, "Sexuality in California's Franciscan Missions: Cultural Perceptions and Sad Realities," *California History* 71 (Fall 1992): 370–85; Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Antonia I. Castañeda, "Amazonas, Brujas, and Fandango Dancers: Women's Sexuality and the Politics of Representation on the Borderlands," paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Conference (January 1995); Virginia Maria Bouvier, "Women, Conquest, and the Production of History: Hispanic California, 1542–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995); Antonia I. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770–1821" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1990).

3. See works by Ramón A. Gutiérrez: "Family Structures: The Spanish Borderlands" and "Sexual Mores and Behavior: The Spanish Borderlands," in Jacob Ernest Cooke, et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies,* 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 2: 672–82 and 700–710; *When Jesus Came, the Cornmothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991); "Marriage and Seduction in Colonial New Mexico," in Adelaida R. del Castillo, ed., *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History* (Los Angeles: Flor y Canto Press, 1990), 447–57; and "From Honor to Love: Transformation of the Meaning of Sexuality in Colonial New Mexico," in Raymond T. Smith, ed., *Kinship Ideology and Practice in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 81–104.

4. See the following works by Deena J. Gonzalez: *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican men of Santa Fe, 1820–1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, in press); "La Tules of Im- and Reality," in de la Torre and Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands*, 75–90; "Gender lations: The Spanish Borderlands," and "Old Age and Death: The Spanish Borderlands," Cooke and others, eds., *Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies*, 2: 406–412 and 780–82; d "The Widowed Women of Santa Fe: Assessments on the Lives of an Unmarried Popu- ion, 1850–1889," in Arlene Scandron, ed., *On Their Own: Widowhood and Aging in the erican Southwest* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 45–64. See also the work of uncion Lavrin: "Lo Feminino: Women in Colonial Historical Sources," in Francisco Javier vallos-Candau et al., eds., *Coded Encounters: Writing, Gender, and Ethnicity in Colonial tin America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 153–76; "In Search of the olonial Woman in Mexico: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Asunción avrin, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood ess, 1978), 23–59; and "La vida feminina como experiencia religiosa: Biografía hagiografía Hispanoamérica colonial," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2 (1993): 27–52; as well as unción Lavrin and Edith Couturier, "Las mujeres tienen la palabra: Otras voces en la his- ria colonial de México," *Historia Mexicana* 31 (1981): 278–313.

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35. The origin and meaning of the term “Californio” remains unstudied. The earliest reference I have found to the use of this term is in the records of accounts of animals, crops, and the distribution of corn and wheat for the years 1782, 1784, and 1787 at Mission San Car-

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41. Miranda, "*Gente de Razón* Marriage Patterns."

42. Katharine Meyer Lockhart, "A Demographic Profile of an Alta California Pueblo: n José de Guadalupe, 1777–1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 1986), 114.

43. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexicano Childrearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Bar- ra." Twenty-six, or 15 percent, of the 170 Mexican women who married between 1822 and 46 in Monterey married Euro-American or European men, see Castañeda, "Presidarias y bladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey," 286–87, 291, fn. 1.

44. Lockhart, "A Demographic Profile of an Alta California Pueblo," 60–69.

45. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexicano Childrearing Practices," 309.

46. Alicia V. Tjarks, "Demographic, Ethnic, and Occupational Structure of New Mexic 1790," *The Americas* 35 (July 1978): 45–88; Alicia V. Tjarks, "Comparative Demograph Analysis of Texas, 1777–1793," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 77 (January 1974): 291–33

47. Miranda, "*Gente de Razón* Marriage Patterns"; Miranda, "Hispano-Mexicano Chi drearing Practices"; Lockhart, "A Demographic Profile of an Alta California Pueblo." Tw chapters of my manuscript in progress are based on demographic data that trace women i the marriage and birth (baptismal) records across the four presidios.

48. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Mor terey," 266–74; Lockhart also found low rates of illegitimacy in San José; see Lockhart, " Demographic Profile of an Alta California Pueblo," 112–14. For family and household com position after 1848, which reveals rates of female-headed households consistent with th nineteenth-century pattern identified for parts of Mexico and Latin America, see Richar Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Pre ent* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); Barbara Laslett, "Househol Structure on an American Frontier: Los Angeles, California, in 1850," *American Journal of So ciology* 81 (January 1975): 109–28.

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53. Ynstancia de Doña Eulalia Callis, Muger de Don Pedro Fages, governador de Cali fornia, sobre que se le oyga en justicia, y redima de la opresión que padece, 23 August 178 Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, 120: 66–81, Collection, Bancroft Librar

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10

Serpent in the Garden

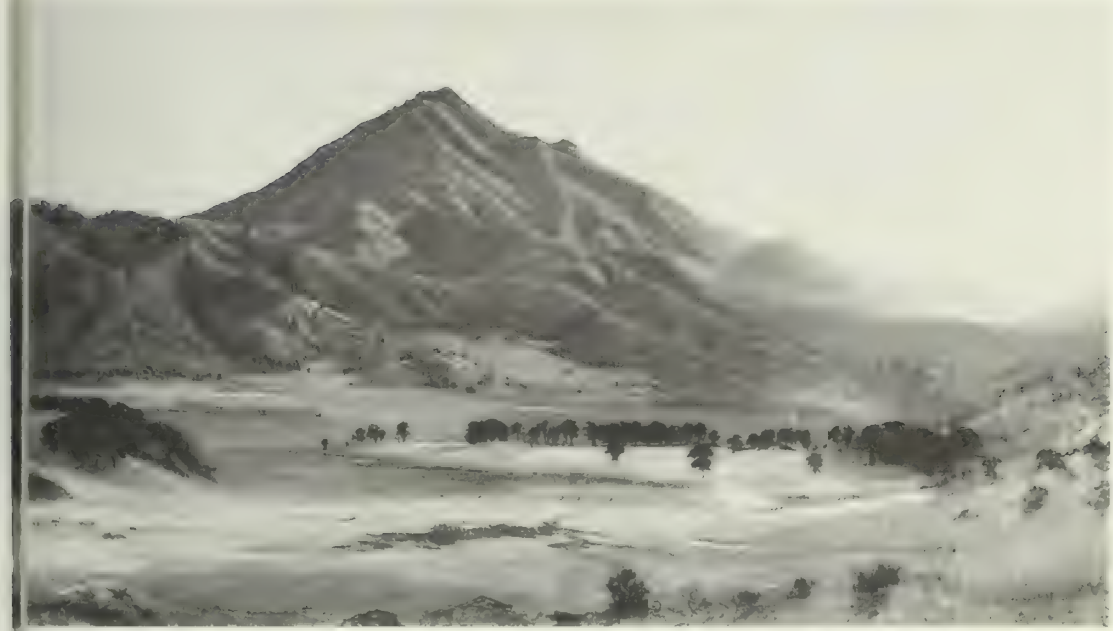
Environmental Change in Colonial California

William Preston

> [The Spanish] missions brought not only the cross but European cultigens, livestock, and habits of agriculture; they sought to convert the land as well as the natives, the one being essential to the other.
>
> —Stephen J. Pyne, Patricia J. Andrews, and Richard D. Laven,
> *Introduction to Wildland Fire*, 1996

The colonial processes initiated by the landing of Christopher Columbus in 14
would inevitably and irrevocably spread throughout the Western Hemisphere a
severely disrupt native peoples and their habitats. California's frontiers were eve
tually reached and breached by these alien forces that arrived in the form of Eur
pean peoples and the organisms that accompanied, and often preceded, them. C
ifornia's relative isolation and its physical geography proved insufficient as protecti
against these disruptive colonial invaders. Nevertheless, California's remote positi
and unique physical and cultural geography would greatly influence the timing, n
ture, and severity of the foreign onslaught. California—because of its distance fro
the initial European colonial emphasis in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica—w
spared for 277 years the ravages of change that accompanied the founding of m
sions, presidios, and pueblos.

Despite this chronological respite from direct settlement, California was an
thing but an island of immunity from colonial influence during this interi
Sweeping ahead of the European settlers in space and time were powerful micr
scopic seeds of environmental and cultural change. Long before the foundations
Mission San Diego were established in 1769, a host of Old World (i.e., Euro
Asia, Africa) pathogens traveled along terrestrial and maritime pathways to pen
trate California. These microbes were the first among a variety of alien process
that with time all but destroyed the intricate environmental accommodation th



hough the magnificent vista of Mount Tamalpais painted about 1870 by the American st Gilbert Munger suggests a virginal landscape, it had in fact been managed and altered arious ways over the centuries. Long before European colonization, California Indians an to shape the natural world to their advantage through pruning, tilling, weeding, and ecially burning. Their alteration of the environment was minor in comparison to that ected by the Hispanic invaders, however, who introduced plants, livestock, and land-use ctices that radically transformed parts of California. *Courtesy anonymous collector.*

d evolved among the region's diverse assemblage of environments and peoples. ter, in 1769, Gaspar de Portolá and subsequent colonizers would augment these rasitic intruders with even more new germs and foreign organisms. Included nong these later arrivals were the domesticated plants and animals that sustained e foreign invaders and the weeds and pests that plagued them. All these alien ecies would find inviting habitats somewhere within the complex and varied ndscapes of California.

Also arriving with early settlers and their newly introduced species, was a cultural tinue of attitudes, values, and perceptions that had been formulated in the Old orld and later modified in Latin America. Developed in a foreign land and ecogical setting, these outlooks proved to be important companions of conquest and vironmental change in California. Together, these invasive peoples, cultures, rms, plants, and animals would quickly and forever disrupt the evolutionary ocesses that had governed life and land in California since the end of the Ice Age, Pleistocene Epoch. The colonial transformations of portions of California's environment were greater and more rapid than in most other New World continent locations.[1] The flora, fauna, and people that had composed the region's native li layer prior to 1492 were mostly unique to the New World and inordinately susce tible and vulnerable to the inadvertent and purposeful importation of Old World li forms and lifeways that created revolutionary environmental changes in Californ prior to 1848.

OLD WORLD VERSUS THE NEW WORLD: THE GEOGRAPHY OF BIOLOGICAL INEQUALITY

> If a species evolves a superior adaptation to a given environment on one land mass, it may outcompete native organisms once it is transported to analogous ecosystems overseas.
>
> —Mark A. Blumler,
> "Invasion and Transformation of California's Valley Grassland," 1995

The profound consequences that Old World life forms and lifeways had on Cal fornia prior to 1848 were in part functions of contrasting environmental and cultur settings. The Eastern and Western hemispheres, with their differing geograph attributes and particular evolutionary histories, produced a set of superior adaptatio for the invading species, and crucial disadvantages for the colonized native species California.[2] Owing to geographic chance, Old World landscapes generated a host weeds that were not only capable of surviving transoceanic voyages but also were, arrival in California, more competitive than indigenous species. Similarly, the m crobial realm favored the Eastern Hemisphere, and the impacts of parasitic exchan were overwhelmingly more destructive to the New World than to the Old. As whole, the effects of this geographic dichotomy were unidirectional in favor of the i vader, and they were crucial to the environmental conquest of California.

The European adventurers departed from their lands of origin with biological a vantages that were important weapons of imperialism. The geography of their O World homeland and its long history of human occupation were instrumental to th unique biological inventory. Geographically, the Old World was blessed with t same basic range of tropical to arctic ecosystems as was the New World. Howev most Old World ecosystems extended longitudinally over wider continental are that offered greater climatic and ecological extremes for the adaptation of life form The land area was also extensive enough that environments such as Mediterrane ecosystems were able to withstand the extreme climatic fluctuations associated wi the Ice Age. Of special significance was the geographical opportunity for biologic interaction within and across these varied ecosystems. The crossroads of Afric a, and Europe, in particular, heightened the opportunities for long-term biologic intercourse between these continents and enhanced the diversity and adaptive ential of Old World flora and fauna.

loreover, for over one hundred thousand years, modern humans had evolved hin this diverse Old World context. By the Neolithic period (ca. 10,000 B.C.), e Old World peoples had invented farming and were domesticating selected nts and animals, which, in turn, induced substantial biological and cultural nges.[3] The ensuing close and intimate association among humans, and espe- ly their contact with domesticated animals, provided the catalyst for the devel- nent of deleterious parasites like smallpox, influenza, and measles. Old World ples certainly suffered the epidemiological consequences of these microbial ctions; however, by the eve of the European voyages of discovery, they were roughly experienced with these diseases and had acquired partial immunities to ny of them.

n contrast, the relative potential for evolutionary adaptation and interaction of cies in California and the Western Hemisphere in general was restricted by ge- aphy. New World continental ecosystems were longitudinally narrower and more ated from one another by constricting land masses, such as the Isthmus of ama. California was particularly insulated by its position on the western edge of ontinent and by its eastern mountain and desert barriers. Thus, the enormous va- y of plants and animals that did evolve in California were at a disadvantage en confronted with the older and more competitive species engendered in Old rld habitats.

he history of humanity in the Western Hemisphere was also substantially differ- from that of the Old World, and this divergence had important bearing on the onial transformations of California. The first peopling of the Western Hemi- ere occurred long after their ancestors in the Old World had emerged, but prior he evolution of the deadly parasites thought to be associated with the processes domestication. In addition, the New World pioneers migrated in small groups ough frozen Siberian landscapes that eliminated many of the Old World parasites t may have plagued them before they entered the Americas.[4] Eventually, some of offspring of these immigrants also invented farming (in Mesoamerica and South erica), but unlike their distant Old World ancestors, they domesticated very few mals and thus generated fewer deadly parasites. The Pre-Columbian inhabitants California were far from disease-free, but owing to their ancestors' initial migra- y and domestication histories, their parasitic tormenters were mild in comparison the microbial destroyers that had evolved in the Old World.[5] Once these germs ke the bonds of their Old World habitat, as colonial stowaways, they proved astrous to the Indians of California and their environment.

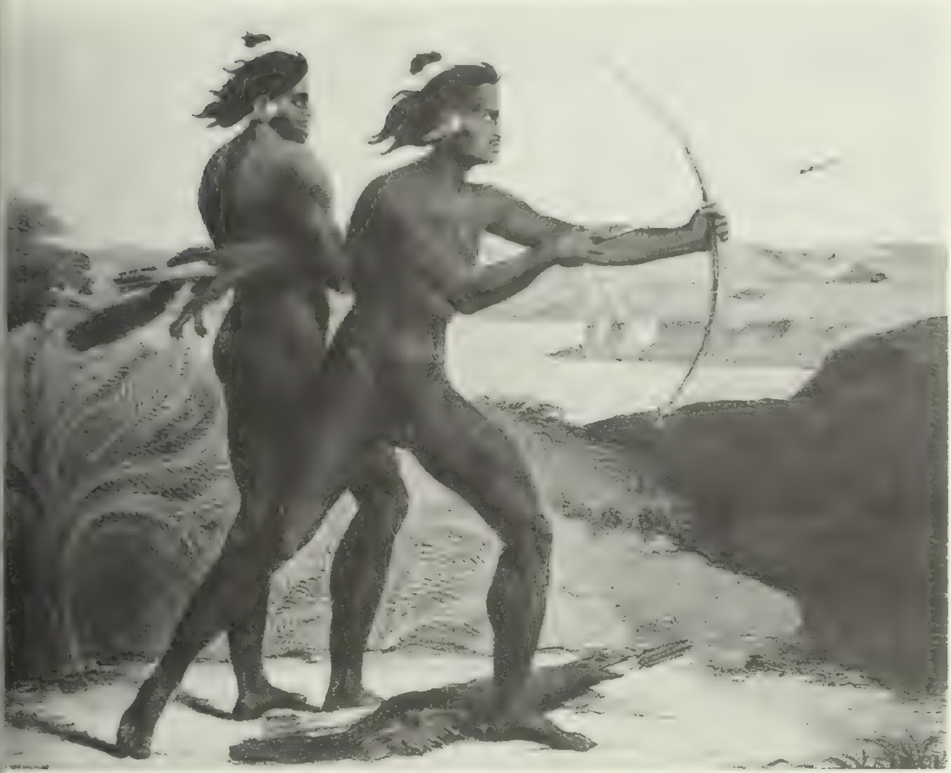
THE MAKING OF CALIFORNIA'S PRE-COLUMBIAN LANDSCAPES AND ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS

> The extremely rich, diverse, and apparently "wild" landscape that so impressed Europeans at the time of contact—and which traditionally has been viewed as a "natural, untrammeled wilderness" ever since—was to some extent actually a product of (and more importantly upon) [*sic*] deliberate human intervention.
>
> —Thomas C. Blackburn and M. Kat Anderson, *Before the Wilderness*, 1993

The early Spanish settlers failed to recognize and understand the critical role nati
peoples played in fashioning their environments. Their European cultural herita
had imbued the colonial immigrants with a sense of separation from the nonhum
world and a certainty of their spiritual and economic sovereignty over all earth
habitats and the non-Christians who inhabited them.[6] They failed either to reco
nize or to understand the ecological importance of people who were indelibly fus
culturally and spiritually to the land. This failure led to serious misconceptions a
tremendous environmental disruption.[7]

The early Hispanic settlers, and later the Americans (i.e., United States re
dents) who came to California, shared this European heritage and concluded th
California was a pristine "wilderness" shaped entirely by the hand of God. In th
minds they had discovered a "wild" landscape that was occupied only by a simp
people who effortlessly gathered the bounty of God's cornucopia and who were d
serving candidates for acculturation.[8] Fortified by these assumptions and the mo
vations of empire, the Spaniards set out initially to improve this wilderness with t
preferred life forms and lifeways of their homelands. These colonial preferences a
misconceptions are aptly illustrated by the seventeenth-century naturalist Bera
Cobo, who stated about the New World that "all the regions of the globe have co
tributed their fruits and abundance to adorn and enrich this quarter of the wor
which we Spaniards found so poor and destitute of the plants and animals most ne
essary to nourish and give service to mankind."[9]

The perceptions of the Europeans and the early Americans who succeeded the
were inaccurate to say the least. In reality, the physical surface and biological co
position of California prior to 1492 was anything but a divinely crafted wilderne
Instead of representing a Garden of Eden, it was, in fact, more of a garden of hum
artifice, fashioned as much by human ingenuity as by divine intervention. In act
ality, in the words of Theodora Kroeber and Robert Heizer, "the white invad
wrested from [the California Indians] a garden, not the wilderness it salved th
conscience to call it."[10] Through an intimate association that had matured ov
thousands of years, the Indians of California had learned to interact with the lar
water, and life of nearly every portion of the state's non-human heritage. The



ulamni hunters stalk their prey on the shores of San Francisco Bay in a lithograph en from a watercolor by the Russian artist Louis Choris, who in 1816 spent a month e. Relying on animals for raw materials as well as for food, California Indians had an rmous impact on faunal populations—especially those of large mammals, which were nificantly overhunted—until the natives' own numbers were reduced by protohistoric l colonial plagues. From Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). *urtesy California Historical Society, FN-30511.*

oples for the most part were not farmers so much as domesticators, and in a num- r of important respects all had domesticated portions of their habitat in order to luce greater subsistence.[11] Instead of relying on the axe, rake, or plow, they skill- ly learned to prune, till, coppice, transplant, and burn California's vegetation in or- r to encourage a greater abundance of plant and animal foods and materials. The nd yielded its bounty to the ingenuity of native intervention and was substan- lly transformed in the process.[12]

The deliberate modification of the physical world by California's Pre-Columbian oples lasted for thousands of years and evolved into a relationship of accommo- tion. During the process, numerous habitats and species of plants became rela- ely dependent on human disturbance for maintenance, and the people, in turn, relied on this plenitude and the animals it nurtured.[13] In essence, the Indians ha merged with non-human processes and their sustained involvement was crucial t ecological stability.

At times the intense intervention in non-human processes by Indians resulted i depletions of important resources, especially the larger animals. The Indians hunte an impressive inventory of animals in California solely for survival. By late Pre-Columbian times, many of the larger species of animals were constrained demographically and spatially by the subsistence requirements of the native dweller Large game animals survived, but as marginal components of the landscape an the human diet. Unlike the disruptive consequences of colonial exploitation, however, the late Pre-Columbian depletions of certain animals and plant communitie were not erosive to overall environmental health.[14] In all likelihood then, the California that Cabrillo and his fellow voyagers encountered in 1542 and 1543 was thoroughly modified, but the resource base remained virtually intact.[15]

The union of the human and non-human worlds in California was consciousl recognized by all Indian peoples, and the reality was indelibly integrated into the world view.[16] To the California Indian, the material and human world shared a equal spiritual partnership "where abundance came with thrift and restraint—bu also as a consequence of human disturbance."[17] The Indians recognized that th non-human world required their perpetual involvement to insure stability and orde however, the colonial invaders were oblivious to this dynamic relationship. The result was inadvertent and forced separation of the Indian from California's non-human world, and the initiation of irrevocable environmental disorder.

CALIFORNIA'S VULNERABLE ENVIRONMENTAL LINCHPINS AND ECOSYSTEMS

> Native Americans were the ultimate keystone species, and their removal has completely altered ecosystems, not only in the Intermountain West but throughout North America.
>
> —Charles E. Kay, "Aboriginal Overkill and Native Burning," 1995

California's humanized ecologies and landscapes proved inordinately vulnerable to th ecological repercussions of alien conquest. In comparison with most other continental regions of the Americas, California proved exceptionally susceptible and vulnerable to the organisms and cultural practices that were naturalized in the simila ecosystems found in Mediterranean and Near Eastern realms. Owing to the region analogous physical setting and unique cultural susceptibility, the environmental responses to colonialism in California were more immediate and profound.

Due to their numbers and cultural ability to intensely modify California's phys world, the Indians were the most important organisms in California's Pre- umbian ecology. They were the "keystone" species who were most responsible for cturing the landscapes of California and the linchpins on which the stability of ecosystem depended.[18] The ability of the California Indians to sustain them- es and their role as the keystone species was predicated on maintaining their ter- rial sovereignty, high populations, traditional land-use practices, and religions nded in ecological equity. A change in any one or all of these crucial determinants ld result in ecological imbalance and extreme disruption. Post-Columbian de- pments revealed the vulnerability of these human/environmental determinants led rapidly to their virtual annihilation.

he exceptional rapidity and magnitude of the environmental changes wrought by nialism were also conditioned by the nature of Pre-Columbian landscapes in ifornia and their similarity to the Old World homelands of the colonists. It re- red more than 250 years of colonial expansion in North America before the niards settled a land as similar to their original Mediterranean homeland as ifornia was, with its climate of winter rainfall and summer drought and its anal- us ecologies. As a consequence, no other colonial ecosystem of its size was more ptive to the biological weapons of conquest spawned in Europe's Mediterranean rld. The greater adaptability of species originating in the more extreme and in- ctive Old World ecosystems provided ideal opportunities for them to spread idly and widely in this analogous environment.

The effects of the highly competitive Old World species were compounded by the ent of environmental changes the Indians had achieved before the colonial period. a result of the extraordinary numbers and ingenuity of Indian peoples, Califor- was one of the most altered precolonial landscapes in the Americas. The impact l magnitude of colonial disruptions thus were greater than if the land had been ly pristine.

RTENTS OF PATHOGENS AND WEEDS ROM CALIFORNIA'S PROTOHISTORIC PERIOD

> Old world disease did spread in advance of the mission frontier, destroying or altering the fabric of Indian society prior to sustained contact with Spaniards.
>
> —Daniel T. Reff, "Contact Shock in Northwestern New Spain," 1992

is not clear precisely when California began to experience foreign-induced changes its environment and native peoples. Conventional wisdom has it that colonial dis- ptions were initiated when the first Spanish mission was established at San Diego 1769. Prior to that time, many authorities maintain, California was considered de- ographically and ecologically free of Old World influence and diseases.[19] The dearth of written accounts of California's long protohistoric period from 1519 1769, the region's late colonial occupation, and incorrect perceptions of the regio physical isolation have sustained this traditional view. Indeed, to this day, colon images of California as an "island" persist in modern historical analysis. Moreov the state's arid and topographic barriers have been perceived, incorrectly, as a *cord* *sanitaire* against exotic contagion. Finally, the reluctance by some scholars to reco nize the true importance of disease in the evolution of history has tempered inqu into the possibilities of pre-mission pestilence in California. Existing archaeologi and ethnographic materials derived from California's protohistoric period, therefo have often been interpreted according to these traditional mindsets, thus preemp ing further research specifically devoted to the question of pre-mission disease. a consequence, the prevailing attitude regarding California prior to 1769 is typifi by the comment, "In California, nothing changed."[20]

The still-common notion that California remained isolated and aboriginally pr tine before 1769 is becoming less tenable in light of epidemiological studies el where in the Western Hemisphere. The view that exotic disease preceded settleme throughout the Western Hemisphere is emerging as more viable. In this context California's protohistory were indeed unchanged despite its proximity to dise sources and innate susceptibility, the region would have proved utterly anomalous all the conditions governing colonial disease diffusion in the Western Hemisphere

The prospect that California somehow escaped exotic infestation for the 2 years of its protohistoric period is doubtful for a number of reasons. Native Calif nians were known to have been in contact with the indigenous human and nonh man vectors—such as lice, mosquitoes, and fleas—inhabiting the diseased lands the south and southeast. Furthermore, California natives were offered periodic o portunities for direct contamination from Europeans during visitations by Cabril Drake, and Vizcaíno, as well as many other explorers. In light of general colonial e demiological history, it would have been miraculous had these encounters occurr without the introduction of Old World bacteria and viruses into California.[22] Th oretically, the entry of just one episode of parasitic infection into California wou have crippled severely the delicate environmental equation that hinged on the Indi as the keystone species.[23]

The delicate environmental balance that was maintained by Native Americ land-use practices was further disrupted by the early introduction of non-nat species of weeds and grasses. It is not unreasonable to assume that some of the e ploratory voyages along the coast of California, such as those of Cabrillo 1542–1543 or Vizcaíno in 1602–1603, may have disseminated not only parasites b also alien seeds. Alien grasses, for example, seemed to have taken root sometime b fore the initial mission construction at San Diego in 1769. Specimens of exo grasses (e.g. curly dock, red stem, and prickly sow thistle) have been found in t e bricks of some of the earliest missions and uncovered from excavations that ate 1769. The findings have been interpreted by some scholars as signifying a mission presence of Mediterranean annuals in California.[24]

he invasive advantages of exotic weeds, in combination with the depletion of the fornia Indians by virulent disease, may account for the pre-mission colonizing ess of these Old World flora. The composition and spatial properties of native ses, sedges, herbs, and forbs were in large measure determined by native land-use sures, especially the intentional applications of fire. Many of the perennial hgrasses, for example, require periodic disturbances, such as burning, to grow rously and to reproduce competitively.[25] An interruption of these management edures through the destruction of Indians by exotic contagion would have ren- d the native grasslands more susceptible to encroachment and replacement by -native weeds.[26]

he death of large numbers of Indians as a result of precolonial plagues also un- ned enormous imbalances among the animal communities. Recent findings chal- e the misconception that has governed the conventional thinking about Cali- ia's Pre-Columbian large-game inventory. The prevailing assumption was based he enormous concentrations of both terrestrial and marine mammals that were umented for the colonial and early American periods (i.e., after 1848). This ob- ed and documented menagerie was interpreted as a direct reflection of the Pre- umbian landscape.[27] The supposition that Indians in California exploited large nmals without significantly reducing their range or numbers supported and re- rced this assumption.[28]

revised view based on faunal analysis in western environments and recent ar- eological evidence derived from within California reveals that the relationship veen the Indians and large game differed significantly from the conventional wis- n.[29] Indeed, archaeological findings in California suggest that, like most Native ericans, the California Indians had a tremendous effect on the range and num- s of large game animals. As a result of human predation, the large marine and ter- rial mammals had been reduced to minor importance as nutritional sources for natives during the centuries leading up to the colonial era.[30]

vents in California during the 250 years preceding missionization were des- d to alter the Pre-Columbian equation between mammals and their human dators. The reported sightings by early explorers and settlers of abundant wild ne reflect an already altered environment conditioned by precolonial impact. Juan astián Vizcaíno's report that "there is much wild game, such as harts, like young ls, deer, buffalo, very large bears, rabbits, hares, and many other animals" in the inity of Monterey in 1602 is typical of the observations recorded by nearly all vis- rs to California during the protohistoric period.[31] The superabundance of game welcomed the first European settlers in 1769 and 1770. Various members of the

Portolá expedition reported numerous concentrations of large game (especially an
telope, deer, and bears) throughout their journey. Indicative is the diary of Migu
Costanso, who saw "many herds of antelopes," and that of Fray Francisco Paló
which noted "many deer."[32] According to the archaeological record and the demon
strated precedent in other North American locations, these sightings would hav
been unusual before the time of Columbus.

The explanation for the unusual presence of large game animals, prior to and a
ter the time of missionization, is not surprising. Their populations simply irrupte
as their chief predator, the California Indians, were reduced by protohistoric plagu
Furthermore, colonial agencies, before and after 1769, dramatically reduced the con
stricting influence of the Indians on the animals, and their numbers continued to ex
pand rapidly to unnatural proportions. In essence, the same colonial agencies tha
had proven so disastrous to the Indians provided a fertile setting for the nearly un
fettered expansion of their former prey.

What effects the explosion in mammals may have had on flora and, in turn, wha
the impacts of introduced grasses had on animal life, during this early period,
difficult to discern. We do know, however, that the cultural and ecological change
initiated prior to 1769 in California were only the beginning. A dramatic upsurge i
degree and type of environmental alteration would accompany foreign settlement af
ter 1769.

HISPANIC SETTLEMENT AND HABITAT IMBALANCES: 1769–1848

> The successful exploitation of the New World by these people depended on their ability to "Europeanize" the flora and fauna of the New World.
>
> —Alfred L. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange,* 1972

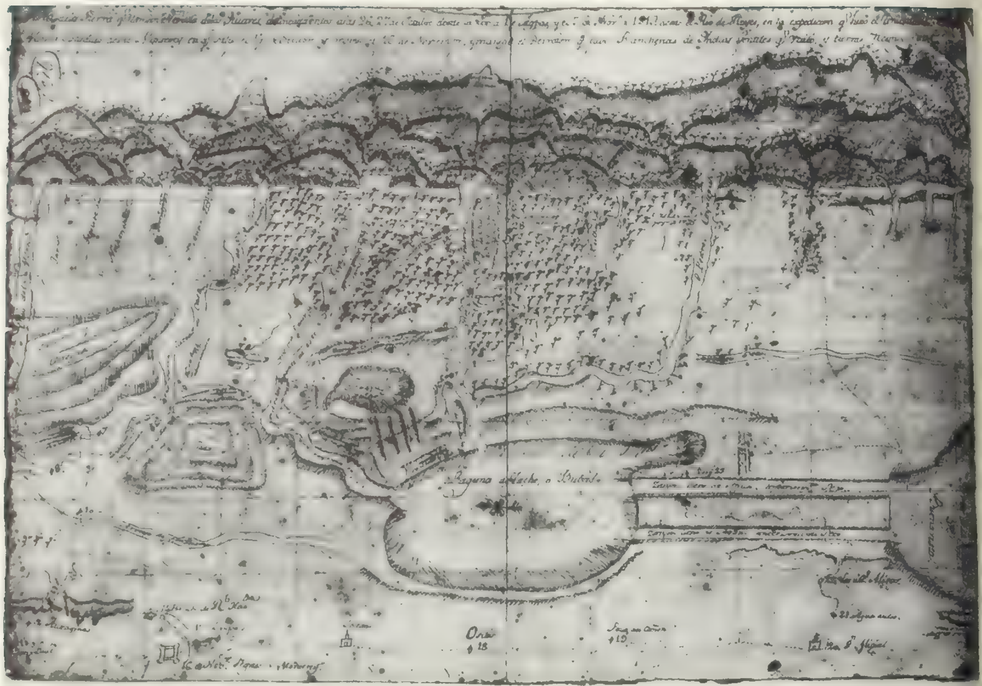
> From the plain we entered a hilly country, covered to the summits of the elevations with wild oats.
>
> —Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California,* 1848

The nature and degree of the environmental changes that were colonially induced in
California prior to 1769 remain only vaguely understood. It is certain, however, tha
the precolonial disruptions were accomplished indirectly, without the permanen
presence of the Spanish or their domesticated plants and animals. This would al
change in 1769, when the floodgate of empire opened California to foreign settle
ment. The inadvertent arrival of pathogens, pests, and weeds combined with the pur
poseful introductions accompanying settlement to vastly accelerate environmenta
change.[33] For the first time, Old World species of both domestic livestock and crop

Franciscan waters a garden of exotic flora at Mission Santa Barbara, 1892. Following anish settlement, the landscape of coastal California underwent an astounding meta- orphosis, as introduced plants overwhelmed native perennials and annuals in much e same manner that the Spanish conquerors overwhelmed the native peoples. Within generation or so, the indigenous grasses had largely given way to wild oats, mustard, d other invasive Mediterranean species. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30505.*

ere intentionally introduced, at the same time as the opportunities for the acci- ntal entry of other organisms considerably expanded.[34] More crucial as a bridge- ead for environmental transformation was the rapid colonial acculturation of the astal Indians and the reduction of their population. The enforced changes in In- an lifestyles and their shrinking numbers progressively weakened their traditional lationship with California's physical world.[35] Once this reciprocal bond was dis- rbed, the environment became even more susceptible to the invasion and rapid es- blishment of the newly introduced flora and fauna.

The most immediate and widespread of the colonial impacts occurred within ant and animal communities.[36] These alterations were geographically most in- nse in the coastal one-sixth of California that fell under direct Spanish and later lexican rule. Nonetheless, the Indians and landscapes lying beyond the northern nd eastern frontiers of Hispanic control were also profoundly altered. The disrup- ons were transported to the interior by a variety of agents. Periodic Hispanic ex-



A map of the San Joaquin Valley, from approximately present-day Merced to Bakersfield, prepared by Lieutenant José María Estudillo, who in 1819 entered the Tulare Lake Basin by way of Mission San Miguel, *lower right,* to subdue uprisings among the Yokuts. Spanish incursions into the interior of the province, which began in the early 1770s, introduced alien pathogens, seeds, pests, and domestic animals that had far-reaching consequences for the land and its people. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

peditions and parties of British and American trappers inadvertently disseminated germs and forcefully removed or killed thousands of valley Indians. In addition, runaway missionized Indians who found refuge in the interior often brought deadly germs, exotic plants and animals, and new economic practices with them. Virulent pathogens also arrived with nonhuman vectors such as mosquitoes to claim their human and, through association, environmental toll. Soon after 1769, feral livestock found their way to these frontier lands or were abducted from the coast and integrated into the Indian economies of the Central Valley and elsewhere. All these processes unleashed environmental changes of great, though unsystematically documented, magnitude.[37]

The physical and cultural manifestations of direct colonization set the stage for a renewed surge of environmental modification that would encompass all of California. The most dramatic alterations anywhere in continental America occurred within California's grasslands. Native grass species were virtually overwhelmed by the radtransformations in their environment.[38] In the southern two-thirds of Califor- hat was environmentally similar to the lands where they had originally spawned, oduced weeds took root, flourished, and aggressively replaced native grasses. ing evolved over a longer period in more extreme Mediterranean and Near tern environments, the weeds—principally Mediterranean annuals—were sim- better suited and more adaptive than many of the indigenous species to condi- s in California.[39]

he rapid invasion by exotic species and replacement of native grasses was ensured number of colonial conditions. Already at a biological disadvantage, the native ses were also forced to compete in an atmosphere marked by a severed relation- with the Indians of California and the encounter with vast new herds of do- tic livestock and indigenous game. The majority of the invasive weeds had ved mutually with domestic livestock in the Old World, where they were first esticated. The native perennials and annuals, however, had evolved in a non- oral setting and therefore were now at a biological disadvantage, especially when ing and periodic drought combined to weaken their competitive abilities.[40]

eing favored by inherent biological traits and colonially inspired conditions, the tic annuals spread like wildfire through California's grasslands. Species of Old rld annuals such as wild oats, ripgut, mustard, and filaree quickly became dom- nt near the coastal missions and began to spread inland.[41] Testifying to this re- kable dissemination are the frequent notations of exotic grasses (mostly wild) encountered in the annals of early Americans who were exploring the interior alifornia during the 1830s and 1840s. Zenas Leonard's account that "our course through a large prairie covered with wild oats" during his party's transit of the Joaquin Valley in 1833 is typical of these sightings.[42] More evidence of the rapid ead and preponderance of exotic species in some regions was their early integra- into the diet of some interior Indians.[43]

he replacement of native grassland species by invasive flora seems to have oc- red first on the south and central coasts and then spread into the San Joaquin Val- By the time of the Gold Rush, the invasive Mediterranean annuals were pene- ing the Sacramento Valley and the coast north of San Francisco. The momentum eplacement initiated in the colonial era would carry over into the twentieth cen- y and eventually Europeanize some 50 to 90 percent of California's grasslands.[44]

aralleling the colonial transformation of the grasslands were more subtle but found alterations involving nearly every California habitat. These changes were ermined more by the destruction of Indian lifeways than by the appearance of ag- ssive foreign species. The weakening of the natives' function as keystone species, ause of murder, disease, and relocation, was the catalyst for most habitat modi- ations. The diverse mosaic of landscapes that had been structured and maintained native practices, especially the use of fire, slowly and progressively adjusted to the

Indians' removal from the ecological equation. In general, each major habitat responded by becoming more uniform in pattern and by losing some of the human induced diversity.[45]

The habitat transitions triggered by colonial processes were incremental, but incessant. Brush and woods began to expand at the expense of grasses and open landscapes on the coast and in the interior. Chaparral communities adjusted to less frequent fires with encroachments onto the grasslands of the coastal valleys and th foothills of the Sierra Nevada.[46] The once-open understories of the coastal oak forest and the oak-grass woodlands cloaking the eastern margins of the Central Valley became tangled with the unmanaged growth of underbrush.[47] Similarly, at higher elevations where the open coniferous forests of the Coast Ranges and Sierra Nevada ha once flourished, their fire-cleansed understories became crowded with brush, sapling and litter.[48] These altered habitats would greet the American pioneers and be define by them as the primordial condition of California's "wilderness." The tangled undergrowth and expanding woods also would impede the progress of Manifest Destin and later threaten American lives and property with conflagrations.

Within each ecosystem, a gradual decline in the number, range, and diversity c many native species and habitats occurred when Indian intervention ceased. Gras species that are fire-dependent and were once important nutritional components c coastal Indians, such as chia and red maids, began to disappear, as did numerous varieties of useful bunchgrasses and other herbaceous plants.[49] Moreover, the vitalit and productivity of many surviving species suffered from species-competition, microorganisms, and parasites that were no longer held in check by fire.[50]

Prior to colonial disruptions, many Indian groups intentionally worked to maintain a cover of vegetation on the drier slopes of habitats in southern Californi Without their assistance, semi-arid landscapes often remained barren and expose to the elements for longer periods after 1769. Unregulated livestock grazing and th colonial expansion of chaparral contributed to increased exposure and barrenness. A representative and documented example of an early casualty of colonially induce erosion occurred on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley adjacent to the E Camino Viejo (i.e., the Los Angeles road). The once-rounded gulches that Spanis citizens observed on their treks between Los Angeles and San Francisco becam steeply banked and eroded by the beginning of the American period.[52]

The purposeful addition of Old World animals and the unintended introductio of organisms into California also contributed to the alteration of vegetational pa terns and of the land itself. The effects of the inadvertent importation and spread exotic forms of microorganisms, insects, and vermin changed a variety of environmental components, particularly around the coastal settlements. These accidental introductions and their consequences would become more profound and evident du ing the American period, but the initial influence of domestic livestock would pro an immediate and powerful force in the new colonial ecology.

ROLIFERATION OF COLONIAL LIVESTOCK: 1769–1848

> They have stocked the country with such multitudes of cattle, horses, and other useful animals, that they have no longer the power to remove or destroy them.
>
> —William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage between China and the North Western Coast of America Made in 1804*, 1935

ith the exception of the transformation of the grasslands, most botanical adjust- ents to colonial interventions were gradual and were largely imperceptible until ll into the American period. The general pattern of change experienced in the unal communities of California was roughly parallel. Old World animals invaded umerous habitats, and indigenous animals experienced imbalances and adjustments. owever, the pace of change was dramatically different from that of the vegetational mmunity, and notice was immediate and unavoidable. Indeed, because of the dis- ptions unleashed by Hispanic settlement and faunal reproductive biology, some imal populations virtually exploded and quickly reached numbers and concentra- ons probably not achieved since the end of the Pleistocene Epoch.

The settlement of California required domestic animals for transport, policing, d sustenance. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada's overland expedition from Baja alifornia in 1769, along with bringing general supplies, introduced 187 mules, 53 rses, and 204 head of cattle.[53] This was the first act in a process that would lead the explosive numerical growth and spread of Old World animals. The agencies at were primarily responsible for this phenomenal growth and dispersal were the ispanic settlement institutions, aided by the Indians themselves.

The continued importation and reproduction of domestic animals during the panish period (1769–1822) markedly increased the size and diversity of the inven- ries of mission livestock, eventually to include sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry. fficial Spanish prohibitions against foreign trade and the constraints on private nd concessions limited livestock expansion during the initial period. However, af- r 1822, new policies fostered by independent Mexico produced a surge in mission estock numbers to take advantage of the burgeoning international trade in hides d tallow. Also, the eventual granting of approximately eight hundred ranchos by e late 1840s to Mexicans and foreigners alike greatly assisted in the dispersal of estock to the Central Valley and other interior environments.[54]

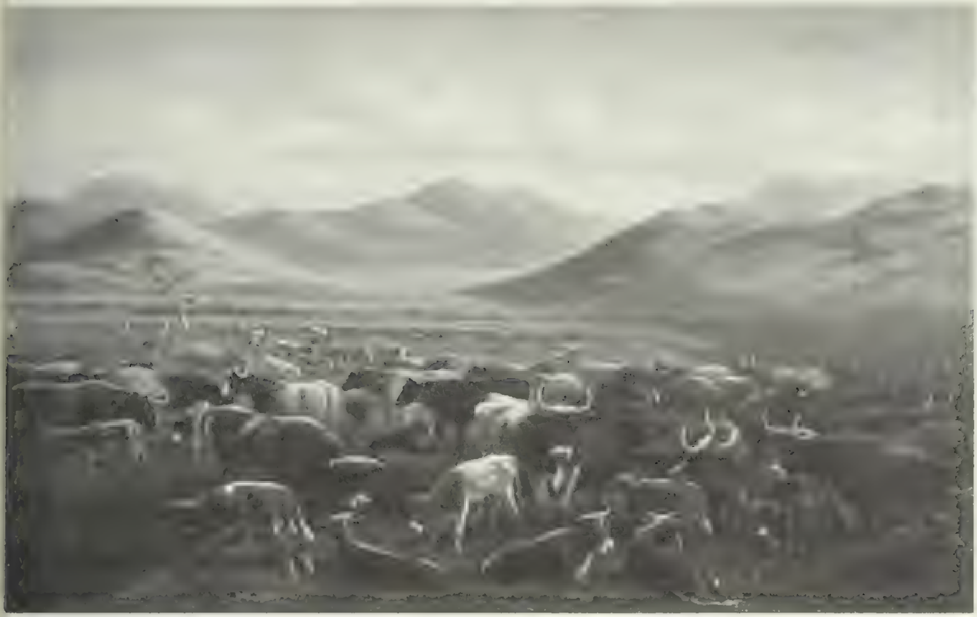
The Indians contributed to the dispersal of livestock by rapidly incorporating em into their cultural and economic inventories. Indeed, the wholesale reorienta- on to the consumption of introduced animals became an essential ingredient for tive survival.[55] This adaptation to eating livestock was in large measure necessary, ving to the environmental tumult triggered by colonialism and, in particular, the estock's consumption of the grasses, nuts, and roots that the Indians had tradi- nally relied on for sustenance.[56]

Large cultural and ecological modifications ensued as a consequence of the relationship between the California Indians and livestock during the colonial period. The growing reliance on and preference for livestock, particularly by the nonmission Indians of the Central Valley and Sierran foothills, stimulated a quest for additional supplies. By the 1830s the natives' preferred method of acquisition was to raid the coastal settlements and ranchos and drive the livestock deep into the interior.[57] In addition to further aggravating the hostilities between the Indians and the coastal colonial settlers, this behavior also increased the degree and extent of environmental disruption. Valley Yokuts, and others, intentionally increased the concentrations of livestock in their own region and also served as middlemen for the trade in livestock with adjoining Indians, American horse traders, and New Mexican rustlers arriving from east of the Tehachapis.[58] As an outcome of the various agencies of dispersal, including feral migrations by cattle and horses in particular, by the time of the Gold Rush, Old World livestock was distributed over considerable portions of California. Regions in 1848 that were still mostly devoid of livestock were the northern portions of the coast and interior, the far eastern deserts, and the mountainous regions on the coast and in the interior, where predators such as lions and grizzly bears were numerous.[59]

The presence of enormous numbers of Old World livestock in California during the colonial era affected the state's ecosystems directly through grazing pressure and indirectly by provoking radical alterations in native land-use practices. In addition to accelerating the invasion of exotic grasses, livestock introduction forced nearly every plant community in affected areas to adjust to this new form of disturbance. In periods of drought, the forage depletion by excessive stock was often severe enough to threaten the livelihoods of even the colonials, who were forced to undertake the organized slaughter of tens of thousands of animals in attempts to preserve the range.[60]

Despite the toll taken by slaughter and drought, domestic and feral livestock continued to proliferate, and, combined with expanding numbers of native ungulates, they began to reshape the land itself. By the Gold Rush of 1848, the hills of southern California were sculptured with tier upon tier of terrace-like trails, and the plain of the Central Valley was in the words of one observer "furrowed with numerous deep trails, made by the droves of wild horses, elk, deer, and antelope."[61] The exposure of barren earth, where none had existed before, assisted in the colonial invasion of alien plants and drove the final nail into the coffin of Indian land-use practices that had fashioned the precolonial environment.

Native animal species were also forced to adapt to the new competitive environment on the range and to the floral disruptions created by hundreds of thousands of livestock. The exact consequences prior to 1848 are difficult to discern, but the processes of change attributable to livestock were set in motion and would eventually prove devastating to a number of native Californian habitats. The introduction



Cattle fill the landscape in an 1877 painting of a roundup on a southern California rancho by the English-born artist James Walker. Spanish colonizers brought livestock with them up from Mexico, the beginnings of the great herds that grazed the mission lands and, later, the vast ranchos that arose after secularization. Numbering in the hundreds of thousands by the 1840s, cattle not only shaped the economy and culture of provincial California, but played a profound role in altering native floral and faunal communities. *Courtesy California Historical Society; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Walker.*

of goats onto Santa Catalina Island in 1827 is a case in point. The habitat disturbance caused by these goats prior to 1848 is undetermined; however, their presence has been largely responsible for denuding much of the island, and primarily credited for the contemporary tally of forty-eight extinct native animal and plant species.[62]

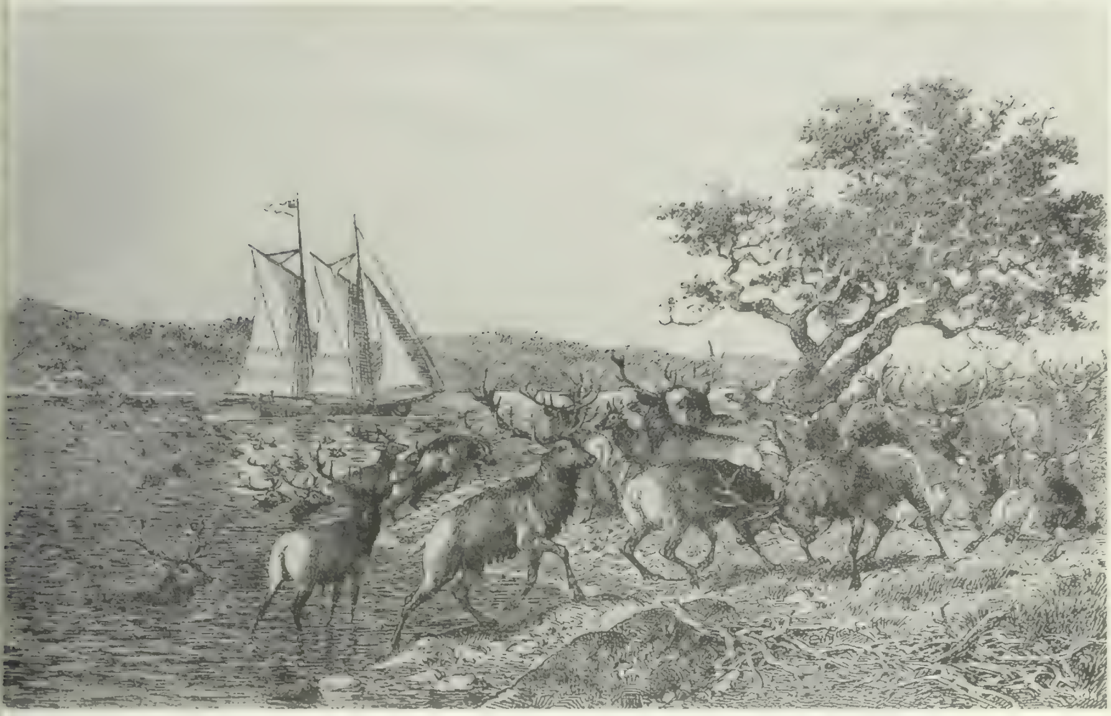
A PROFUSE COLONIAL MENAGERIE: 1769–1848

> The deer, antelope and noble elk . . . were numerous beyond all parallel. In herds of many hundreds, they might be met, so tame that they would hardly move to open the way for the traveler to pass.
>
> —George C. Yount, quoted in Charles L. Camp,
> "The Chronicles of George C. Yount," 1923

The spectacular rise in the numbers and wide dispersal of Old World animals in California during the colonial era was matched by an irruption in the numbers of native game. Assessment of the colonial effects on some groups of animals such as insects, birds, and reptiles remains speculative, although considerably more is know about the consequences to certain aquatic and terrestrial game species. The grea transformations that characterized the colonial era created a favorable environmen for the expansion in numbers and territory of those animals that had once bee targeted and depleted by Indian predation. The ecological imbalances and surge in the numbers of native animals triggered by the destruction of the Indians was also abetted by the presence of Old World animals. The combination of a vanishing Indian population and the widespread introduction and distribution of exotic fauna furnished a fecund environment where some species of animals flourished in numbers probably unknown in California since the Pleistocene Epoch.

Prior to the Columbian landfall, California harbored hundreds of thousands of Indians who possessed the ingenuity to restructure the faunal setting according to their needs. By the end of the colonial era in early 1848 and before the Gold Rush, largely because of virulent new diseases, California was relatively devoid of human predators. Indeed, the area supported fewer humans (perhaps 70,000 to 100,000) than at any time during the preceding millennium or two.[63] In contrast, the entry of humans from foreign lands during the same period was minimal in comparison and failed to balance the losses of more than 200,000 population experienced by the Indians. Indeed, by early 1848, colonialism in California had accounted for only about 7,000 Hispanic settlers and, at most, a few thousand additional foreign residents.[64] These settlers, especially in light of their land-use practices, did not fill the environmental niche of chief predator that had once been completely occupied by Indians. Instead, the colonial peoples relied on an alien economy that emphasized domesticated animals and plants for sustenance and, with the exception of some marine mammals, practically ignored the native species of game. Moreover, a substantial proportion of the surviving Indians diverted much of their attention from the traditional hunting of native species to the harvesting of Old World livestock, which further reduced the predation pressure on native game species.

Despite the range competition by livestock, and the associated habitat disruptions by colonialism in general, native game quickly expanded to extraordinary numerical heights. The aquatic and terrestrial landscapes of California were sufficiently lush to support millions of both native and Old World animals in the absence of traditional levels of predation. Ungulates such as deer, antelope, and elk also readily consumed the Mediterranean annual grasses that had spread among California's grasslands during the colonial period. These same grasses also provided the nutritional impetus for an explosion of rodent populations. Not only did rodents, such as ground squirrels, relish the foreign annuals, but they also preyed on the crops of wheat and barley introduced by the missionaries. This colonial by-product resulted in an environmental backlash that the settlers came to regret.[65]



n enormous herd of elk cross the Carquinez Strait in an illustration drawn by Emanuel Vyttenbach at the end of the nineteenth century under the direction of William Heath avis. In his reminiscences, Davis recalled seeing as many as three thousand of the nimals at a time crossing from Mare Island to the mainland in the early 1840s. Together ith deer and antelope, elk populations rose rapidly in the colonial and provincial periods s their primary predator, Indians, declined. From William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five ears in California* (San Francisco, 1929). *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30528.*

Like many of the Indians who shared their habitat, some of the larger mammals reyed on the nearly limitless supply of colonial livestock. The most notorious pecies among the carnivores that integrated the Old World livestock into their arder was the grizzly bear. With the chief predator, the Indians, undergoing a steep emographic decline during the colonial period, grizzly bears rebounded to fill this ole and found their nutritional needs supplemented by the relatively easy pickings f Old World livestock. The colonial slaughter of thousands of livestock, especially fter 1822 for the hide-and-tallow trade, significantly enhanced the comestibles of he grizzlies, which according to one observer "used to come by night to the ravines ear the slaughter-corral where the refuse was thrown by the butcher.[66]

The colonial expansion in the number of grizzlies and their taste for domesticated livestock became a hindrance to settler and Indian alike. As late as the 1790s, missionaries were concerned about the livestock depletions caused by the depredations of grizzly bears and other predators. By the 1820s, however, the settlers' economic concerns diminished because the livestock were so plentiful that they could be slaughtered by colonials, Indians, and bears during most periods without significantly decreasing their abundance.[67]

The economic concerns presented by the growing number of grizzlies may have been redressed for the settlers by the superabundance of livestock, but grizzlies continued to menace the physical and economic health of the remaining California Indians. Without their traditional numbers and land-use practices, the surviving Indians were unable to reestablish a dominant relationship with the bears and increasingly fell victim of their attacks. The disruptions to the Indians' traditional food supply by domestic and feral livestock were also compounded because grizzly bears competed with humans for some of their most important resources. The problem was noted in 1841 by T. R. Peale, who observed that "the Indians and bear . . . thrash down the acorns, which is almost as effectively done by one as by the other."[68]

Documentation is unavailable, but it is reasonable to assume that overall numbers of game probably continued to rise during the colonial period as human numbers diminished within California. The rise in numbers was most pronounced in those areas of the coast and Central Valley that once nurtured the greatest concentrations of Pre-Columbian peoples.[69] Where Indian concentrations remained relatively high during the colonial period, game tended to continue to be more scarce. Documentation of this relationship is provided by Zenas Leonard, who entered the Tulare Lake Basin in 1834 and found that "here game is very scarce, owing to the numerous swarms of Indians scattered along in every direction."[70] Likewise, where Indian numbers fell precipitously, the presence of game was inordinately bountiful. George C. Yount also noted the correlation in 1833, when he visited the vicinity of present-day Benicia after a virulent epidemic of malaria. "The rivers were literally crowded with salmon, which, since the pestilence had swept away the Indians, no one disturbed."[71]

The new colonial settlers and foreign visitors harvested some of the aquatic and terrestrial game species and caused some depletion of selected species on a regional basis.[72] Despite these specific reductions, the overall presence of native game animals progressively increased and peaked in the late 1840s. The Gold Rush after 1848 would initiate a massive rise in harvesting and turn the growth curve of native game species downward.

In order to grasp the magnitude and spectacle of the multitudes of game that occupied California's land, water, and air during the colonial period one simply has to read any of the accounts made by settlers and visitors. No matter who made the observation or when, the commentators were impressed and enthusiastic about the exceptional quantities of California's colonial wildlife. Without exception, every inhabitant and visitor to California prior to 1848 would have concurred with Charles ilkes, who wrote in 1845 that "the variety of game in this country almost exceeds lief."[73] What Wilkes and his contemporaries failed to realize was that the imessive numbers and spatial dispersion of the game they marveled at was an abormal consequence of prior colonial disruption.

ARVESTING INDIGENOUS NIMALS, TREES, AND OLD WORLD CROPS

> Most of the fruits and vegetables of Europe have also been naturalized in California, where they come to great perfection.
>
> —William Shaler,
>
> *Journal of a Voyage between China and the North Western Coast of America*

terms of degree and geographic extent, the most dramatic environmental alterions unleashed by foreign visitations and colonial settlement in California were oducts of inadvertent or indirect processes. Direct and conscious modifications by e newcomers were modest, in comparison, during the years 1769 to 1848. The lonists and visitors did open land for agriculture, cut trees, and harvest game, but comparison to the consequences of their biotic introductions, such as weeds, liveock, and disease, as well as their role in fire suppression, the landscape modications were minimal. Nonetheless, these relatively minor impacts were significant ecause they represented attempts by the foreign invaders to exploit the resource pontial of California, and their conscious environmental and economic behavior ould, from this time forward, govern the state's ecological destiny. Indeed, many of e extractive pursuits and intentional modifications initiated during the colonial peod would evolve into enormous agencies of environmental change in California uring subsequent periods.

Hunting

he early Hispanic settlers and foreign adventurers arrived in California to find an nbalanced landscape that was adjusting to the ecological disturbances triggered uring the protohistoric period. One of the symptoms of ecological imbalance that as encountered, and actively exploited by the newcomers, was the abundance of rge marine and land animals. Initially, these animals were hunted for subsistence, ut after a brief interim, the predominant motivations for killing wildlife became inernational commerce and sport.

The first colonial intrusions along the coast required the Spaniards to supplement eir diet by living off the land for a short time until their Old World animals and lants gained a foothold. They were able to shoot some animals and birds but were lso forced to eat their own beasts of burden and small indigenous animals, such as ground squirrels and fish, generously provided by the Indians. This initial reliance o native wildlife was brief because of the rapid procreation of domestic livestock, an a taste for domestic meat over wild game.[74] Soon, subsistence hunting was rendere unnecessary and became a rarity among the Spanish and Mexican settlers.

Despite the availability of sufficient food from Old World animals, Hispani colonists continued to act as catalysts for the harvesting of indigenous game fo other purposes. As early as 1773, Spanish missionaries bartered with California Indians for sea otter pelts, and later it became standard colonial policy to encourage th Indians to kill these sea mammals for trading purposes. Once acquired by the Spanish, the prized pelts entered the trans-Pacific trade with China, in exchange for exotic commodities such as quicksilver.

Another commercial incentive for hunting during the colonial period was th international trade in cow hides and beef tallow. Given the presence of the burgeoning herds of elk, antelope, and deer, it was inevitable that these mammals, too would be tapped for their skins and oils. Although a less significant source of hide and tallow than domestic livestock, such large game was periodically killed for these purposes, and consequently diminished first in the vicinity of the coastal settlements and later in the Central Valley.[75]

A greater colonial effect on native fauna was caused by foreigners arriving from lands beyond the limits of Spanish and Mexican imperial domination. California's bountiful terrestrial and aquatic wildlife attracted thousands of foreigners to the region during colonial times for profit and adventure. Fur-bearing animals enticed most of the early North American adventurers to travel overland to California, particularly between 1827 and 1842.[76] These trappers had a profound effect not only on the population of aquatic animals, such as beaver, river otter, and mink, but also on the larger mammals unlucky enough to be in the vicinity. The fur brigades subsisted almost entirely on wild game, and the trappers reduced the numbers and spatial distribution of elk, deer, antelope, and bear near their valley hunting grounds and annual rendezvous locales. The resulting slaughter was impressive, as noted by John Work, who reported a killing of 166 elk in only four days in January of 1833.[77] That the incentive for killing game went beyond the needs of subsistence or commercial profit is unquestioned, for nearly every foreign party that trooped through California during the colonial period fired indiscriminately on the animals of the air, sea, and ground, "let them be wanted or not."[78]

The fur brigades declined in the early 1840s due to their own success in decimating the fur-bearing animals throughout the Central Valley. In addition to nearly exhausting their prey, the trappers' own subsistence and sporting activities contributed to a regional depletion of large mammals in portions of the Sacramento Valley.[79] Despite the absence of trappers in the late 1840s, the hunting pressure was sustained by the increasing numbers of settlers located especially in the northern valley and on the southern coast. In spite of the constant predation in these and other locations, the ıfluence of colonial hunting on land was insubstantial in comparison to that of the alifornia Indians during late Pre-Columbian times. As a result, the numbers of on–fur-bearing land animals remained abnormally high, until the Gold Rush ush- red in a new period of unparalleled slaughter and statewide faunal depletion.

The pattern of colonial influence on land animals was not duplicated for marine ıammals. Because of the accessibility of California's productive coastal fringe, the ehavior and reproductive biology of certain species, and the intensity of foreign ex- loitation, the degree of colonial impact on coastal life was more severe. As was true or the overland expeditions, the abundance of marine resources, particularly the ot- rs and large pinnipeds such as fur and elephant seals, and sea lions, was the primary ason that numerous foreign vessels visited the shores of California during the lonial period. For the Russians, the sea life was bountiful enough to justify the ventual establishment of settlements and loading facilities at Fort Ross and Bodega ay respectively. The sustained harvesting of marine mammals by foreigners is ought to have begun in 1741 with the voyage of Vitus Bering, who acquired sea ot- r pelts along the Northwest coast. From that time on, the Russians, Americans, d other foreigners unhesitatingly pursued these marine mammals for their skins nd oils, over the objections of California's colonial authorities that they were poach- g in Spanish, later Mexican, territory.[80] Despite the regulatory measures imple- ented after California statehood, some of these stocks of marine animals have yet recover fully from colonial exploitation.[81]

Lumbering

olonialism in California led to the elimination of many native forest-management ractices and the unprecedented destruction of trees.[82] Hispanic, Russian, and merican settlers harvested timber for their own immediate use and for trade. More nportant, however, they established the precedent for attitudes and practices that ontinue to have an enormous environmental impact.

Lumbering by Hispanic settlers in colonial California was modest. Wood was eeded for a variety of structural and subsistence purposes. Trees were harvested round every mission and settlement as required, and, when locally unavailable, umber was imported from impressive distances.[83] Nevertheless, as with their crops, nimals, and weeds, Hispanic material culture had developed in the dry-land envi- onments of the Mediterranean Basin. These Old World peoples had learned over ime to cope with a scarcity of wood for building by adopting substitutes such as tile, ock, and adobe. Prior to the settling of California, the Spanish had modified their naterial needs somewhat in response to new conditions in the Americas, but Old Vorld stylistic preferences endured and were basically intact by 1769. These cultural raditions, in combination with a limited equipment inventory, consisting only of xes, adzes, and whip saws, served to dampen the intentional Hispanic effect on the orests of California. With time, as the settlement infrastructure expanded, and as the use of wood gained greater acceptance, lumbering activities by Hispanic people along the coast increased, and commercial enterprises were launched.

The Russians and Americans, from more extensively wooded environments, wer more dependent on lumber for housing and to replicate their accustomed culture The Russian and American pioneers in Mexican California, like their Hispani counterparts, regarded trees as objects unrelated to their spiritual existence. But the arrived bearing more sophisticated wood-working technologies and thus a greate potential for deforestation. Colonial tree-cutting by the Russians lasted for severa decades, from about 1812 to 1841, but it was geographically restricted to the coasta forests around their settlement at Fort Ross and facilities at Bodega Bay, north o San Francisco.

Significant American lumbering in California began somewhat later, farther south in the Monterey and Carmel regions. Beginning in the early 1830s and over the next two decades, American lumbering activities spread north and south along the coast and accompanied American settlement eastward into the Sacramento Valley.[84] By the early 1840s, one of the principle agencies in the expansion of the industry was John Sutter, a Swiss immigrant. Over a decade, he initiated wood-cutting operations in vicinities ranging from Fort Ross in the west to the Mokelumne River on the southeastern edge of the Sacramento Valley. An effort initiated by Sutter in 1847 to construct a new saw mill on the American River at Coloma provided the fateful spark that in early 1848 ignited the Gold Rush and opened an era of unparalleled deforestion in California.

While the degree of overall deforestation in California was relatively minor during the colonial period, its consequences nonetheless gained the attention of some colonial administrators. Indeed, from the late 1830s onward, American lumbering and the increasing pace of tree-cutting around coastal settlements generated concern among Mexican colonial authorities. This concern ultimately led them to adopt a number of regulations designed to curtail tree-poaching by foreigners and the perceived negative impacts of deforestation. Neither the concern nor the regulations had much genuine effect, but they represented an early recognition that unrestrained harvesting of resources could backfire and lead to negative ecological repercussions.[85]

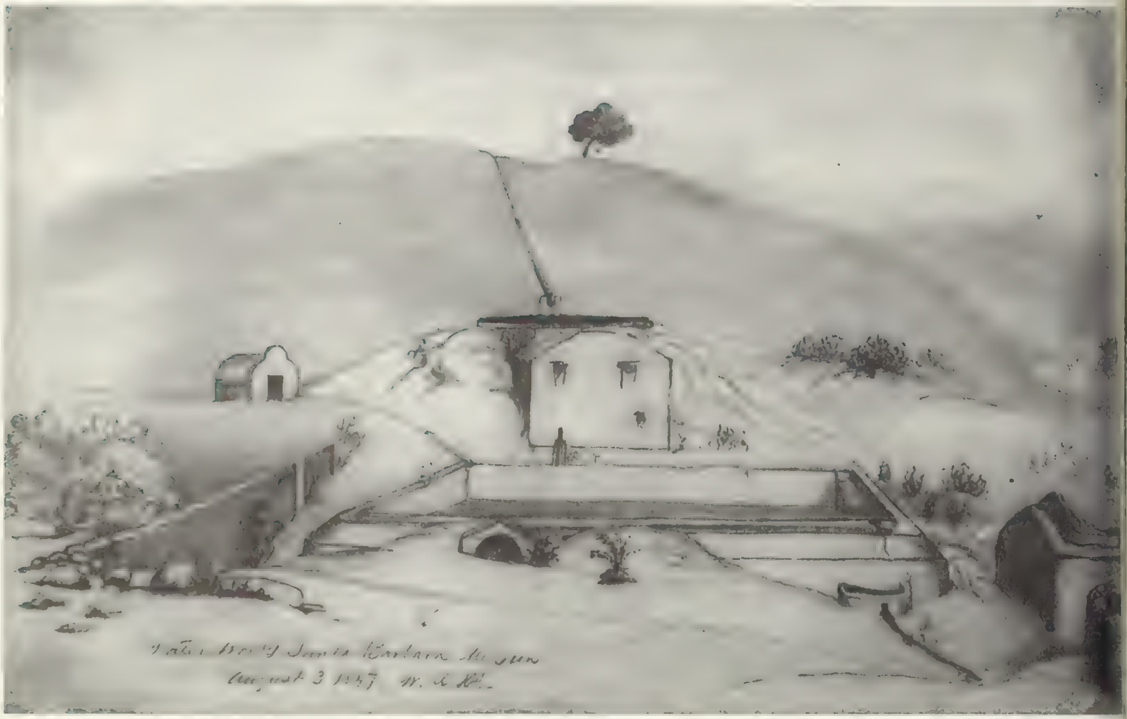
The change in colonial forestry practices, from a time when indigenous peoples governed California's forests to a time when Old World practices became dominant, occurred rapidly, but not smoothly, for native environments and inhabitants. The first encounter with colonial forestry practices often evoked shock and dismay among the surviving Indians. The degree of consternation displayed by some Native Californians is aptly conveyed by an account published in the 1870s, about the reaction of Yokuts, in the vicinity of the Kaweah Delta, to an episode of tree felling that "filled the Indians with more consternation and horror than any phenomena they have been privileged to witness before or since."[86] For the Indians of California as well as e colonial settlers, colonial logging was a perceptual and physical watershed in the e of forests. It represented a transition from a time when California Indians man- ed and harvested living forests to a time when settlers cut live trees but were still nerations away from implementing effective tree-management and conservation actices.

Agriculture

addition to their stylistic preferences, the colonial settlers of California possessed od and aesthetic tastes that were strongly conditioned by their ancestral geography. s they did with animals, the colonists preferred plants that had been originally do- esticated in the Old World. Although supplemented by many New World species om Mesoamerica, the familiar plants still dominated their nutrition and ornamen- tion when Spanish settlers first arrived in California. The introduction of these oral domesticates, and the accompanying Old World agricultural practices, gener- ed a variety of important environmental changes. Indeed, the introduction of do- esticated plants served partially to augment the floral diversity of the region at a ne when other colonial agencies were reducing species diversity. In addition, for e first time in California, west of the Colorado and Owens rivers, considerable odifications of land and water were required to ensure the colonists could raise do- esticated crops.

The missionaries were the earliest and primary purveyors of agricultural experi- entation in colonial California. The region proved ideal for their efforts, in part be- use the domesticated plants that thrived in the Mediterranean environments of the ld World did especially well in California. Nevertheless, unlike the Old World eeds, many of the domesticates, originating from both the Old and New Worlds, quired artificial irrigation to flourish in California as they had in Spain and other y-land settings throughout the Americas. In response to California's semiarid cli- ate, and as a hedge against drought, water systems were established early, and ey rapidly became prominent features of all mission landscapes.[87]

The digging of wells and diversion of streams for both domestic and irrigation urposes at the missions were the first large-scale hydrologic modifications in colo- al California. In addition to irrigation, water was later impounded and diverted in oth religious and secular settings for the grinding of grain and the milling of lum- r.[88] The environmental and cultural consequences of these diversions are uncertain, ut they probably changed the nature and availability of some aquatic resources im- ortant to the California Indians. Dams and reservoirs were unfamiliar to the Indi- ns and, in some instances, were perceived by them as assaults on their spiritual ell-being. The reaction of the Caymus, or Wappo, Indians to the plans to erect a am on the Napa River in the 1830s by George Yount testifies to this. An Indian ader cautioned Yount that his dam was going to be erected on "the abode of the


Water Works Santa Barbara Mission
August 3 1847 W. R. H.

Part of the water system at Mission Santa Barbara, drawn in the summer of 1847 by the American amateur artist William R. Hutton. Coming from lands with little rainfall and few rivers, Hispanic colonists had extensive experience in building waterworks, and their pioneer efforts on Spain's distant frontier initiated the hydraulic revolution that ultimately, more than any other agency, transformed the natural world in California. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

tutelar & protecting spirit of the Caymus nation" and said the spirit was "bourn down with grief."[89] Yount reached a satisfactory accommodation with the Indians and completed his mill. Nevertheless, the pace and size of hydrologic constructions were increasing in California and so were the associated economic and psychological damages inflicted on the native peoples.

The control of water allowed the missions and pueblos to grow staples more reliably and to experiment with a profusion of plants. On his visit to Mission San Gabriel in 1830, George Yount described "vineyards, orchards and gardens alike planted not merely for the present but also for future generations to enjoy—Tropical fruits, and the productions of every clime were there and in rich profusion."[90] Yount's words were truly prophetic because the colonial agricultural legacy would, indeed, strongly influence the future of agricultural and water endeavors in California long after the Gold Rush.

A peak of about ten thousand acres of cultivated land was reached by the coastal ssions and pueblos prior to secularization of the missions in 1834.[91] Acreage and gation works diminished in these vicinities after secularization, but the dispersal agriculture into the interior of California was already in progress. The agencies of persal were the rancheros, American settlers, and the California Indians. Some of rancheros and American settlers in the Sacramento Valley cultivated gardens, and the case of John Sutter and others, planted fairly sizable farms. In spatial terms, California Indians, who were either fugitives from the missions or, after secu- zation, landless refugees, dispersed domestic crops and agricultural knowledge, in- ding irrigation techniques, especially into the interior valleys and deserts.[92]

Where colonial agriculture was practiced, the environmental impacts were many d varied. Colonial cultivation involved a replacement process whereby native osystems were removed to make room for exotic ecosystems composed of domes- plants and, if possible, artificial irrigation. The importation of seed crops and or- nental cuttings into California provided an additional avenue for the inadvertent roduction of exotic weeds and pests of unknown character.

Colonial agriculture also had significant consequences for the human relationship h California's diverse array of native flora and fauna. For the first time in Cali- nia, people were forced by the colonial practice of agriculture to define some of nondomestic, native flora and fauna as “weeds” and “pests” respectively. These eds and pests were then attacked by the colonists as threats to their crops, and by ension, their livelihoods. On the other hand, some species of native flora and na took advantage of the disturbed cultivated environments and the availability human-tilled forage. Herbaceous plants that flourished in water or disturbed ound invaded the fields, and animals, such as rodents and bears, often devoured the ops in defiance of eradication efforts.[93] Although only a small fraction of Califor- was modified, by colonial agricultural practices at the time of the Gold Rush, a ocess had been initiated that would ultimately modify tremendous portions of state. This ongoing transformation of the landscape became a hallmark of its entity.

NCLUSION

> Then, late in the scheme of things, one species that was to dominate and remake the entire land arrived on the scene.
>
> —Raymond F. Dasmann, *The Destruction of California,* 1965

e colonial invaders intercepted a process of human-induced environmental change at had been initiated when the first people journeyed to California millennia before Columbian landfall. Like the Spanish, the first human inhabitants also trans- rted foreign attitudes, technologies, and lifeways that were initially disruptive to

California's natural ecosystems. However, the environmental relationship of the newcomers matured with time and evolved into a mutual accommodation with th state's nonhuman heritage. Their foreign technologies, attitudes, and behaviors we naturalized to accommodate California's unique setting, and the landscapes, in tur were restructured in response to the symbiosis of accommodation. Time and sustaine human interaction with California's nonhuman processes created a landscape of mutual interdependence that was sustained by Indian ingenuity and numbers.

While restructuring much of the landscape according to their needs, the California Indians in late Pre-Columbian times had achieved a physical and spiritual integration with the nonhuman world. Periodically this relationship was severely disturbed by climatic fluctuations and resource depletions caused by human populatio pressure. However, new environmental accommodations were established on a bountiful resource base, and the changes were absorbed and reflected in the cultural an physical landscapes.

The native habitats of California nurtured dense populations of Indians an thrived under their stewardship. However, this environment also proved especiall vulnerable to the disturbances that accompanied European colonialism. The Spaniards had emerged from an ecosystem that was similar to much of California bu possessed inherent geographical and biological advantages. Like most Europea peoples, the Spanish had inherited a biological inventory that had evolved in th more ancient, diverse, and environmentally extreme settings of the Old World Some of these exotic species were more competitive in California's analogous Mediterranean environments than was the native vegetation that they replaced. Als aiding in the successful naturalization of Old World plants and animals in the New World were the foreigners' own cultural attitudes and practices. The colonial invaders of California conquered the land as well as the people, fortified by their cultural traditions and religious beliefs of an innate sovereignty and superiority over al forms of non-Christian life, including the plants, animals, and native peoples.

Unbeknown to them, the colonists' Old World ancestors had also bequeathed t them a host of virulent pathogens that shared their vessels of exploration to th New World and California during its precolonial period. These microscopic invaders directly attacked the linchpins of ecological stability in California—the Indians. The unintended consequences of disease to native land-use practices triggered imbalances that rendered the environment increasingly susceptible to the encroachment of other foreign introductions, such as weeds. The settlement process, beginning in 1769, magnified the impacts of inadvertent pre-colonial changes and introduced intentional practices that multiplied and spread the environmental changes. The acculturation process and the domestic livestock that accompanied Hispanic settlement served further to corrupt and destroy the role of the California Indian as the keystone species.

Remarkably, the totality of environmental change in colonial California was ini- ted and sustained by just a few thousand foreign human beings. These foreigners ickly coopted the California Indians as the chief agency of ecological change de- ite being outnumbered by them. Indeed, as the colonial period progressed, the erall number of people dramatically declined in California, and yet the magnitude environmental impact increased. The colonial pattern in California was extreme stimony to the vulnerability of New World peoples and landscapes to the human eways and biological products formulated in the Old World.

The environmental events in colonial California were roughly analogous to the itial peopling of the region toward the end of the Pleistocene Epoch. At that ne, the ecologies of California were forced to adjust to the first arrival of humans d their accompanying attitudes and technologies. Ecological disruptions were anifested, but with time a less tumultuous accommodation was established as the wcomers became naturalized to their new home. Likewise, the colonial period in- oduced a whole new set of peoples, attitudes, organisms, and technologies. The ological repercussions of these changes are still in progress, and naturalization iong the contemporary inhabitants has yet to be achieved. The question is, will ilifornia have sufficient resources in the future for an environmental accommoda- on with more than thirty million people who still possess a colonial frame of mind?

OTES

1. For assessments of the magnitudes of vegetational and faunal changes in California, see na Bakker, *An Island Called California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 168; ark A. Blumler, "Invasion and Transformation of California's Valley Grassland, a Mediter- iean Analogue Ecosystem," in *Ecological Relations in Historical Times: Human Impact and laptation,* ed. Robin A. Butlin and Neil Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1995), 310; and chard N. Mack, "Temperate Grasslands Vulnerable to Plant Invasions: Characteristics d Consequences," in *Biological Invasions: A Global Perspective,* ed. James A. Drake, et al. lew York: John Wiley and Sons, 1989), 165; Raymond F. Dasmann, *California's Changing vironment* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Co. 1981), 9–21. All references to alifornia" in this chapter, in keeping with common usage, refer specifically to Alta Cali- nia, as distinct from Baja California. All references to the "New World" refer to North and uth America, as well as to the Caribbean.

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American Geography 82 (1992): 345–68; and Tom D. Dillehay, "Disease Ecology and Initi Human Migration," in *The First Americans: Search and Research,* ed. Tom D. Dillehay an David J. Meltzer (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1991), 231–64.

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9. Bernabé Cobo, *Obras,* 2 vols. (Madrid: Atlas Ediciones, 1964), 1:420.

10. Kroeber and Heizer, *Almost Ancestors,* 24.

11. Blackburn and Anderson, in *Before the Wilderness,* 18. The use of the term *domestication* in this context is not traditional and does not mean the kind of domestication practiced by farming peoples in either the Old or New World.

12. Stephen J. Pyne, Patricia L. Andrews, and Richard D. Laven, *Introduction to Wildland Fire,* 2d ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 608–9; Henry T. Lewis, "Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory," in *Before the Wilderness,* 55–116 Jan Timbrook, John R. Johnson, and David D. Earle, "Vegetation Burning by the Chumash," in *Before the Wilderness,* 117–49; Helen McCarthy, "Managing Oaks and the Acorn Crop," in *Before the Wilderness,* 216–28; Florence Shipek, in *Before the Wilderness;* Harold H Biswell, *Prescribed Burning in California Wildlands Vegetation Management* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Anderson, in *Before the Wilderness;* Bev Ortiz, in *Before the Wilderness,* and David W. Peri and Scott M. Patterson, "The Basket Is in the Roots, That's Where It Begins," in *Before the Wilderness,* 175–93.

13. James G. West, "Early Historic Vegetation Change in Alta California: The Fossil Evidence," in *Columbian Consequences,* Vol. 1, 334; Anderson, in *Before the Wilderness,* 155–56; McCarthy, in *Before the Wilderness,* 223; and Lewis, in *Before the Wilderness,* 69–70, 105–110.

14. Stephen W. Edwards, "Observations on the Prehistory and Ecology of Grazing in California," *Fremontia* 20 (1992): 3–11.

15. Anderson, in *Before the Wilderness,* 156.

16. Malcolm Margolin, ed., *The Way We Lived: California Indian Stories, Songs and Reminiscences* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1993), 95, 98; Leanne Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1994), 92; M. Kat Anderson and G. P. Nabhan, "Gardeners in Eden," *Wilderness Magazine* 45 (1991): 27–30; Wendell Berry, *Recollected Essays, 1965–1980* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1981), 98; Matt Vera, "The Creation of Language, a Yowlumni Story," in *News From Native California* 7 (1993): 19–20; Anderson, in *Before the Wilderness,* 152–56; Blackburn and Anderson, *Before the Wilderness,* 19.

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20. Raymond F. Dasmann, *The Destruction of California* (New York: The Macmillan mpany, 1965), 33; William L. Preston, "Serpent in Eden: Dispersal of Foreign Diseases o Pre-Mission California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 18 (1996), 37; McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples,* 3–4; Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 116, 164.

21. It is widely acknowledged that demographic and environmental disruptions spread ad of settlement in most areas of North America, including areas south and east of Cal- rnia before 1769. See Ann F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European* *ntact* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1987); and Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Num-* *Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* oxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and* *lture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518–1764* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah ss, 1991), 86, 177–78, 234; Robert H. Jackson, "Epidemic Disease and Population Decline he Baja California Missions, 1697–1834," *Southern California Quarterly* 63 (1981): 308–46; l Henry Dobyns, "Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz Valley, Arizona," *New* *xico Historical Review* 38 (1963): 163–81.

22. Preston, "Serpent in Eden"; Jon M. Erlandson and Kevin Bartoy, "Cabrillo, the Chu- sh, and Old World Diseases," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 17 (1995): –73; Jon M. Erlandson and Kevin Bartoy, "Protohistoric California: Paradise or Pan- nic," in *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology,* 304–309, ed. Judyth Reed (San ego: Society for California Archaeology, 1996); and Harry Kelsey, "European Impact on California Indians, 1530–1830," *The Americas* 41 (1984): 494–515.

23. Virulent epidemics of Old World germs (e.g., measles, smallpox, influenza, and laria) in other colonial environments, and also in California after 1769, commonly killed m a quarter to over half (depending on the ailment) of those infected. See Ramenofsky, *tors of Death,* 171; and Sherburne F. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830–1833 in California and egon," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 43 55): 322.

24. George W. Hendry, "The Adobe Brick as a Historical Source," *Agricultural History* 5 31): 110–27; West, "Early Historic Vegetation Change in Alta California," 335–48; S. A. ensing and R. Bryne, "New Evidence for Pre-Mission Transformation of the California assland," *Abstracts of the American Association of Geographers,* 89th Annual Meeting, At- ta, 6–9 April 1993.

25. Edwards, "Observations on the Prehistory and Ecology of Grazing in California"; Blum- "Some Myths about California Grasses and Grazers," 24; Timbrook, et al., in *Before the* *lderness,* 138; Fred J. Kruger, G. J. Breytenbach, Ian A. W. MacDonald, and D. M. Richard- , "The Characteristics of Invaded Mediterranean-Climate Regions," in *Biological Invasions:* *Global Perspective,* ed. James A. Drake et al. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1989), 203.

26. Edwards, "Observations on the Prehistory and Ecology of Grazing in California,'

27. Dasmann, *California's Changing Environment,* 6; Dale R. McCullough, *The Tule E Its History and Ecology* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), 15; Burney Le Boeuf, "H tory," in *The Natural History of Año Nuevo,* ed. Stephanie Kaza (Pacific Grove: Boxwo Press, 1981), 12. The use of the term "American" in this essay refers to individuals from t United States, and American "period" represents the period beginning with the Gold Ru of 1848.

28. Margolin, *The Way We Lived,* 95.

29. Throughout the American West numerous lines of evidence demonstrate that Nati Americans were the major predators of large game and depressed their numbers impressive prior to colonial contact. Once destructive colonial consequences depleted the chief pred tor (i.e., the Indians) of the large game, the animals quickly irrupted territorially and n merically to a degree probably not experienced in North America since the termination of t Pleistocene Epoch. For authoritative accounts see Charles E. Kay, "Aboriginal Overkill ar Native Burning: Implications for Modern Ecosystem Management," *Western Journal of A plied Forestry* 10 (1995): 125; D. K. Grayson, *The Deserts' Past: A Natural Prehistory of t Great Basin* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993); R. Daubenmire, "The Wes ern Limits of the Range of the American Bison," *Ecology* 66:622–24; G. C. Frison, *Prehi toric Hunters of the High Plains,* 2d ed. (New York: Academic Press, 1991); Kay, "Aborigin Overkill," 359–98.

30. W. R. Hildebrandt and Terry L. Jones, "Evolution of Marine Mammal Hunting: View from the California and Oregon Coasts," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* (1992): 360–401; Mark L. Raab, "An Optimal Foraging Analysis of Prehistoric Shellfis Collecting on San Clemente Island, California," *Journal of Ethnology* 12 (1992): 63–80; Jac M. Broughton, "Late Holocene Resource Intensification in the Sacramento Valley, Califor nia: The Vertebrate Evidence," *Journal of Anthropological Science* 21 (1994a): 501–14; Jack M Broughton, "Declines in Mammalian Foraging Efficiency During the Late Holocene, Sa Francisco Bay, California," *Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1994b): 371–401.

31. Likewise, prior to Vizcaíno's voyage, explorers like Juan Rodríguez Cabrill (1542–1543) and Francis Drake (1579) reported similar sightings. Herbert E. Bolton, *Span ish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 91; Jua Páez, *Cabrillo's Log, 1542–1543: A Voyage of Discovery,* translated by James R. Moriarity an Mary Keistman (San Diego: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1968), 5; Robert F. Heize *Elizabethan California* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1974), 92.

32. Miguel Costanso, "The Portola Expedition of 1769–1770," *Publications of the Academ of Pacific Coast History* 2 (1911): 77, ed. Frederick J. Teggart; Fray Francisco Palou, *Historica Memoirs of New California,* vol. 2, ed. Herbert E. Bolton (New York: Russell and Russell 1966), 219; Pedro Fages, "Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770: Diary of Pedro Fages," ed. Herbert E. Bolton, *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* 2 (1911): 9; and Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions,* vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press 1930), 347.

33. The Spanish settlement of California, with its emphasis upon *reducción* or *congregación* missions may have been assisted somewhat by the demographic and environmental conditions left over from the protohistoric period. See Jackson, *Indian Population Decline;* and Daniel T. Reff, "Contact Shock in Northwestern New Spain, 1518–1764," in *Disease and Demography in the Americas,* ed. John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 272.

4. Bakker, *An Island Called California,* 168. Also see Blumler, "Invasion and Transfor- n ion of California's Valley Grassland," 310.

5. As the colonial infrastructure of missions, pueblos, and presidios expanded, authori- t became ever more concerned that the fires set by Indians (mission and non-mission alike) w ld threaten not only their buildings and domestic livestock but also the aculturation p cess. According to Stephen Pyne and his fellow authors, "the fire problem and the social p blem were one and the same"; Pyne et al., *Introduction to Wildland Fire,* 297. The concern o r Indian burning climaxed in 1793, when Governor Jose de Arrillaga drafted a procla- n tion at Santa Barbara designed to "prohibit for the future . . . all kinds of burning, not only i he vicinity of the towns but even at the most remote distances"; quoted in Raymond C. C r, *California Government and Forestry from Spanish Days until the Creation of the Depart- n t of Natural Resources in 1927* (Sacramento: California Division of Forestry, 1959), 8.

36. Dasmann, *The Destruction of California,* 61.

7. George H. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849* (Norman: U iversity of Oklahoma press, 1993); Sherburne F. Cook, "Colonial Expeditions to the In- t or of California: Central Valley, 1800–1820," *Anthropology Records* 10 (1960): 238–92 (rkeley: University of California Press); Sherburne F. Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior of C lifornia: Central Valley, 1820–1840," *Anthropological Records* 20 (1962): 151–214 (Berkeley: U iversity of California Press). An account of a malaria epidemic that struck Central Cali- f nia from 1830 to 1833 and may have killed up to 75 percent of the native inhabitants in s ne places is found in Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830–1833 in California and Oregon," 322.

8. Bakker, *An Island Called California,* 168–69; Blumler, "Invasion and Transformation o California's Valley Grassland," 315, 324; Mack, "Temperate Grasslands Vulnerable to Plant I asions," 165.

9. These adaptive advantages appear to validate that "Old World organisms are almost a ays 'superior' when the competition takes place in their home environment"; Alfred W. C osby, *Ecological Imperialism,* 291.

40. The relative importance of domestic livestock in the replacement of native grasses by e otic annuals is a matter for debate. In some interior vicinities, such as the Central Valley, M diterranean annuals seem to have arrived before the disturbances associated with live- s ck. The controversy also involves the composition of the original grassland habitats. For a litional material addressing these issues, see H. F. Heady, "Valley Grassland," in *Terrestrial V getation of California,* ed. M. G. Barbour and J. Major (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1 7), 493–96, 500; Lyndon Wester, "Composition of Native Grasslands in the San Joaquin V lley, California," *Madroño* 28 (1981); Blumler, "Some Myths About California Grasses a l Grazers," 23, 24, and "Invasion and Transformation of California's Valley Grassland," 319; I T. Burcham, *California Range Land* (Sacramento: Division of Forestry, Department of N tural Resources, State of California, 1957), 90–104; West, "Early Historic Vegetation C ange in Alta California," 334–37.

41. Blumler, "Some Myths about California Grasses and Grazers," 25; Heady, "Valley G asslands," 497–98; Wester, "Composition of Native Grassland in the San Joaquin Valley," 1–41.

42. John C. Ewers, *The Adventures of Zenas Leonard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma P ess, 1959), 88. For a substantial list of early pioneers in California who mention having seen s stantial fields of wild oats, see Blumler, "Invasion and Transformation of California's Val- l Grassland," 318.

43. Robert F. Heizer and Thomas R. Hester, "The Archaeology of Bamert Cave, Amador

County, California" (on file at Berkeley: University of California Archaeology Research Fa cility, 1973); Thomas J. Mayfield, *Indian Summer: Traditional Life Among the Choinumne In dians of California's San Joaquin Valley* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1993), 63.

44. Harold H. Biswell, "Ecology of California Grassland," *Journal of Range Managemen* 9 (1956): 21; Blumler, "Invasion and Transformation of California's Valley Grassland," 31 and Homer Aschmann, "Man's Impact on the Southern California Flora," in *Symposium Pro ceedings: Plant Communities of Southern California,* ed. June Latting (California Native Plan Society Special Publication No. 2, 1976), 42–43.

45. Blackburn and Anderson, *Before the Wilderness,* 19; and Robert Heizer, "Impact o Colonization on the Native California Species," *The Journal of San Diego History* 24 (1978

46. Many observers have noted the expansion and increased density of chaparral envi ronments since European colonization, but explanations regarding their continued persis tence differ. See Timbrook, et al., in *Before the Wilderness,* 125–26, 146, and Homer As chmann, *Symposium Proceedings,* 43–44.

47. Brooks D. Gist, *Empire out of the Tules* (Dexter MI: Thomson-Shore Inc., 1976), 19 and Lewis, in *Before the Wilderness,* 82, 86.

48. McCarthy, in *Before the Wilderness,* 223.

49. Timbrook, et al., in *Before the Wilderness,* 135–38; Blackburn and Anderson in *Befor the Wilderness,* 19; Shipek, in *Before the Wilderness,* 380; Lewis, in *Before the Wilderness,* 7

50. Shipek, in *Before the Wilderness,* 382. In a number of ecosystems, some species that ha become dependent on natural and human-set fires for reproduction began to go into declin See Lewis, in *Before the Wilderness,* 105–107.

51. The suppression of fire facilitated the spread of native species of chaparral that hav moisture-absorbing roots and leaves that exude oils and other substances that inhibit th growth of annuals. The effect reduces the presence of annuals as ground cover and con tributes to the barrenness of the more arid landscapes. See Shipek, in *Before the Wildernes* 382, 383. The combined consequences of the extinction of native practices, livestock grazin and expansion of the chaparral directly affected the health of top soils and interfered with th hydrologic cycle. Also owing to increased runoff and a reduced ability of the land to absor moisture, groundwater levels have been documented to have changed in southern Californi Groundwater change, in turn, has resulted in changes in plants dependent on the water an a loss of meadows and springs in some locations. See Shipek, in *Before the Wilderness,* 385; an West, "Early Historic Vegetation Change in Alta California," 343.

52. See Frank F. Latta, "Little Journeys in the San Joaquin" (Tulare: Frank F. Latta, 193 on file at California State Library, Sacramento), 21. Depending on the environmental ci cumstances, floral invaders also served to protect the fragile skin of the land from erosiv forces. The touted adaptability of Old World annuals allowed them to grow in a variety disturbed conditions and served to protect barren soils that would have otherwise remaine exposed. The "weeds, like skin transplants placed over broad areas of abraded and burne flesh, aided in healing the raw wounds that the invaders tore in the earth"; Crosby, *Ecolog cal Imperialism,* 170. In addition, where native species no longer thrived, the exotic grass quickly became the chief fodder for the livestock that sustained the imperial Spaniards an the foreigners who followed them to California.

53. David Hornbeck, *California Patterns: A Geographical and Historical Atlas* (Palo Alt Mayfield Publishing Company, 1983), 55.

54. Ibid., 58; and John A Schutz, *Spain's Colonial Outpost* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fras Publishing Company, 1985), 92. The number of livestock supporting the rancho system is u

tain and assuredly fluctuated with droughts. Nevertheless, according to one assessment in 8, "the present number is not much, if any, short of one million"; Edwin Bryant, *What I w in California* (Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1967 [1848]), 445. Livestock within the mis- n system is enumerated by Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 123–31; and Hornbeck, *California Patterns*, [illegible]

55. George H. Phillips, *The Enduring Struggle: Indians in California History* (San Fran o: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Company, 1981): 39.

56. Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior of California," 271.

57. The numbers of livestock carried off into the interior were not insignificant. Edwin ant in 1848 stated that "more than one hundred thousand can be distinctly enumerated, a d that the total amount would probably be double that number"; Bryant, *What I Saw in lifornia*, 434.

58. Phillips, *The Enduring Struggle*, 97, 160.

59. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, 434; R. A. Thompson, *Historical and Descriptive S tch of Sonoma County, California* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1877); Ewers, *The ventures of Zenas Leonard*, 122; McCullough, *The Tule Elk*, 20; and Aschmann, *Man's Im- t on the Southern California Flora*, 42, 44.

60. A particularly poignant episode of range management occurred during the the ughts of 1807 and 1810, when seven or eight thousand horses were driven into the sea at ta Barbara and Monterey respectively; Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission ys in Alta California," *Century Magazine* 41 (1890): 183–92. Also see *The Works of Hubert Bancroft, Volume 34, California Pastoral, 1769–1848* (San Francisco: The History Com- ny, 1888), 338, 347.

61. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, 302, 349.

62. Allan A. Schoenherr, *A Natural History of California* (Berkeley: University of Cal- nia Press, 1992), 718. The ecological disruptions were especially acute and environ- ntal damage the most severe during the periodic droughts that occurred prior to 1848. e droughts of 1795, 1820, 1828–1830, 1840–1841, and 1845–1847 were particularly dam- ng to the range. See McCullough, *The Tule Elk*, 15; and Burcham, *California Range nd*.

63. For a more accurate assessment of Indian depopulation in California, it is necessary have an idea of the populations that existed prior to 1492. Unfortunately, demographically, y little is known about this period. The figures used here are derived from Cook, *The Po tion of the California Indians*, 43–44; Sherburne Cook, *The Conflict Between the California ian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 346, 357; and orge H. Phillips, "Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in Cali nia," *Ethnohistory* 21 (1974): 291–302.

64. Hornbeck, *California Patterns*, 51; and Schutz, *Spain's Colonial Outpost*, 5.

65. E. R. Smith, "The California Ground Squirrel (Spermophilus beecheyi) Natural His y and Control Policies with Economic and Ecological Ramifications" (M.A. thesis, Biol ; San Francisco State University, 1980).

66. Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California"; Tracy I. Storer and Lloyd P. is, Jr., *California Grizzly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), 17, 129–30.

67. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Santa Barbara Mission* (San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1923), 6 and Storer and Tevis, *California Grizzly*, 120.

68. John Cassin, "Mammalogy and Ornithology," in Charles Wilkes, *United States Ex*

ploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842., vol. 8 (Philadelphia: Lea an Blanchard, 1858), 14; Storer and Tevis, *California Grizzly,* 82–90.

69. Scott W. Stine, "Hunting and the Faunal Landscape, Subsistence and Commerci Venery in Early California" (M.A. thesis, Geography, University of California, Berkele 1980), 50–53.

70. Ewers, *The Adventures of Zenas Leonard,* 120.

71. George C. Yount, quoted in Charles L. Camp, "The Chronicles of George C. Youn California Pioneer of 1826," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 2 (1923):52.

72. For an assessment of the areas significantly affected by non–Indian hunting, see McCullough, *The Tule Elk,* 22, 26.

73. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 5, 15. For descriptions of wildlife for a variety of locations and time periods, see Cook, "Colonial Expedition to the Interior of California," 248, 252, 255, 258; Ewers, *The Adventures of Zenas Leonar* Camp, "The Chronicle of George C. Yount"; John Work, *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventur John Work's California Expedition, 1832–1833, for the Hudson's Bay Company,* ed. Alice B. Maloney (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945); Bryant, *What I Saw in Californi* Jean F. La Pérouse, *The First Federal Expedition to California* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson 1959); C. M. Scammon, *The Marine Mammals of the Northwest Coast of North America* (Sa Francisco: John Carmany and Sons, 1874); William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage Between Chin and the North Western Coast of America, Made in 1804 by William Shaler* (Claremont: Saunder Studio Press, 1935), 55; and John Bidwell, *Echoes of the Past: An Account of the First Emigran Train to California* (Chico, Calif: Chico Advertiser, 1906).

74. For examples of the subsistence behavior of the early colonists, see Elliott Coues, *O the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garces,* vol. 1 (New York Francis P. Harper, 1900), 241, 280; Costanso, *The Portolá Expedition of 1769–1770,* 14 and 10 and Eugene H. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769–177* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 239, 253. Indications of food preferences are found in A Duhaut-Cilly, "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827–1828," translated b Charles F. Carter, *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 8 (1929): 306–36.

75. A good account of the early sea-otter trade is found in Adele Ogden, *The Californi Sea Otter Trade, 1784–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941). Notations of th use of wild terrestrial game for hides and tallow are located in Duflot de Mofrás, *Travels o the Pacific Coast,* 2 vols. (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1937), 257–58, and F. W. Beechey, *An Account of a Visit to California in 1826–1827* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1941). The diminishment of certain animals for hides and tallow was compensated somewhat by an increase in other native species that were drawn to the meat: "Abandoned on the hunting ground bears, attracted by this prey, come from all sides to feed upon it"; Duhaut-Cilly, *Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827–1828,* 241. For the specific geographical impact on elk, see McCullough, *The Tule Elk,* 25–26.

76. The non-Hispanic land and sea forays were also largely responsible for the collision of imperial interests and the heightened international tensions that characterized the period A more thorough account of fur brigade activities is found in Stine, "Hunting and the Faunal Landscape," 46.

77. Work, *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura,* 28. He further enumerates that in the vicinity of the Marysville Buttes, "395 elk, 148 deer, 17 bears, & 8 antelopes have been killed in a month which is certainly a great many more than was required"; ibid, 31.

8. Ibid., 31. The desires and attitudes of the foreigners were aptly epitomized in 1847 by E win Bryant, who stated that "the hunting sportsman can here enjoy his favorite pleasure t its fullest extent." Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, 302.

9. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 183; and McCullough, *The T e Elk*, 22, 26.

0. K. W. Kenyon, *The Sea Otter in the Eastern Pacific Ocean* (Washington: U.S. Departm nt of the Interior, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, 1969), 135; and Ogden, *The Cali nia Sea Otter Trade.*

1. The magnitude of the marine harvest is nicely illustrated by colonial events on the F allon Islands. By 1808, Yankee sealers were already harvesting Guadalupe fur seals on the is nds in astonishing numbers. One American vessel is reported to have taken approxim tely 130,000 seals in a two-year period beginning in 1808 and another over 70,000 in three y rs. The marine bounty did not prove inexhaustible, as demonstrated by the Russians, w o maintained a sealing station on the islands from 1812 to 1840. During the initial years t Russians were harvesting a yearly average of 1,200 to 1,500 Guadalupe fur seals, but by 8 the annual yield had fallen to only two or three hundred. Carl L. Hubbs, "Back from O livion: Guadalupe Fur Seal: A Living Species," *Pacific Discovery* 9 (1956): 15. An assessm nt of colonial impacts on some marine species is found in Burney Le Boeuf, "Mammals," i *The Natural History of Año Nuevo*, 287–325. Recovery rates of some pinnipeds and otters a discussed in Terry L. Jones and William R. Hildebrandt, "Reasserting a Prehistoric T gedy of the Commons: Reply to Lyman," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14 (95):78–98.

2. Some Indian groups are reported to have used fire intentionally to attack older trees, b the practice was exceptional owing to the lack of economic necessity and the spiritual inh itions to such behavior. See Anna H. Gayton, "Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography," *A thropological Records* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 78; and Shipek, in *B ore the Wilderness*, 387.

83. The construction of the fort, for example, between 1795 and 1800 at the entrance to S n Diego's harbor, was accomplished with lumber shipped southward from the hillsides of S ta Barbara and Monterey. Clar, *California Government and Forestry*, 14. For the best acc nt of the forestry practiced in California throughout the colonial period, also see ibid., 3 2.

4. A hallmark of American lumbering practices was the emphasis on the application of m re efficient technologies, power systems, and commercialism. A series of water-powered saw m ls was built by Americans immigrants beginning with one constructed for the authorities a Mission San Gabriel in 1822 or shortly thereafter; ibid., 15–18, 21–22, 25–26, 39, 42.

5. Mexican Minister of Interior Romero, quoted in ibid., 30. For a more detailed account o colonial forestry regulations, see ibid., 20, 30, 41–42.

86. Stephen Barton, "Early History of Tulare," Visalia *Weekly Delta* (July 2, 1874).

87. For more on mission irrigation, see Hornbeck, *California Patterns*, 51–53, and Norris H ndley, Jr., *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s–1990s* (Berkeley: University of C lifornia Press, 1992), 42.

88. By 1815, most missions had small dams to impound water for irrigation and to power g t mills. The number of reservoirs increased during the colonial era and became comm nplace in both religious and secular settings; Hornbeck, *California Patterns*, 53.

89. Camp, "The Chronicle of George C. Yount," 59.

90. Ibid, 43. Hispanic administration of water reflected Iberian custom and law. Th predominant Hispanic custom, known as "Pueblo Water Right," lingered in California t influence the adjudication of water rights during the American Period; Hundley, *The Grea Thirst,* 36–49.

91. Detailed accounts of the size and production of mission agriculture for various periods can be found in Frank Adams, "The Historical Background of California Agriculture in *California Agriculture,* ed. Claude B. Hutchison (Berkeley: University of California Pres 1946), 10; Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization,* 114–23; an Julia G. Costello, "Variability Among the Alta California Missions: The Economics of Agricultural Production," in *Columbian Consequences,* Vol. 1, 435–49.

92. Several accounts of Indian agriculture are noted in Bryant, *What I Saw in Californi* 265, 314; Phillips, *Indians and Intruders,* 99–100; and Ewers, *The Adventures of Zenas Leonar* 91, 95, 122.

93. See Storer and Tevis, *California Grizzly,* 61; and Smith, "The California Groun Squirrel."

11

lta California's Trojan Horse

reign Immigration

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

I 1769, Spain undertook its last colonial initiative in the New World: the occupa- n of Alta California. Coincidental with the implementation of this final colo- ation endeavor was the growing rumble of discontent among English settlers ng the eastern Atlantic seaboard of the continent. On the one hand, imperial ain was extending its domain northward along the Pacific Coast, while colonial nericans were chaffing under British rule. The latter tension by 1776 would lead the creation of a new nation, the United States; the coastal expanse coveted by ain would eventually become the thirty-first state in that Union.

In establishing Alta California as a colony, Spain imposed on it certain restrictive licies. The province was forbidden to trade with any foreign vessels; foreigners re strictly prohibited from taking up permanent residence; manufacturing and ricultural diversity were not encouraged; and shipbuilding was prohibited without vernmental license. Spanish colonial policy did support the development of farm g and ranching, mainly as a means to make the colony self-sufficient in respect to sic foodstuffs. Annually, a supply ship from the Mexican port of San Blas brought sential goods and supplies that the colony could not produce, such as clothing, rdware, sugar, and the like, as well as military supplies for the four presidios ected for defensive purposes. Although Alta California was founded during the gn of Carlos III (1759–1788), the subsequent enlightened "Bourbon Reforms," in- tuted at the beginning of the nineteenth century to liberalize arcane restrictions at held Spanish colonies in a state of dependent economic bondage, had little im ct in Alta California.[1]

Because Alta California was so far removed from Mexico, Spain had only limited ccess in recruiting colonists. To entice civilians, Spain had to offer each recruit ba clothing, food, and equipment, plus a promise of a plot of land and a pueblo

A daguerreotype portrait of Richard Henry Dana, Jr., probably taken in 1840, at the time of publication of his great book, *Two Years before the Mast.* Though Dana later demeaned it as "a boy's work," his narrative was a best seller, an evocative and moving description of a sailor's lot at sea and of life in California. In tight, luminous prose, Dana wrote of the splendid climate and rich soil of this distant Mexican province and of the "idle, thriftless people" who occupied it—alerting his countrymen to the promise of California, ripe for the picking, and creating an American literary classic that is as compelling today as when it was written. *Courtesy National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.*

(town) lot for a home site. In addition, taxes were to be waived for a minimum of fiv years.[2] However, under Spanish rule the colonial population of Alta California remained exceedingly small in respect to the vast size of the province. By 1820, settler numbered only about 3,270.[3]

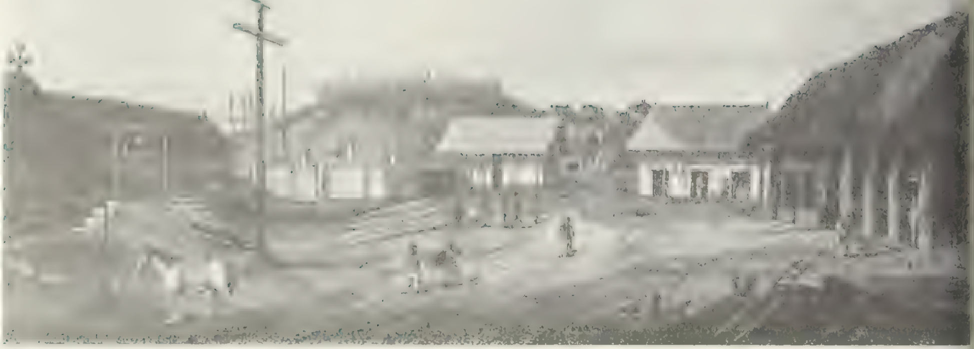
The paucity of population was also due to the fact that the overland route fro Sonora, Mexico, a trail blazed by Juan Bautista de Anza in 1774–1775, which he use the following year to bring the largest party of Mexican settlers to California—24 men, women and children—was severed by the bloody Yuma Indian uprising on th Colorado River in 1781.[4] Thereafter, colonists had to cross the Sea of Cortez, the trek overland through Baja California, or come by ship, the latter both expensive an trying. By 1796, aware that Alta California remained grossly under-populated, Spai decided to send convicts and orphans to the province as a means of augmenting th number of settlers.[5] A few artisans were also recruited, but "on discovering that th promises the authorities had made to them about rations and a bounteous life fo them [and] their families were hollow," they "quickly returned from whence they came."[6] Another population stimulus came from the presidial soldiers, some o whom married native or colonial women; when discharged from service, they usually became permanent residents.[7] However, the persistent sparsity of population spread out over so large a territory, later proved an added enticement for foreign immigration to the province.

Although the first foreigners to Alta California came as visitors, not immigrants they made a contribution to the eventual foreign immigration. The Frenchman n-François de Galaup de la Pérouse, explorer and scientist, called at Monterey on ptember 15, 1786, with two vessels for a ten-day stay. His visit is vividly recorded his journal, *A Voyage Round the World, in the Years 1785, 1786, and 1788.*[8] The expe- ion artist also left the first visualizations of life in Spanish California by depict- La Pérouse's reception at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Carmel. Like other itors to follow, La Pérouse was impressed by two distinctive California features. observed that "the fertility of this land is almost beyond words . . . [and] the cli- ite . . . does not differ greatly from our southern French provinces."[9] Such flatter- comments began to project an attractive image that eventually would lure im- grants, particularly Americans, to Alta California. La Pérouse also noted that expedition "enriched the gardens of the Governor and the missions with differ- seeds brought from Paris, which had kept perfectly and will provide them with led benefits."[10] This was the first gift that helped diversify the province's fledgling iculture. Subsequent visitors would also present enrichment gifts.

he next foreign visitors anchored in San Francisco Bay, November 17, 1792, oard *H.M.S. Discovery,* under the command of Captain George Vancouver. Cor- lly received, the British reprovisioned their vessel and at the same time paid a visit wn the peninsula to Mission Santa Clara, thus seeing something of the country- e. The primary purpose of Vancouver's voyage was to survey the coastline, which had carefully done on his passage south from Nootka Sound in present-day itish Columbia.[11] On November 25, the *Discovery* sailed for Monterey, having n joined by its consort, *H.M.S. Chatham,* a few days earlier. Anchoring the fol- ving day, the two ships found their storeship, *H.M.S. Daedalus,* waiting.[12] The lat- departed on December 29, while the other ships, delayed by weather and a fruit- s search for two deserters, did not sail until January 15, 1793. Unhappily for the erters, they were later caught and delivered to Vancouver during his last visit to nterey in November 1794, en route to England.[13]

On Vancouver's second visit, which included calls at San Francisco, Monterey, nta Barbara, and San Diego between September 17 and December 9, 1794, he was ly received. The new governor strictly adhered to the firm Spanish policy that eign ships were not welcomed in Spanish-controlled waters. However, the frigid eption did not deter Vancouver from his appointed charge: he continued to sur- the coast southward. On departing San Diego, he surveyed the Baja California astline as far south as Cape San Lucas. His task completed, Vancouver and his nsort sailed for England.[14] On arriving home, he commenced preparing his copi- s journal for publication. It was published posthumously in 1798.[15]

he importance of Vancouver's visitations to Alta California is threefold. First, his itical charts, maps, and geodetic surveys provided invaluable information for ship ptains. This in turn eventually spurred maritime activity on the California coast. ond, his descriptions of the territory, complimentary in the extreme, reinforced



An engraving based on a drawing by the sailor and amateur artist John Sykes, *The Missio of St. Carlos, near Monterrey* was one of three pictures of California that appeared in George Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* (London, 1798). Vancouver's survey of the Spanis territory was full and thorough, and his book, which served as a guide for subsequent visitors, was the first publication illustrated with general views of this outpost of empire. To the left of the picture can be seen the half-built walls of the seventh and present-day mission church at Carmel. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30519.*

La Pérouse's views. Third, his critical assessment of the province's pathetic militar defenses emboldened foreign ship captains to call at California ports in defiance o Spanish policy; it also signaled foreign nations that the territory could easily b plucked with little prospect of opposition. In addition, Vancouver also presented number of tangible gifts in California, mostly hardware, which were sorely neede and put to good use. A "handsome barrelled organ" was also presented to Fray Fer mín Francisco de Lausén, president of the California missions.[16]

The first American vessel to call at a California port was the *Otter,* Captai Ebenezer Dorr commanding, in 1796. While the ship was anchored in Botany Ba Australia, eleven convicts had stowed away in hopes of escaping their forced incar ceration. Anxious to be rid of his unwanted passengers, Dorr dumped the ten me and a woman on the Carmel beach at gunpoint. When news of this action reache the California governor, he was irate. Faced with the first foreign immigrants, th governor had little recourse: he put the stranded men to work as carpenters an b cksmiths at a salary of nineteen cents a day. Much to his surprise, the former con-v s proved hard-working and docile. Under orders, the governor reluctantly sent t m to Spain the next year. He also sent along the first known maritime deserter, I hman Joseph Burling, who had gone ashore at Santa Barbara the previous year.[17]

Rigid Spanish colonial policy, however, could not deter the increasing appearance o "Boston ships" off the California coast in the decade following the *Otter's* initial c ntact. Coastal waters abounded in sea otters, whose pelts brought a handsome p ce on the Canton market. The emergence of the sea-otter trade proved a boon to S anish Californians. Bartering pelts for New England products and exotic Chinese g ods, the coastal population, including the missionaries, obtained needed necessi-ti and luxury items that enriched their living standard. At the same time a market w found for California hides, tallow, and cattle horns (for buttons), a harbinger of t de that would later flourish under Mexican rule. Any Yankee trader caught in this il gal coastal trafficking faced stiff penalties, ranging from incarceration in poorly m intained prison cells to confiscation of ship and cargo. But the settlers' whetted a petites for foreign goods and the extraordinary profits realized from the sea-otter tr de proved worth the risk for most mariners. An additional benefit derived from th s illicit trade was an increase in the number of maritime deserters who opted for li in Alta California, bringing with them their labor skills and knowledge of c mmerce.[18]

Spain's grip on Alta California, always tenuous at best, became a casualty of the N poleonic Wars with the French invasion and conquest of Spain in 1808. By 1810 th annual supply ships from San Blas, so essential in the life of the province, were d continued due to the lack of goods and money. Annual stipends for the mission-a es and pay for the soldiery and the government were also suspended. Mexico c ild not afford to fill the void. Having become dependent on the annual ship and s bsidies from Spain, factors that decidedly controlled the province, the California p pulace had little recourse—it turned to illicit trade with the "Boston ships" as a t v "corner-stone in the edifice of [the] provincial economy." This profound shift li rally changed the basis of life in the province: it fostered "the movement that e ntually brought about the American occupation" of Alta California, namely the g owing presence of Yankee maritime traders, many of whom became permanent r idents.[19]

Three years before Spain fell victim to France's military prowess, the first Russian v itor, Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, chamberlain to the czar, sailed into San Francisco B y on the *Juno,* April 8, 1805. Dispatched to the Russian settlements in Unalaska o an inspection tour, Rezanov was appalled by the near-starvation he found in S ka. To remedy the recurring problem of food shortages in the colony, he under-t k the passage to Alta California in search of urgently needed foodstuffs. Cordially r eived by the governor, during his brief sojourn the Russian fell in love with Concepción Argüello, the fifteen-year-old daughter of the presidio commandant. A though they were bethrothed, marriage had to await the necessary clearances for a Orthodox Christian to marry a Roman Catholic. In the meantime, Rezanov w successful in obtaining supplies. His ship sailed on May 8 with a cargo of cereal dried beans and peas, tallow, and dried meat. Unfortunately, on his return trip t Russia, Rezanov died during the overland journey.[20]

However, the knowledge that foodstuffs were plentiful and available in Alta Ca ifornia attracted Russian interest in establishing an agricultural base in norther California, where the climate was more conducive for agriculture than were th Russian colonies father north. As a result, in search of a proper site, Ivan Kuskov, a officer in the Russian-American Fur Company, landed in 1809 at Bodega Bay, nort of San Francisco; he determined it to be a good harbor. Returning in 1812—Spai now completely under French dominion—he began the formal establishment o facilities at Bodega Bay and on a plateau eighteen miles to the north. There, a colon named Rus (later translated as "Ross" by Americans) was built. Ross became th agricultural base while Bodega Bay served as a post for the hunting of sea otter an seals by Aleut natives under Russian command.[21]

Russian timing proved advantageous. Spain, under French control, was helpless i thwarting the Russian-American Fur Company's intrusion on Spanish soil. No could Mexico respond: it was contending with a burgeoning independence move ment launched in 1810 by Fathers Hidalgo and Morelos. Thus the Russians' illega squatter presence was challenged only by recurring protestations from the provincia governors. Lacking sufficient military manpower and resources to mount an ag gressive threat, their remonstrations went for naught. Although precluded from ac tive trade and communication with Alta California, the Russians later created ne commercial opportunities after Mexico asserted its independence from Spanis rule.[22] In addition, after 1822 a more limited trade also developed between Ross an the San Francisco Bay area, mostly in bartering livestock for goods. The Russian also supplied more substantial items, notably building watercraft for missions Do lores and San José.[23]

In search of sea-otter pelts and seal skins, Russian-led Aleut hunters scoure coastal waters. One such party ran afoul of the authorities on September 19, 1814 Working from the mother ship, the *Ilem,* Vassili Tarakanoff and eleven Aleuts sen ashore to obtain a supply of fresh meat were captured at San Pedro and probabl taken to Mission San Fernando. During their two-year imprisonment there, four o the Aleuts married local women and became Catholics and permanent residents How many other Aleut hunters assimiliated in this fashion is unknown. Tarakanof and his fellow captives at first labored as field hands. Later, Tarakanoff offered hi skill as an ironmonger, hoping to forge metal ploughs to replace the arcane woode ones in use at the mission. His efforts were to no avail: there was an iron shortage ndaunted, he was allowed to do carpentry. He built household and church furni e and was paid for his handicraft. Thereafter, he "was treated somewhat better." bsequently, Tarakanoff and the remaining seven Aleuts were sent north, and from ission Dolores, on November 1, 1816, they sailed for Bodega Bay.[24]

Russian contact also influenced California labor patterns. Aleut hunters caught aching in coastal waters were placed in bondage labor. A French visitor to San ancisco in 1817 was struck by the "very well-made tables and benches" he saw in e officers' quarters at the presidio. On inquiry, he discovered they were the work of Aleut captive. He caustically recorded: "So, in an establishment founded forty ars ago by Spain, a savage from the Russian possessions was found to be the most illed workman."[25]

In the twilight of formal Spanish rule, foreign maritime visitors continued to call San Francisco. As was the custom of the day, each visitor recorded his impres- ons in a journal, all of which were duly published. The Russian-sponsored sci- tific expedition under the command of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue, com- unding the *Rurik,* is a typical example.[26] Even the first French visitor to the bay, mille de Roquefeuil, captain of the *Bordelais,* on a trading venture that brought m to San Francisco on three occasions during 1817 and 1818, recounted his ex- riences.[27] His visit also provided California with two of its earliest foreign im- grants, two Spaniards, José Fernandez, a passenger, and Antonio María Suñol, a uman deserter. Both "became somewhat prominent and respected citizens of the ovince."[28]

Even the abortive privateer threat in the fall of 1818 from Hippolyte de Bour- ard, commanding two vessels flying the Buenos Aires flag, made a contribution to pulation growth when one of its members, an American named Joseph Chapman, is captured. A skilled carpenter and millwright, Chapman received amnesty and came a highly useful citizen. He built the first mill in California at Mission Santa es and a second at Mission San Gabriel. For the latter, he also built a schooner for astal trade.[29] His life in California became the prototype of other compatriots who llowed. He became a Catholic, married a Californio, and received a land grant.[30]

With Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, Alta California became a ovince in the newly established nation. Mexican rule swept aside most of the pre- ous restrictive Spanish policies that had hampered economic development, mar- me trade, and foreign contact. One of the first things Mexico did was to open all ports, including California, to foreign commerce.[31] Citizenship for foreigners, for- dden under Spanish rule, was for the asking: the naturalization process was fast d easy. By 1828, land grants could be obtained either through naturalization or by ating the title twenty-five miles from the coastline, presumably to discourage uggling by foreigners and to use immigrants as buffers between the coastal set- ments and hostile interior Indians.[32]

By the 1820s, California had been made known to the world by foreign visitor published journals, including *Journal of a Voyage Between China and the North-Wester Coast of America, made in 1804 by William Shaler,* the first American account, printed in 1808.[33] The more important of the Mexican-era journals were those of the British Captain Frederick W. Beechey, an 1826–1827 visitor, and his fellow countryman, Sir Edward Belcher, who came in 1836–1837. The latter contained the first detailed map for the principal California ports.[34]

Under more relaxed Mexican rule, California maritime commerce flourished with the establishment of the hide-and-tallow trade by the 1830s. Originally sparked in 1822 by British businessmen in Peru, after 1828 it was dominated by American traders from New England, primarily Boston. Because of the complexity of the trade in respect to credit and collection, it was quickly recognized that it was essential to have resident traders at strategic places in California, namely San Francisco Monterey, and Los Angeles. Although lacking a harbor comparable to the San Francisco Bay area, San Pedro provided a fairly safe anchorage to accommodate Los Angeles, which had one of the largest concentrations of cattle in its environs. These resident agents—at first British citizens like William E. P. Hartnell (1822) at Monterey and later American Alfred Robinson (1829), who was what might be called a floating agent—were the forerunners of others to come. And like them, most became permanent residents, Catholic converts, married Californio women, and acquired land grants.[35] Equally important, these resident traders were fair and honorable business men who won the confidence of the local populace.[36]

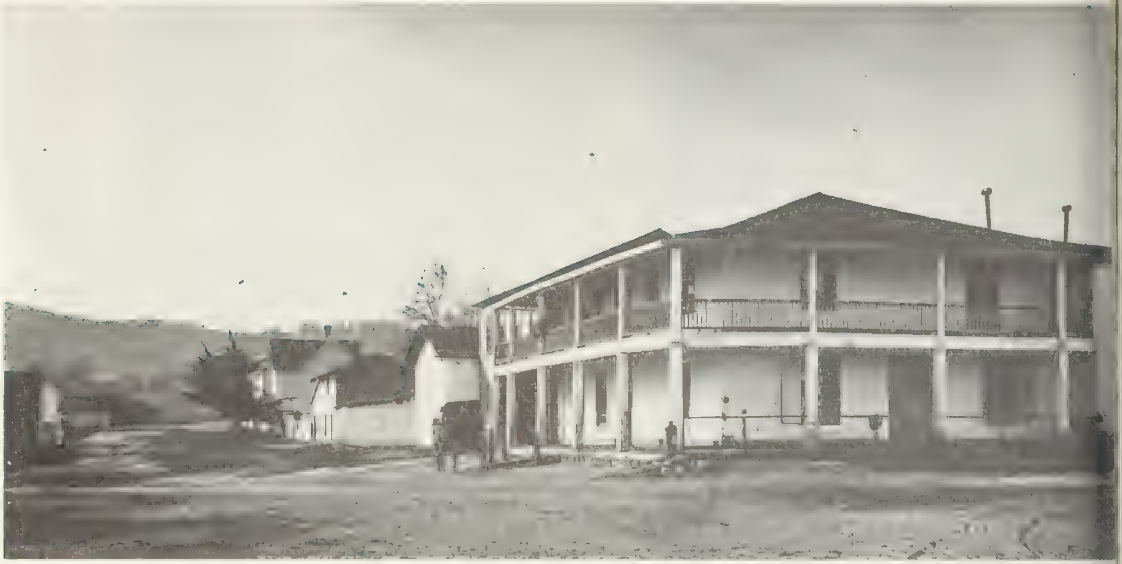
There is no question that prior to 1841 the majority of foreign immigrants reached California by ship, either as passengers or maritime deserters. Typical of the latter was the Englishman William A. Richardson, who bolted the whaleship that brought him to San Francisco in 1822. The governor granted him permission for permanent residence on condition that he teach his skills in the navigation arts and carpentry to young Californios.[37] Another, Michael White (1829), either English or Irish, built the first boatyard in California at Santa Barbara, which constructed the province's first two ships.[38] Maritime deserters' skills enhanced the local economy and labor pool.

The prospect of lucrative commercial enterprise in Mexican California proved attractive to a number of aspiring American entrepreneurs. As the hide-and-tallow trade was developing, two experienced trading ship captains decided on permanent residence in 1826, Henry D. Fitch in San Diego and John B. R. Cooper in Monterey. Both became Catholics and married into important local families.[39] In 1829, another American, Abel Stearns, who had resided in Mexico for several years, opted for settlement in Los Angeles. Already naturalized, he too, married into one of the leading southern California native families.[40] Another longtime trader-captain, Nathan Spear, took up residence in Monterey in 1831, later relocating to San Fran-

The adventurous and enterprising Yankee Abel Stearns arrived in California in 1829 and soon settled in Los Angeles, where he traded in hides and wines. Though disfigured in a brawl, *cara de caballo,* or Horseface, as he was nicknamed, won the hand of the beautiful Arcadia, one of the daughters of the famed ranchero Juan Bandini. Stearns, who became a great landowner as well as the leading merchant of southern California, possessed the handsomest house in El Pueblo, with a ballroom one hundred feet long. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

co, where he became a major commercial figure. In 1838, he was joined by his hew, William Heath Davis, who followed in his uncle's footsteps.[41] Thomas O. rkin, recruited by his half-brother John B. R. Cooper, settled in Monterey in 32 and became a dominant figure in subsequent Mexican California history. But like others, he married an American widow. Their union resulted in the birth of first American child to be born in California. At the same time, Larkin retained American citizenship and remained a Protestant.[42] Alpheus B. Thompson, an-er long-time ship captain, decided on Santa Barbara as his home in 1834.[43] These nericans became highly successful. Allied to important Californio families rough marriage (except Larkin), they were exceedingly able businessmen who ew how to handle bookkeeping, purchasing, collection, and credit and who were versant in Spanish, which gave them a decided advantage in the hide-and-tallow de over the captains commanding the trading vessels. As permanent residents and exican citizens they exerted considerable influence over their respective local nomies and played a major role in the province's overall economy.

A young American sailor, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., serving on the hide-and-low ship *Pilgrim,* left a graphic account of his experiences along the California st in 1835 and 1836, in the heyday of that distinctive commerce. His famed book, *o Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea,* published in 1840, fre-ently alluded to two themes: the wonderful California climate and rich soil, and many failings of Californios. These latter reflect his New England upbringing d bias against anything Spanish (or Mexican).[44] Californians in his view were "an



The Larkin House, built in the mid-1830s by the Massachusetts-born trader Thomas O. Larkin a few years after his arrival in California. Although Larkin used adobe bricks to construct the massive walls of his home, he incorporated conventional Yankee design features into it, blending Hispanic and American building traditions in a manner that typifies the cultural accommodation practiced by maritime immigrants of the 1820s and 1830s. *Courtesy California State Library.*

idle, thriftless people" who could "make nothing for themselves," not even wine. The men were "thriftless, proud, and extravagant, and very much given to gaming," while the women "had little virtue" and "their morality, of course, is not of the best."[45] Dana concluded his observations on California with a telling statement:

> Such are the people who inhabit a country embracing four or five hundred miles of sea-coast, with several good harbors; with fine forests to the north; the waters filled with fish, and the plains covered with thousands of herds of cattle; blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of diseases, whether epidemic or endemic, and with a soil in which corn yields from seventy to eighty fold. In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be![46]

Later, Thomas Jefferson Farnham, in his *Life and Adventures in California,* echoed Dana. After presenting a glowing description of the richness of the California landscape and terrain, Farnham wrote: "But its miserable people live unconscious of these things . . . they sleep, and smoke and hum some tune of Castilian laziness, while surrounding Nature is thus inviting them to the noblest and richest rewards of honorable toil."[47] As for the Californians, they were "an imbecile, pusillanimous, race of men . . . unfit to control the destinies of that beautiful country."[48] Such comntary left an untoward legacy in California: the seeding of racism by Americans. e majority of seamen who frequented California ports were New Englanders o had been teethed on the Black Legend spawned during the terrible religious rs that swept Europe in the wake of the Reformation. To many Protestant English l Americans, Spaniards were a black-hearted, traitorous people, indolent, lazy, im oral, and depraved. That view was extended to Californios.

And yet there was a counterweight to this; many mariners and traders married lifornio women. In Monterey, Dana noted “a number of English and Ameri ns . . . who have married Californians, become united with the Catholic church, l acquired considerable property.” Since the English and Americans had “more in- stry, frugality and enterprise than the natives, they soon get nearly all the trade o their hands.”[49] But Dana saw a downside. Although these English and Amer- ns were “more industrious and effective than Spaniards,” their children were be- g brought up as Spaniards, “in every respect, and if the ‘California fever’ (laziness) ares the first generation, it always attacks the second.”[50]

On the other hand, the Californio view of the foreigners in their midst was strik- gly different. Those who became a part of the community through marriage, faith, d citizenship found total acceptance. Although racially prejudiced against the na- e Indian populace, which provided the basic labor in the province, Californios ac- pted the casual commercial ship and visitors with equanimity. They were tolerated th courtesy and welcomed so long as they did not breach the peace or give offense. med for their hospitality, Californios extended to foreign visitors the best that uld be provided in way of food, drink, lodging, and entertainment. The mission- y padres occasionally worried about the prospect of Protestant influence on the pulace, but that worry never became an issue because the visitors were intent on siness; they were not religious missionaries seeking converts.[51]

Another harmful byproduct of the hide-and-tallow trade was that by 1846, with rmal American occupation of California, the Californios were faced with severe onomic consequences from that commerce. Again, Dana pointed the finger at rt of the cause. He candidly observed that his ship's cargo “consisted of everything der the sun . . . from Chinese fireworks to English cart-wheels,” all to entice the llible Californio elite, namely the ranchero dons and their wives, selling them ods “at an advance of three hundred percent upon the Boston prices.”[52] As for the dies, Dana recorded that the “fondness for dressing among the women is excessive, d is often the ruin of many of them.” With abandonment, they “frequently made rchases at a rate which would have made a sempstress or waiting maid in Boston en her eyes.”[53]

Thus the trading ships brought a cornucopia of goods to entice the consumer- ungry elite Californios. Fashion dominated: each man tried to provide his spouse, well as himself, with the best that was to be had, be it in clothing, jewelry, furni ture, or what-have-you. It became the rage: no home was a real home without canopied bed, even if it stood on a dirt floor.[54] There was no question, many item purchased were for show, not use. A classic example is the sale of three pianos, the first brought to California in 1844. Yet there was not a single person in all of Mexican California who knew how to play them.[55] Californio rancheros simply could not resist the new or the unusual in their buying sprees. Yankee traders exploited that gullibility with unashamed abandon.

As the hide-and-tallow trade began to weaken in the early 1840s, the Californios found themselves in increasing debt. Declining prices for hides and tallow, coupled with exhorbitant custom duties, greatly increased the cost of imported consumer goods. This final crunch necessitated the slaughter of more cattle for "California bank notes," as the sailors called cow hides.[56] As a result, prices were depressed. It was a harsh cyclical situation from which there was no escape. The economic distress was further compounded by gambling losses, for gambling was part of the Californio culture. When confronted with American rule after 1846, Californios found themselves with a tax burden placed on their extensive land holdings for the first time. Already in a debtor posture, this new demand, coupled with legal costs connected with proving land titles, wrought havoc to many Californios.[57]

Although there were adverse economic effects resulting from the hide-and-tallow trade, there was an often unnoted benefit. The hide-and-tallow ships brought with them books in their sea chests. Dana pointed this out. He came in contact with a fellow seaman who "was very fond of reading." As a result, the sailor was lent "some of the books we had in the forecastle, which he read and returned to us the next time we fell in with him."[58] Books became a decided element in trade, especially for a group of young northern Californios, some of whom had been educated at William Hartnell's *seminario,* taught by Father Patrick Short, a Picpus missionary expelled from Hawaii who arrived by ship at San Pedro in January 1832. The following year, he joined Hartnell's fledgling institution when it opened in Monterey. Subsequently, the college, which included a library, was relocated to Hartnell's nearby Alisal Rancho.[59] Some of Mexican California's young men were educated as a result of this pioneering, but all too brief, enterprise. Hartnell and Nathan Spear had already been tutoring select pupils privately, as were several other foreigners. As a result of these efforts, a group of Californios became relatively well educated. Their names dominate the history of the last decade of Mexican sovereignty: Juan Bautista Alvarado, José Antonio Carrillo, José Castro, Manuel Jimeno, and Pablo de la Guerra. Two other important figures were Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and his brother Salvador. Vallejo had acquired a large library and named all of his children after some famous author or historical personality.[60]

But there was an impediment to book importation: the Catholic Church's opposition to books it had placed on the prohibited Index. This, however, did not pre-de their clandestine importation. In 1831, the *Leonor,* under Captain Henry D. ch, reached San Francisco Bay. He had on board "several boxes of books, banned, course, by the California clergy." By secret negotiations he traded them to young llejo for four hundred hides and ten kegs of tallow.[61] Vallejo in turn shared his new rchase with friends Alvarado and Castro under a pledge of utmost secrecy. Un- tunately, Castro inadvertently leaked the news to a lady friend, who proved in- creet. All three men were summarily excommunicated. On appeal to Father Nar- co Duran, father-president of the Franciscan missions, and reputedly on the eptance of a monetary gift, the ban was lifted. "I give you permission to read the hibited books," Father Durán wrote, "even Voltaire, Telemachus, Rousseau, etc., d even the Protestant Bible, with the sole condition that they shall not be placed the hands of irresponsible or non-intelligent people."[62] No doubt the successful allenge mounted by Californios against increasingly authoritarian Mexican rule in 36, led by Alvarado and Castro, stemmed in part from the enrichment of their owledge through education and books brought to California by trading ships.

Foreign immigration overland proved a more daunting and difficult challenge to Californios than did welcoming and absorbing those who arrived by ship. The st step in the eventual realization of overland travel began in 1826, when trails stward were beginning to be explored by fur-trapping parties led by such famed ppers as Jedediah Smith, Sylvester and James Ohio Pattie (father and son), Ew- g Young, and Joseph R. Walker. The first to reach southern California was Smith, o appeared with his small band at Mission San Gabriel in 1826. He returned the lowing year to a less than hospitable reception. Since he had no passport, he was arcerated. On being freed, he rejoined his trappers and pushed northward, even- ally reaching Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay Company's main headquarters in e Pacific Northwest, located at the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette ers. His retreat northward was not without cost. Only three trappers and Smith rvived an Indian massacre at the Umpqua River in July 1828.

The Patties reached San Diego via northern Baja California as prisoners in 1827, th having been arrested for failing to have a passport. Sylvester died in captivity, t his son James, having brought some smallpox vaccine, was freed to vaccinate the pulace. He remained as a translator until 1830, when he took ship to Mexico. ving Young and his band made an extensive trapping foray in 1829–1831, working t of Taos, New Mexico. A smaller group of that party, led by Young and includ- g Christopher (Kit) Carson, reached Mission San Gabriel in 1830. The following ar, a party of thirty-six, again led by Young, trapped the San Joaquin Valley and its ers. In 1833, Young took his party into the Northwest, well into present-day Ore- n, before again trapping the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and San Bernardino valleys. e returned to Los Angeles in the summer of 1834. During these same years, 33–1834, Joseph R. Walker and his trappers discovered Walker's Pass across the southern Sierra Nevada range, visited Monterey, then left the province via the Sacr mento Valley.[63]

These early fur trappers' exploits had a major effect on foreign immigration. Fir they blazed the trails that would accommodate overland travel. It was this breed "Mountain Men" who discovered and utilized what became known as the Oreg Trail. By their trapping in the Southwest, these same furmen stimulated the reviv of the "Old Spanish Trail," an overland route from New Mexico to the Pacif Coast.[64] In 1829, Antonio Armijo, aware that American trappers had begun to u the long-closed trail, reopened that route of communication. Yearly thereafter, an a nual caravan of packers made the trip to Los Angeles and its environs to trade Ne Mexican products for horses, mules, and cattle.[65]

The California Trail, from the Oregon country south to Sacramento, also was th handiwork of fur trappers. Equally important, experienced early trappers later serve as overland guides to westbound immigrants. Another ancillary contribution was th resultant publicity the furmen's activities generated, ranging from detailed reports fo the federal government, graphic accounts of their exploits published in newspaper especially those on the frontier, and books such as Pattie's *Personal Narrative,* published in 1831.[66]

Finally, many of the furmen who traveled to California were captivated by it an became permanent residents. Most of these former trappers retained their America citizenship and eschewed naturalization, religious conversion, and intermarriage Many of their names loom large in the territory's history: Job Dye, Isaac Graham Isaac Sparks, Jonathan T. Warner, William Wolfskill, and Isaac Williams, to nam a few.

As the American populace grew in numbers during the 1830s, it was inevitable th new arrivals would play a larger part in the political life of the province. This becam an established fact in 1836, when Isaac Graham recruited a company of "Woo Sawyers & Hunters to the number of 50 to 60," dubbed Los Rifleros Americanos who aided Alvarado and Castro in seizing power from the Mexican-appointed governor in 1836.[67] However, that support also contributed to the infamous "Graham Affair" in the early spring of 1840. Graham, along with some five dozen Americans and British, was arrested on charges of treason and packed off to Mexico to stand trial in Tepic. Through the intervention of American and British officials in Mexico, the prisoners were released. Some, including Graham, returned to California.[68] But the "Graham Affair" became a cause célèbre. Thomas J. Farnham, who was on the scene at the time, treated it extensively in his book, *Travels in California.*[69]

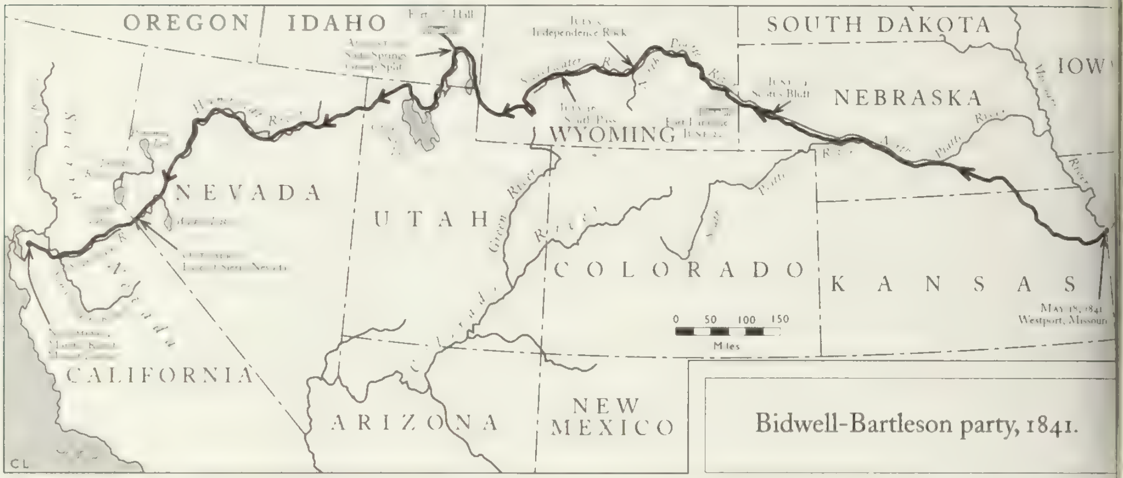
The lure of Mexican California gradually developed on the American western frontier, producing a trickle of overland immigration. Among the first to respond was a Swiss immigrant, John A. Sutter. Having failed in business and marriage, he fled Europe to New York in 1834. Journeying west to St. Louis, he visited Santa Fe th a trading party, then traveled overland to Oregon, took ship for Honolulu, ler Sitka, before reaching San Francisco in 1839. He prevailed on the governor to ant him eleven leagues (48,400 acres) of land in and around the confluence of the cramento and American rivers at what is today the state's capital, Sacramento. Ac- mpanied by some Hawaiian laborers recruited in the Islands, and guided by illiam Heath Davis, well-known resident American business agent in San Fran- co, Sutter took possession of his land. In 1840 he began the construction of Sut- t's Fort.[70] In the immediate years to come, with the advent of increased overland migration, this would become California's first "Ellis Island." In addition, many w American arrivals sought land grants in the Sacramento Valley because of the otection afforded the region by Sutter's Fort and the foreign and Indian militia he aintained as a precaution against hostile Indian attack.

Preceding Sutter by three years as a permanent California resident was John arsh. From 1833 to 1835, he had lived in Independence, Missouri, where he was a erchant. Facing failure and bankruptcy, in the summer of 1835, he fled to Santa Fe, here he remained for several months. In February 1836, he arrived in Los Angeles d petitioned the *ayuntamiento* (pueblo council) for a license to practice medicine. proof, he offered his Harvard A.B. degree, printed in Latin, as testament to his edical qualifications. After some difficulty in having the degree translated, the uncil finally licensed him on February 25. Dissatisfied with life in the southland, scouted the San Francisco Bay area for a possible rancho. For a time he was est of fellow American Jacob P. Leese, who had settled in 1836. After reconnoi- ring the locale, he purchased for $500 José Noriega's Rancho Los Meganos, in esent-day Contra Costa County, between Mt. Diablo and present-day Byron. On ceiving title to the four leagues, Marsh renamed his property Rancho Pulpunes. e settled down to life as a ranchero.[71]

In 1840, Marsh was galvanized by the "Graham Affair." He was called to attend e prisoners, including Graham, who "was cut and bruised from head to toe." Ap- lled by the brutal treatment meted out to the prisoners, Marsh later dispatched a istering letter to Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones and asked his complaint be forwarded to Washington.[72] He wrote in part:

> The French and English protect their subjects and are consequently more respected, while our consul at Tepic and American Minister in Mexico are absolute ciphers. Our government thinks we are better able to take care of ourselves than the people of the other nations, and I am disposed to think there is some truth in the opinion. Be this as it may, in a year or two more we shall at least be able to protect ourselves in California.[73]

To further that end, he had already begun writing letters to his former Missouri iends urging them to immigrate to California. Sending his letters via Santa Fe to e Missouri frontier, he ultimately aimed to attract sufficient American settlers to


OREGON
IDAHO
Fort Hall
Soda Springs
Independence Rock
SOUTH DAKOTA
IOW
NEBRASKA
Scotts Bluff
South Pass
Fort Laramie
WYOMING
NEVADA
UTAH
Green River
COLORADO
KANSAS
May 18, 1841
Westport, Missouri
0 50 100 150
Miles
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
CL

Bidwell-Bartleson party, 1841.

take actual possession of California, emulating their compatriots who had recently freed Texas from Mexican rule.[74]

As a direct result of Marsh's letters, the Western Emigration Society was formed in western Missouri in 1841 with an explicit purpose of recruiting immigrants for settlement in California. Although the recruitment drive was strongly opposed by frontier businessmen, the greatest discouragement came from Thomas J. Farnham. As recalled by John Bidwell, one of the first to join the Western Emigrant Society, "Just at this time [1841], and it overthrew our project completely—was published the letters of Farnham in the New York papers and republished in all the papers on the frontier at the instigation of the Weston [Missouri] merchants and others." In his volume, Farnham made no bones about his disdain for California and its Mexican rulers.[75]

But Bidwell was undeterred. He was the first to reach Sapling Grove, the rendezvous site, on May 9. Finally, by May 18, those who had determined to immigrate formally organized the party. This was the first planned overland immigration to California, a portent of what was to come. After adopting rules of conduct on the trail, the assembly elected John Bartleson as captain. Subsequently, the party was restyled the Bidwell-Bartleson party because Bidwell wrote the first published account of the company's overland trip. Fortunately for the greenhorns, the party attached itself to a Jesuit missionary band bound for the Northwest, guided by the experienced mountain man, Thomas Fitzpatrick, "Old Broken Hand."

The saga of the Bidwell-Bartleson party's westward trek need not be recounted, other than to note that at Soda Springs in present-day Idaho, the immigrants split into two groups: one bound for Oregon, the other California. The Bidwell-Bartleson party was forced to abandon their wagon and perilously made their way through the Sierra on foot. Fortune smiled, though; the party of thirty-two men and a

Called the "Prince of California Pioneers" by his biographer, John Bidwell crossed the Sierra Nevada and entered the broad expanse of the San Joaquin Valley in the autumn of 1841, one of the leaders of the first organized party of overland immigrants from the "States." In the vanguard of an ever-growing number of restless *norteamericanos* who would overrun the Mexican province, Bidwell subsequently acquired a vast rancho in northern California, mined for gold on the Feather River, and served as a United States Congressman. *Courtesy California State Library.*

nan with a baby daughter, reached Marsh's rancho in the shadow of Mt. Diablo November 4, 1841.[76] One of the ironies of history was that this band of Ameri- immigrants was made welcome by Commandant General Mariano Guadalupe lejo. Although they lacked proper passports, he waived that formality. Subse- ntly, Vallejo and his brother Salvador became ardent enthusiasts for American nigration, since both were staunch admirers of democracy, typified, in their view, the United States. They both later espoused the cause of an American takeover California.[77]

arallel with the Bidwell-Bartleson party was a like effort organized in Santa Fe. o long-time American residents, John Rowland and William Workman, re- ited a similar emigrant party. It may well be that Rowland had previously visited thern California several times, traveling with the annual trade caravan. To ensure ir safety, the Workman-Rowland party traveled in tandem with the traders, the avan totaling 134. The Workman-Rowland party—twenty-six men, four families, l servants (number unknown)—reached Tiburcio Tapia's Rancho Cucamonga in vember, the exact date remains in dispute.[78] A message was dispatched to Los geles officials. Esteban Vigil, captain of the annual trade caravan, wrote, "I give notice that a party of American merchants are coming, and with them are oth- who have the intention of residing in this country."[79] Rowland later reinforced s by stating that "The men with families come with the intention of establishing idence in this territory, and those have a trade to pursue same." The latter was im- tant, for the party included two physicians, a tailor (Jacob Frankfort), musician, lawyers, gunsmith, engineer, mineralogist, naturalist, blacksmith, three carpenter and two coopers.[80]

The successful, though harrowing, arrival of the Bidwell-Bartleson party in Ca ifornia was quickly made known on the Missouri frontier, as it was to the Unite States government. Ten of the original immigrants decided to return east in 1842 o horseback, led by Joseph B. Chiles and Charles Hooper. Using a variant of the Ol Spanish Trail to Santa Fe, then via the Santa Fe Trail, they reached Independenc Missouri, in early September.[81] Their return would spark renewed interest in ove land immigration. At the same time, Dr. Marsh informed Commodore Jones o the news:

> An event which will probably be regarded as of some importance in the future history of California, was the arrival in Nov. last year [1841] of an exploring party from the United States . . . they came in carriages to within about 200 miles of this place and probably would have come in them, the whole distance, had they [found] . . . the proper pass . . . their object was to see if California was indeed, the fine country it had been represented, and with the ulterior object of emigrating to it if it should meet their expectations. They were well received . . . and insured that all facilities will be afford them for the acquirement of lands.[82]

Although there was no immigration via the central or northern overland trails i 1842, a company of two hundred arrived in southern California from New Mexico including forty foreigners who planned "to examine the country as a field for colonization." None of these, other than a few native New Mexicans, opted for permanent residence; the rest returned from whence they came.[83] However, the foreign resident population was increased by thirty-three who came by ship and elected t stay.[84]

In 1843, Chiles recruited and captained a party to Fort Laramie. There he me Joseph R. Walker, the experienced fur trapper, who joined as guide. Later the party split. Chiles took fifty-nine men, women, and children from present-day Boise to the Sacramento Valley by way of the Malheur and Pit rivers, thus opening a new trail Walker pushed south and brought his group into the San Joaquin Valley via Walker' Pass.[85] A second party captained by Lansford W. Hastings, some 160 in number, departed Missouri for Oregon in 1842. Hastings, intent on going to California from the outset, led a party of fifty-three southward in the spring of 1843 along the established trail. En route, a goodly number defected on hearing that life in California was not an attractive prospect. Only sixteen or seventeen men and an unknown number of women and children reached Sutter's Fort.[86]

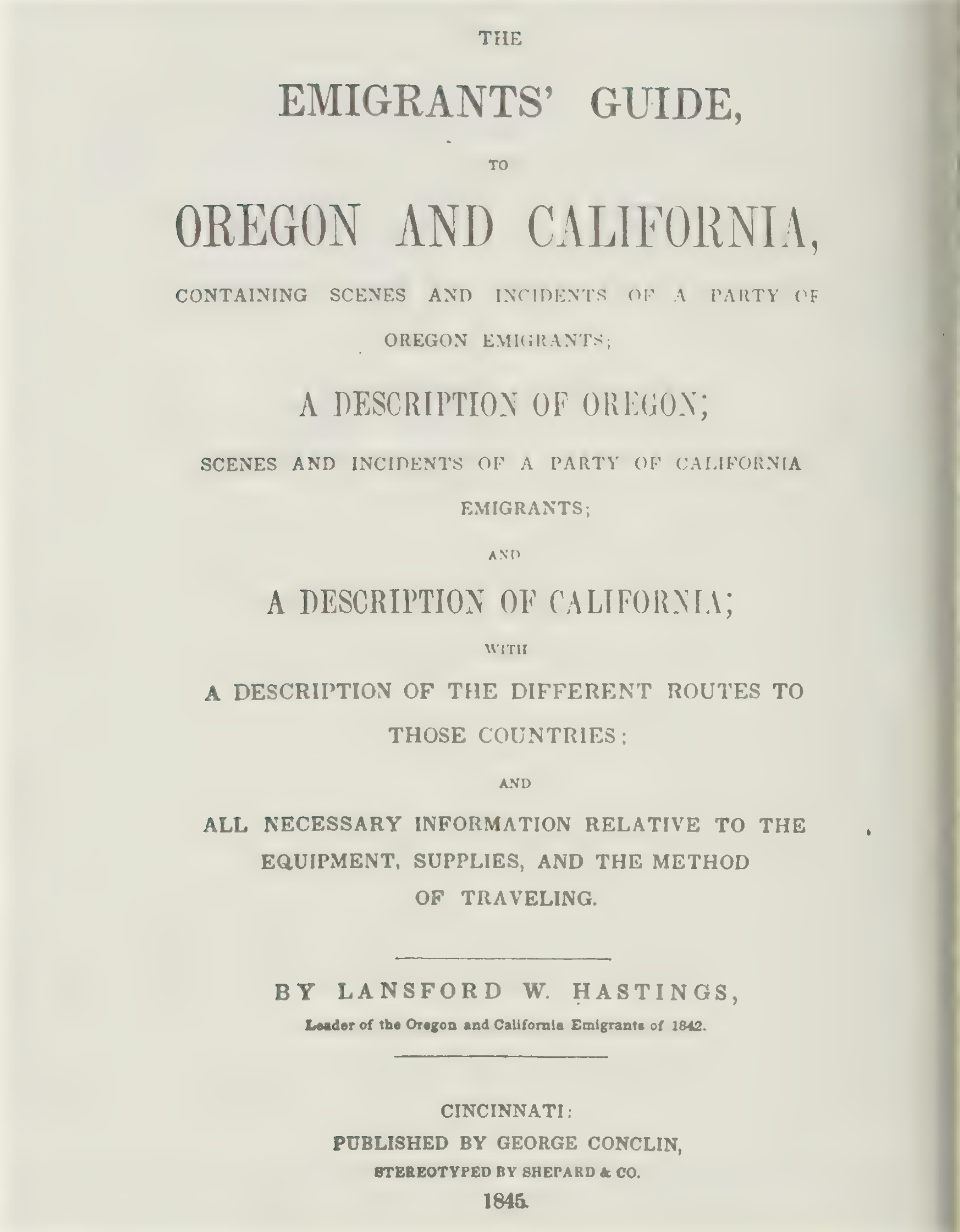
Sometime between 1843 and 1844, the journal John Bidwell kept of the 1841 pioneering overland trek was published either in Weston or Independence, Missouri.[87] This might well be called the first overland traveler's guide book. It certainly was

l as such, since the only surviving copy, minus the title page, was brought to Cal-
ia by George McKinstry, Jr., an 1846 overland immigrant.[88] However, the jour-
had little or no impact on 1844 emigration, which consisted of only two parties.
lrew and Benjamin Kelsey, both members of the 1841 Bidwell-Bartleson party,
r decided to move to Oregon, then changed their minds and returned south in
4 to California with a company of thirty-six. The Stevens-Murphy party, led by
ha Stevens, which included the large Murphy family, fifty men in all, plus
nen and children, followed the Bidwell-Bartleson route as best they could, but
e more successful than their predecessor: they brought the first wagons across the
rra, arriving safely at Sutter's Fort on December 3.[89]

ix civilian parties reached California overland in 1845. The first was led by Green
Mahon, an 1841 overland pioneer, and James Clyman, a former trapper who
t a diary of the trip.[90] Originally the party went to Oregon, where most elected
ettle. The rest followed McMahon and Clyman south to the Sacramento Valley
uly. (One of the new arrivals, James Wilson Marshall, would earn fame for his
l discovery at Coloma in 1848.) A second Oregon contingent, forty-three in
ber, including a woman and three children, followed. The small Swasey-Todd
y, twelve to thirteen men, using pack animals and horses, made it safely over the
rra, as did the Grisby-Ide party, fifty men as well as families, totaling about one
dred in all. It proved to be the largest 1845 overland party. Two other smaller par-
, one led by Solomon Sublette, with fifteen men, and a second Hastings contin-
t of ten travelers, also came to California.[91] The latter made it just in time,
hing Sutter's Fort on December 25. As for the Sublette party, it decided to return
ne.[92]

t is estimated that some 400 American emigrants came to California in 1845. Of
t number, about 170 decided to become permanent residents.[93] However, these
rland Americans were a new breed of settler. They came with their families when
sible, remained United States citizens and Protestants, and if they arrived single,
y often married fellow Americans. At the same time, some also acquired land
nts, mostly in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, an area that held little in-
st for Californios.

he sharp contrast between Spanish and Mexican California in respect to foreign
nigration can be easily assayed. The first foreigner permitted to reside in Alta
ifornia was John Gilroy, an English seaman taken ill and left in San Francisco by
Isaac Todd in 1814, who lived out his days in and around the Monterey-Santa
z area. When Spanish rule ended in 1821, there were only seventeen foreigners
ding in the entire province: five Americans, five Englishmen, three Irishmen, two
tsmen, an Italian, a Portuguese, a Russian, and three blacks.[94] Under Mexican
, by 1830 some 150 foreigners were residents; by 1835, that number doubled; by
o, 380 are counted, and at the end of 1845, 680 foreigners are recorded.[95] The ma-



THE

EMIGRANTS' GUIDE,

TO

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

CONTAINING SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF A PARTY OF

OREGON EMIGRANTS;

A DESCRIPTION OF OREGON;

SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF A PARTY OF CALIFORNIA

EMIGRANTS;

AND

A DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA;

WITH

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT ROUTES TO

THOSE COUNTRIES;

AND

ALL NECESSARY INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE
EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES, AND THE METHOD
OF TRAVELING.

BY LANSFORD W. HASTINGS,
Leader of the Oregon and California Emigrants of 1842.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE CONCLIN,
STEREOTYPED BY SHEPARD & CO.
1845.

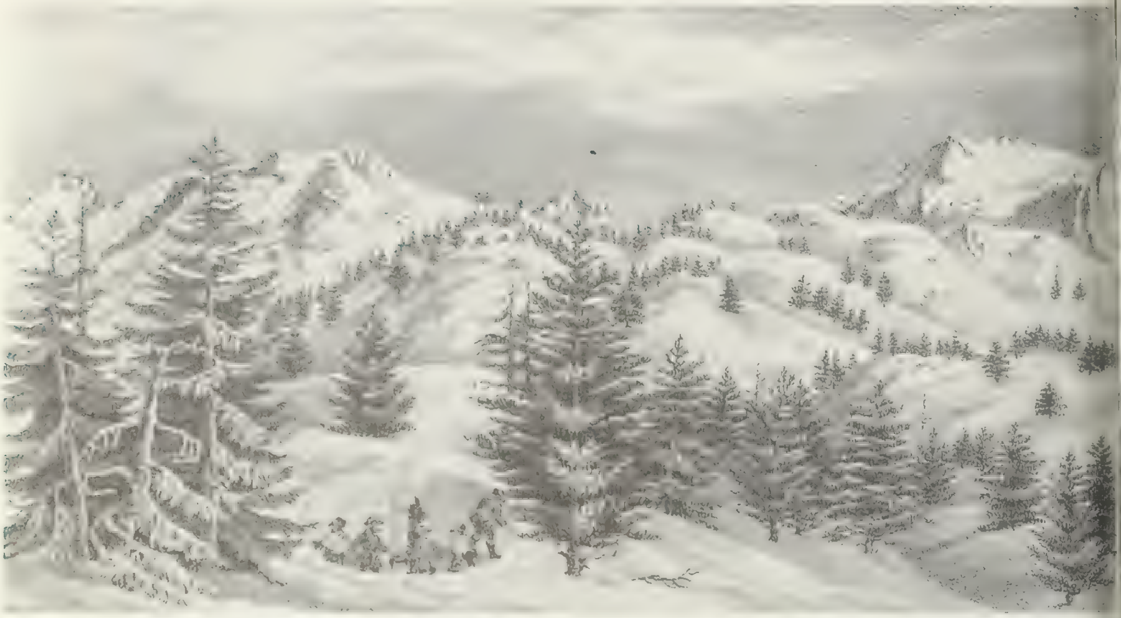
Title page from Lansford Hastings's *Emigrants' Guide,* published in 1845 to promote settlement in California. Hastings, an Ohio-born lawyer who had visited the Mexican province two years earlier, proposed that overland travelers swing south of the Great Salt Lake on the "Hastings' Cut-Off" to save time. Following his advice in 1846, the Donner Party lost precious weeks wandering in the desert and, consequently, met disaster in the snows of the Sierra Nevada, nearly half of them perishing in their winter encampment. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30522.*

ty were from the United States, but many nationalities had minority representa- as reflected in the 1836 and 1844 censuses for Los Angeles, the only community ed to the legal status of *ciudad* (city) by the Mexican government.[96]

This foreign influx, as previously mentioned, augmented and enriched Alta Cal- nia's labor force, bringing to it varied skills and talents, as well as founding and inating the retail trades, including the introduction of retail branches. In addi- , new commercial endeavors were launched that aided the province's economy. ovations included viticulture, milling, ship construction, furniture manufacturing, ksmithing—which led to the production of iron goods—distilleries, and espe- lly lumbering.[97] The latter began in the early 1830s by independent American vyers," the contemporary name for today's lumberjacks. Thomas Larkin, who ved with experience in sawmilling and lumbering, seized the opportunity and ped fashion the budding industry. Lumber and its byproducts became a profitable nent in intercoastal trade and found a ready market in the Hawaiian Islands.[98]

The increasing presence of foreign nationals in California during the waning rs of the Mexican period resulted in the appointment of resident consulate cials by the British, French, and United States governments. In 1842, James A. bes was appointed British vice-consul, taking office in October 1843; Louis Gas- t received his appointment in 1842 but did not reach California until mid-March 5; he was succeeded by Jacob A. Moerenhaut in October 1846. Thomas O. Larkin appointed American consul, taking up his formal duties in March 1844. He was third consul appointed: the first, in 1837, died before he could embark for Cali- nia; the second never took up his post.[99] Larkin's formal appointment, May 1, 3, resulted in part from the abortive occupation of Monterey by American naval ces under Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones in October 1842, acting on the sumption that the United States and Mexico were at war.[100] Jones's seizure of xican California's capital without any resistance underscored Captain William ler's conclusion when he had paid a visit in 1804 with his ship, the *Lelia Byrd*: "he conquest of this country would be absolutely nothing; it would fall without an ort to the most inconsiderable force."[101]

With the election in 1844 of James K. Polk, who proclaimed America's "Manifest stiny," Larkin was appointed "confidential agent," in modern parlance, a type of .A. agent. The United States was troubled by the deep suspicion that France and eat Britain had aspirations on acquiring California as their territory. Secretary of te James Buchanan informed Larkin on October 17, 1845, that the United States ould vigorously interpose to prevent . . . [California] from becoming a British or nch Colony." Furthermore, he continued, "whilst the President will make no ort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and in- endent States of this Union, yet if the People should desire to unite their destiny h ours, they would be received as brethren."[102]



A lithographic illustration, titled *Pass in the Sierra Nevada of California,* from John C. Frémont's epic *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843–'44* (Washington, 1845). A capable amateur scientist as well as a fearless adventurer, Frémont wrote engaging narratives of his travels, with the indispensable assistance of his wife, Jessie. His *Report* on his second and third expeditions not only served as a guide for immigrants but heated the passions of Americans eager to acquire a Pacific Coast empire. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30518.*

Although unbeknown to the Californios, the year 1845 would prove a crucial one for Mexican California. In that year, two important United States government publications appeared: Charles Wilkes's *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842,* which included his account of the expedition's visit to California both by sea and land (an overland party from Oregon), and John Charles Frémont's report on his second expedition to the Far West, which included his first foray into California.[103] These two publications caught the attention of the American public, especially the politicians in Washington.

At the same time, events in California led to the armed overthrow of the province's last Mexican-appointed governor, General Manuel Micheltorena. Taking office in 1842, bringing with him an undisciplined and rowdy command of two hundred soldiers, Micheltorena and his *cholo* troops quickly alienated the Californio populace. They finally revolted in November 1844 and launched a campaign to rid the province of the governor and his despised soldiers. Sutter threw his support to Micheltorena and raised a company of one hundred American riflemen and one dred loyal Indians to aid the embattled governor, who promised munificent land its to those who came to his aid. In southern California, on the other hand, the re foreign populace joined the rebels led by Pio Pico, José Castro, and Juan B. Al- do. At the crucial confrontation between the two forces at the Battle of uenga in February 1845, John Rowland and B. D. Wilson, members of the kman-Rowland 1841 emigrant party, persuaded their fellow countrymen to ndon Micheltorena in the field. With the desertion of Sutter's company, Michel- na surrendered two days later. He and his troops were force-marched to San Pe- put on a chartered vessel, and sailed March 9 for Monterey to pick up the dis- ed governor's wife and additional soldiers. The ship departed on March 31, ing behind fifteen to twenty previously discharged soldiers and a few others wanted to remain.[104] Thus did actual Mexican rule in California come to an . Pío Pico, a Californio, was chosen governor. Californios now ruled their native l, but their dominion was short-lived.

n the eve of the United States's war with Mexico, the American populace was ring under Mexican rule. There was a growing discontent among the newly ar- d immigrants, who perceived Mexican laws as arbitary and repressive. Coming a common law tradition, Americans found the Mexican justice system alien to r outlook.[105] Mexican law was designed to maintain the homogeneous, pastoral, precommercial Californio society. This came into direct conflict with the atom- and commercial-minded American immigrants, who wanted certainty and pre- ability in their daily transactions and who were not inclined to accept the con- tion and flexibility that characterized Mexican-California law. Rather than ere to common law practice of enforcing a contract at any cost, the purpose of xican civil litigation was to heal the breach in the community" without placing ue hardship on either disputant.[106] Because of the vastness of the territory, Cal- nia's geographic isolation was largely responsible for the disparity between the ten law and the system that actually developed in Mexican California. Ameri- immigrants disdained the paternalistic and benevolent dictatorial Mexican law, ch worked to settle disputes locally and in an amicable fashion without any ad- ence to common law practice, notably the lack of trial by jury or writ of habeas us. There simply was little ground for reconciling the stark differences between immigrants' legal outlook and that of the Californios.[107]

his situation became more acute after 1841 with the arrival of a new breed of im- grant. Most of these pioneers settled in interior areas eschewed by Californios. resultant settlement pattern in effect fashioned American rural ghettos, segre- ed from the coast-bound Spanish-speaking community. Kindred souls tended to lesce as a kind of protection of their way of life. Most new arrivals flaunted the irement to make application for a passport, a kind of resident's visa. Intermar- e with the native populace was frowned upon, as was conversion to the Catholic

Church. Since the majority of the settlers after 1841 came as families, that binding unit reinforced the desire for isolation from the Californio community. These new immigrants were Americans, first, last, and always. That nativistic arrogance bred divisiveness and distrust between Californios and immigrant Americans.[108]

Reflecting on the growing discontent and disenchantment with Mexican law and rule, two American émigrés—John Marsh and Charles M. Weber—suggested to their compatriots that they begin to imitate their Texan counterparts and resis Mexican intrusions into their lives and property.[109] At the same time, some Californios, feeling little or no allegiance to Mexico, were openly debating whether to place California under the protection of France, Great Britain, or the United States By the summer of 1846, unaware that war with Mexico had become a reality, and no doubt emboldened by the presence of John C. Frémont and his exploring brigade on a second visit to California, a group of American settlers in the Sacramento and Sonoma valleys commenced an armed revolt and unfurled a hastily lettered and drawn bear flag as a symbol of independence and liberty. This extraordinary movement, subsequently named the Bear Flag Revolt, led to the abortive establishment of the so-called California Republic, which lasted only a month, from June 10 to July 9, 1846. This mini-episode's success was due primarily to the active support rendered by Frémont and his troops. However, the effort was for naught when American naval forces formally occupied California's capital, Monterey, and took over the provincial government.[110] The latter achieved what the relatively small band of Bear Flaggers intended: to make certain California became a part of the United States Ironically, the Mexican government's liberal policies respecting foreign nationals residing in California had proven to be Alta California's Trojan horse.

The historiography on the impact of foreign immigration on Alta California has been greatly enriched by a number of recent publications that are fully cited in the notes. Older studies, particularly the published journals of foreign visitors, are likewise cited in the notes. Two recent books are exceedingly important: David J. Langum, *Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier: Anglo-American Expatriates and the Clash of Legal Traditions, 1821–1846* (1987), and Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (1990). They provide new insights into the relationship between Californios and foreign immigrants. A number of new biographies have added much to the understanding of foreign immigrants, and these are also cited in the endnotes. Although Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo has been treated in three biographies, there is a paucity of other Californio biographies. What is needed are more studies like Pearl R. Fibel, *The Peraltas: Spanish Pioneers and First Family of the East Bay* (1971). Exceedingly useful is *A Bibliography of Early California and Neighboring Territory Through 1846*, complied by Robert L. Santos (Turlock, Calif: Privately printed, 1992). For a general overview of sources pertinent to pre-1846 Alta California, see Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., nd Gloria R. Lothrop, eds., *A Guide to the History of California* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 3–34.

NOTES

1. For the impact of the "Bourbon Reforms" on trade and travel in Spanish America, with alifornia being a notable exception, see John Lynch, ed., *The Spanish American Revolutions, 808–1826* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

2. An excellent example of this is found in Thomas Workman Temple II, "Supplies for the obladores," *Annual Publication Historical Society of Southern California* XV, Pt. 1 (1931): 21–34, and "Outfits of Soldiers, Settlers and Families," ibid., 146–47; Marion Parks, "Cor-espondence Pertaining to Reglamento and to Recruital of Pobladores," ibid., 135–42.

3. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & ompany, Publishers, 1884–1890), II: 392.

4. Herbert E. Bolton, ed. and trans., *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols., Berkeley: Uni-ersity of California Press, 1930), III and IV, passim. Also see Bolton, *Outpost of Empire: The tory of the Founding of San Francisco* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931).

5. Bancroft, *California,* I: 539, 605–606; II: 169; Salomé Hernández, "No Settlement Without Women: Three Spanish California Settlement Schemes, 1790–1800," in *Southern alifornia's Spanish Heritage: An Anthology,* ed. by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Histor-cal Society of Southern California, 1992), 309–38.

6. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of the Mexican Culture in Fron-ier California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 109–10.

7. An examination of Bancroft's "Pioneer Register" in his *California,* at the end of vol-mes II–V, attests to this eloquently.

8. The original French edition was published in Paris under the Imprimerie de la Répub-ic in four volumes, 1797, followed by a second printing by Chez Plassan in 1798. The first nglish translation was published in London in 1799 by G. G. and J. Robinson, J. Edwards, nd T. Payne. These are superceded by John Dunmore, trans. and ed., *The Journal of Jean-rançois de Galaup de la Perouse, 1785–1788* (2 vols., London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955).

9. Ibid., I: 173.

10. Ibid.

11. W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *The Voyage of George Vancouver, 1791–1795* (4 vols., London: The akluyt Society, 1984), II: 486–91.

12. Vancouver's first California sojourn is recounted in ibid., 704–27, 737–46.

13. Ibid., 788; IV: 1417. Two other deserters from the *Daedalus,* the storeship, were also urned over by the Spanish authorities. Ibid., IV: 1416, n.2.

14. Ibid., III: 1062, 1114–22.

15. Vancouver died on May 12, 1798. His brother John completed the final manuscript, which was published in London by G. G. and J. Robinson, and J. Edward, three volumes plus tlas, in 1798. A second revised edition followed three years later (6 vols., London: John tockdale, 1801).

16. Lamb, ed., *Voyage of George Vancouver,* III: 1110. The organ was taken to Carmel and oday is on display at Mission San Juan Bautista in San Benito County. Ibid., 1. The pathetic ilitary posture in Alta California is reflected in John P. Langellier and Daniel B. Rosen, *El*

Presidio de San Francisco: A History Under Spain and Mexico, 1776–1846 (Spokane, Wash. Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996).

17. Bancroft, *California,* I: 538–40, and notes.

18. Robert G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: Th Macmillan Company, 1926), 1–21. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea-Otter Trade, 1784–184* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), provides solid treatment of this importan early-nineteenth-century economic development. Also, see her study, "New England Trader in Spanish and Mexican California," in *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugen Bolton,* ed. by Adele Ogden and Engel Sluiter (Berkeley: University of California Press 1945), 395–413. For the role of the missionaries, Sister Magdalen Coughlin, "Missionary an Smuggler: Acts of Disobedience or Civilization?" in *Some California Catholic Reminiscences fo the United States Bicentennial,* ed. by Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles, 1976), 91–110.

19. Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: Th Macmillan Company, 1921), 438–39.

20. *The Rezanov Voyage to Nueva California in 1806 by Nikolai Petrovich Rezano* (Reprint ed., Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1988), 11–64, offers his personal account He died on March 1, 1807, at Krasnoyarsk in eastern Siberia. Ibid., 86. For his California romance, see Eve Iverson, "Nickolai Rezanov and Concepción Argüello: A Tale of Old California," *California Historian* 42 (Summer 1996): 6–15. Another first-hand account is foun in *Langsdorff's Narrative of the Rezanov Voyage of Nueva California in 1806 by Doctor Geor H. von Langsdorff* (Reprint ed., Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1988), 17–143, a distillation from George Henrich von Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations on a Voyage Roun the World From 1803 to 1807,* trans. and annotated by Victoria J. Moessner, ed. by Richard A Pierce (Kingston, Ontario, and Fairbanks, Alaska: The Limestone Press, 1993), 2 vols. i one; for the California visit, 2: 84–129. The latter was originally published in German a Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1812, with an English translation in London, 1813–14, both editions in two volumes.

21. E[dward] O. Oliver Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," *California Historical Society Quarterly* XII (September 1933): 191–209; Bancroft, *California,* II: 58–92, 294–320 628–42; IV: 158–80; Adele Ogden, "Russian Sea-Otter and Seal Hunting on the Californi Coast, 1803–1841," *California Historical Society Quarterly* XII (September 1933): 217–39. A important collection of documents from Mexican archives has been published by W. Michae Mathes, ed., *La frontera Ruso-Mexicana, Documentos mexicanos para la historia del establecimiento ruso en California 1808–1842* (Mexico, 1990).

22. Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Grownhart-Baughn, trans and eds., *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817–1832* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976) 108–16, provides an insight into this embryonic development. For example, the *Juno* in trading for foodstuffs offered in return Flemish and sail cloth, heavy woolens and cotton goods, leather boots, tempered saws and axes, as well as needles. Ibid., 114. In 1815 the brig *Ilem* offered Virginia tobacco, sugar, pewter ware, coffee, cotton stockings, wax candles, Chinese cloth, Bengal Calico, iron, and sailcloth. Ibid., 115.

23. The two vessels were built in 1823 and 1827. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Fort Ross," 194–95.

24. Ivan Petroff, trans., Arthur Woodward, ed., *Statement of My Captivity Among the Californians by Vassili Petrovich Tarakanoff* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1953), 9–34. Bancroft, *California,* II: 308, has a garbled version and spells the name Tarakanof.

25. Charles N. Rudkin, trans. and ed., *Camille de Roquefeuil in San Francisco, 1817–1818* Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1954), 14.

26. Originally published in German: *Entdeckungs Reise in die Su See und nach der Bering- trasse* . . . (3 vols., Weimar: Gebruder Hoffmann, 1821); the first English translation, *A Voy ge of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering [sic] Straits* . . . , was published in London by ongman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, three volumes, in 1821. An abridged edition fol owed that same year. The account by the expedition's artist, Lukovik Choris, with his draw ngs as illustrations, was published in Paris in 1822. One of the scientists, Adelbert von hamisso, wrote another account, which appeared in volume one of the original German dition, later translated by George McElroy and published in *Overland Monthly* (March 873), reprinted in August C. Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford: tanford University Press, 1932), and again as *A Sojourn in San Francisco Bay, 1816* (San Fran isco: Book Club of California, 1936), with changes and corrections to the translation. A nore scholarly edition of the latter is *A Voyage around the World with the Romanzov Explor ng Expedition in the Years 1815–1818,* trans. and ed. by Henry Kratz (Honolulu: University of lawaii Press, 1986), which is von Chamisso's full account of his adventures.

27. The original journal was published in Paris in 1823. That same year an abridged and rudely translated English edition was published in London. Rudkin, trans. and ed., *Roque uil in San Francisco,* offers a superior translation.

28. Bancroft, *California,* II: 288–89.

29. Ibid., 556, 568, 691; III: 140, 209, 363, 382.

30. Ibid., II: 757.

31. Sherman F. Dallas, "The Hide and Tallow Trade in Alta California, 1822–1846" Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1955), 14.

32. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 5–66.

33. Originally published in Philadelphia, it was reprinted by the Saunders Studio Press, laremont, California, 1935.

34. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Straits* . . . (2 vols., London: enry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831); a one-volume version was issued by the same ublisher in 1832; Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World* . . . (2 vols., London: Henry olburn, 1843). Robert G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: acMillan Company, 1926), 91–107, was the first historian to point out how journals and avel accounts advertised California and influenced immigration, in a chapter aptly entitled, dvertising and Immigration."

35. Dallas, "The Hide and Tallow Trade in Alta California," 75 ff.; Susanna B. Dakin, *The ives of William E. P. Hartnell* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), is an excellent bi graphy. For Robinson, see his *Life in California* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), with e reprint editions and even a paperback edition.

36. Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California,* ans. and ed. by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison: University of isconsin Press, 1996), 70, records that Robinson's integrity and honesty "won the wide read friendship of the inhabitants of the territory." Further praise for resident agents is ex essed in ibid., 198.

37. Robert R. Miller, *Captain Richardson: Mariner, Ranchero, and Founder of San Francisco* erkeley: La Loma Press, 1995), details his life.

38. Michael C. White, *California All the Way Back to 1828,* ed. by Glen Dawson (Los Ar geles: Glen Dawson, 1956), reprints a dictation given to Thomas Savage for H. H. Bancro in 1877.

39. Bancroft, *California,* II: 765–66; III: 73–40. Ronald L. Miller, "Henry Delano Fitcl 1826–1848" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1972), presents an overview of h California life. John Woolfenden and Amelie Elkinton, *Copper: Juan Bautista Rogers Coope Sea Captain, Adventure, Ranchero and Early California Pioneer, 1791–1872* (Pacific Grove, Cali Boxwood Press, 1983), is an excellent biography.

40. Doris M. Wright, *A Yankee in Mexican California: Abel Stearns, 1798–1848* (Santa Ba bara: Wallace Hebberd, 1977), documents Stearn's early life in Los Angeles.

41. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California,* ed. by Harold A. Small (Sa Francisco: John Howell-Books, 1967), describes in great detail the business affairs of Spea and himself in the Bay Area. Also, see Andrew F. Rolle, *An American in California: The Bi ography of William Heath Davis* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1956). For concise bi ographies of Davis and Robinson, see Charles B. Churchill, *Adventures and Prophets: Amer ican Autobiographers in Mexican California, 1828–1847* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clar Company, 1995), 19–69.

42. The best biography is *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old Cal fornia* by Harlan Hague and David J. Langum (Norman: University of Oklahoma Pres 1990). It supercedes the early study, Reuben C. Underhill's *From Cowhides to Golden Fleec A Narrative of California, 1832–1858* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1939).

43. Bancroft, *California,* V: 746; D. Mackenzie Brown, ed., *China Trade Days* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1947), 1–4. The latter is a selection of Thompson's commer cial letters.

44. John H. Kemble, ed., *Two Years before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* b Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (2 vols., Los Angeles: the Ward Ritchie Press, 1964), is the best edi tion. The original was published in New York by Harper & Brothers. Also see Churchill, *Ad venturers and Prophets,* 93–114. Complementing Dana is William Dane Phelps ["Webfoot"] *Fore and Aft; or Leaves from the Life of An Old Sailor* (Boston: Nichols & Hale, 1871), and Brito C. Busch, ed., *Alta California, 1840–1842: The Journal and Observations of William Dane Phelp Master of the Ship "Alert"* (Glendale, Calif: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983). Churchill, *Ad venturers and Prophets,* 71–89, provides an overview of Phelps, his book and journal.

45. Kemble, ed., *Two Years before the Mast,* I: 82, 171. David J. Langum, "Californios an the Image of Indolence," *Western Historical Quarterly* IX (April 1978): 181–96, provides a suc cinct treatment of the very points raised by Dana. Also, see Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears Strangers: The Mexican American in Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963 and his *Mexico and the Hispanic Southwest in American Literature* (Tucson: University of Ari zona Press, 1977). David J. Weber, ed., *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of th Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1973), provide insights into thi supposed California trait of laziness, as does James D. Hart's *American Images of Spanish Cal ifornia* (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1960). Important articles are Harry Clark "Their Pride, Their Manners, and Their Voices: Sources of the Traditional Portrait of th Early Californians," *California Historical Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1974): 71–82; Raymund A Paredes, "The Mexican Image in American Travel Literature, 1813–1869," *New Mexico His torical Review* 52 (January 1977): 5–29, and his article "The Origins of Anti-Mexican Sen timent in the United States," *New Scholar* 6 (1977): 130–65.

46. Kemble, ed., *Two Years before the Mast,* I: 171–72.

47. The Farnham quote is from his *Life, Adventures and Travel in California* (New York ornish, Lamport, 1852), as quoted in Cleland, *A History of California,* 98.

48. Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in California* (Reprint of 1844 ed., Oakland: Biobooks, 47), 148.

49. Kemble, ed., *Two Years Before the Mast,* I: 88.

50. Ibid., 172.

51. Osio, *The History of Alta California,* ed. and trans. by Beebe and Senkewicz, 70, 198; lonroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 110–12, details Californio-Indian relations. Sir George impson, *Narrative of a Voyage to California in 1841–42* (Reprint ed., San Francisco: Private ress of Thomas C. Russell, 1930), 125, wrote: "Among the light-hearted and easy-tempered alifornians, the virtue of hospitality knows no bounds. They literally vie with one another in evoting their time, their homes, and their means to the entertainment of a stranger." For ther Franciscan outlooks, see Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of Cali-rnia* (4 vols., San Francisco: James H. Barry Company, 1912–1915), III: 317; IV: 106–107, 114.

52. Kemble, ed., *Two Years before the Mast,* I: 82–83.

53. Ibid., 84.

54. Sir George Simpson, in his *Narrative of A Voyage of California in 1841–42,* 119, caus-cally made note of this: " . . . the beds appear to be the grand point of attraction, and em-ody all the skill and taste of the female of the families, though the farther that one advances uth the lines and the lace, and the damask and the satin, and the embroidery , serve only enshrine more populous and lively colonies of Las Pulgas [fleas], decidedly the best-dged, and as we found to our cost not the worst-fed, denizens of California."

55. Erastus D. Holden, "California's First Pianos," *California Historical Society Quarterly* III (March 1934): 34–37. Vallejo bought one.

56. Dallas, "The Hide and Tallow Trade in Alta California," 163–69; Kemble, ed., *Two ears before the Mast,* I: 82–85, 88 .

57. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of alifornia Press, 1966), traces the Californios' sad demise. However, he omits to take note of heir extravagance prior to 1846, which helped lead them to become debtors.

58. Kemble, ed., *Two Years before the Mast,* I: 91.

59. Harold C. Whelan, SS. CC., *The Picpus Story* (Pomona: Apostolate of Christian Re-ewal, 1980), 104–11.

60. It should be noted that of the ill-fated Padrés-Hijar party, which came to California rom Mexico in 1834, most of the 250 in number on the roster, including a school teacher, ere well-educated.

61. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *Books in Their Sea Chests: Reading along the Early California Coast* Sacramento: California Library Association, 1964), 8–9; Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *panish Arcadia* (Los Angeles: Powell Company, 1929), 226–30.

62. Duran's letter is found in Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's "Recuerdos Historicos y Per-nales tocante a la Alta California," III: 109–17, ms., Bancroft Library, University of Cali-rnia, Berkeley.

63. The travels of Smith, the Patties, Young, and Walker are detailed in Robert G. Cle-and, *This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Traders of the Southwest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, 1963). *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826–1827: A New Cache of ocuments,* ed. by David J. Weber (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1990), casts

new light on Smith's two California visits. For an insight into James O. Pattie, see Churchil *Adventurers and Prophets,* 143–57.

64. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angel* (Reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), provides an overall history.

65. Ibid., 155–94; Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade Between Santa Fé and Los Angeles, 1830–1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly* X (March 1831): 27–39.

66. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "The Fur Men: Key to Westward Expansion," *The Historia* XXIII (February 1961): 157–90.

67. Alfred Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, December 18, 1836, Alfred Robinson Paper California Historical Society, San Francisco; Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *The Trials of Isaac Graha* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1967), 21–22.

68. Ibid., 22–33; Bancroft, *California,* IV: 2–35.

69. Farnham, *Travels in California,* 57–110, 124–39.

70. Richard Dillon, *Captain John Sutter: Sacramento Valley's Sainted Sinner* (Reprint ed Santa Cruz; Western Tanager Press, 1981), 19–106, originally published under the title *Foo Gold: A Biography of John A. Sutter* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1967). For a revisionis view of the life of Sutter, see Kenneth N. Owens, ed., *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincol University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

71. George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930 193–223; Robert G. Cowan, *Ranchos of California* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1956), 4

72. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer,* 237–40.

73. Dated November 24, 1842, ms., Bancroft Library.

74. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer,* 237–40.

75. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., *The Bidwell-Bartleson Party: 1841 California Immigrant Adventure* (Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1991), 9.

76. Ibid., 15. Bidwell's complete journal is reprinted in this source.

77. The Vallejos' views are detailed in Alan Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo and the Adven of the Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) Rosenus observes "Vallejo was extremely partial to American political thought. He was also impressed by th talented, sometimes unpredictable immigrants . . . From the early 1840s on, his desire t make California a part of the United States became his most urgent political goal." Ibid., xi

78. Ignacio Palomares to Santiago Argüello, December 2, 1841, Departmental State Papers, Bernicia Prefectura y Juzgada, III: 100, Bancroft Library. Bancroft, *California,* IV: 22 holds the party "arrived at San Gabriel in early November."

79. Letter to the Prefect of Los Angeles, October 15, 1841, San Diego Archives, 27 Bancroft Library; Juan B. Alvarado to José Castro, December 6, 1841, Vallejo Documents, X 383, Bancroft Library.

80. "Lista de los que acompanan al Ser. que suscribe en su lleguda al territorio de Alt California," by John Rowland, February 26, 1842, Prefecture Records of Los Angeles 1840–1850, Los Angeles County, Huntington Library, San Marino. An English translatio is in the Los Angeles County Recorder's Office, Hall of Records, Los Angeles.

81. Nunis, ed., *The Bidwell-Bartleson Party,* 141.

82. Letter dated November 24, 1842, quoted in ibid., vi.

83. Bancroft, *California,* IV: 343–44.

84. Ibid., 341.

85. Ibid., 392–95.

86. Ibid., 389–90.

87. Nunis, ed., *The Bidwell-Bartleson Party*, 3–7, discusses the problem of the publication ate.

88. This copy is in the Bancroft Library.

89. Bancroft, *California*, IV: 444–47.

90. Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman, Frontiersman* (Portland: The Champoeg Press, 960), 65 ff.

91. Bancroft, *California*, IV: 572–79.

92. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "The Enigma of the Sublette Overland Party, 1845," *Pacific Hisorical Review* LVII (January 1959): 331–49.

93. Bancroft, *California*, IV: 587.

94. Ibid., II: 247, 283, 444, 478–79, 739 781; III: 757.

95. Ibid., V: 524, 588.

96. Los Angeles was raised to the status of a city on May 25, 1836. Author's copy of a facmile of the proclamation. See J. Gregg Layne, "The First Census of the Los Angeles Disict," *Quarterly Historical Society of Southern California* VIII (September–December 1936): 1–99, which records fifty foreigners: twenty Americans; four English, five French, three Poruguese, two Africans, one each from Canada, Curaçao, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Norway, and cotland; Marie E. Northrop, "The Los Angeles Padron of 1844," ibid., XLII (December 960): 36–417, lists sixty-one foreigners: thirty-one Americans, five English, eight French, ree each from Peru, Portugal, and Spain, two from Chile and Germany, one each from Coumbia, Italy, and the Philippine Islands. In another census, 1829, compiled by Guillermo ota, fifty-three foreigners are enumerated: twenty-six Americans, five English, six French, ree each from Portugal, Peru, Spain, two each from Chile, Scotland, and Germany, one alian. Thomas W. Temple, II, "Some Notes on the 1844 Padron de Los Angeles," ibid., 422.

97. Mercantile Trust Company of California, "Beginnings and Development of Trade on e Pacific Coast of North America," *Monthly Review* XI, Pts. 6–9 (January–April 1923): 0–12, 39, 41, 56–61, 78–79; Iris A. Wilson, "Early Southern California Viticulture," *Quarrly Historical Society of Southern California* XXXIX (September 1957): 242–50.

98. Hague and Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin*, 44, 62, 64–66, 78–79; Sherwood D. Burgess, Lumbering in Hispanic California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* XLI (September 962): 237–48.

99. Ernest A. Wiltsee, "The British Vice Consul and the Events of 1846," *California istorical Society Quarterly* X (June 1931): 99; Abraham P. Nasatir, "The French Consulate in alifornia, 1845–1856," ibid., (September 1932): 203–207; Hague and Langum, *Thomas O. arkin*, 97–99.

100. Bancroft, *California*, IV: 289–329; George M. Brooke, Jr., "The Vest Pocket War of ommodore Jones," *Pacific Historical Review* XXXI (August 1962): 217–34.

101. Quoted in Cleland, *History of California*, 470–82, which reprints Shaler's complete escription of California.

102. George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Press* (10 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles: niversity of California Press, 1951–1968), 4: 44–45.

103. Wilkes's *Narrative* was published in five volumes plus atlas in Philadelphia by Lea nd Blanchard. The California portion has been reprinted in *Columbia River to the Sacraents* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1958). Fremont's *A Report of the Exploring Expedition to Oregon nd North California in the Years 1843–44*, was published in Washington, D.C., by the Gov

ernment Printing Office. It is reprinted in full in Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont* (3 vols., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970–1984), I: 426–806.

104. Bancroft, *California,* IV: 455–512.

105. David J. Langum, *Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier: Anglo-American Expatriates and the Clash of Legal Traditions, 1821–1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), treats this complex issue in masterful fashion.

106. Ibid., 131.

107. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* attempts to seek an "understanding of the complex interactions of . . . two antithetical cultures," (xiii) that is, between the Californio natives and Anglo immigrants, whom he refers to as "elites." The latter were bent on exploitation of both the Indian and Latino population, in his view.

108. Some of the more established pre-1840 immigrants, notably Thomas O. Larkin, were not too pleased with the new arrivals. An important discussion of the impact of the post-1840 immigrants is detailed in John A. Hawgood, "The Pattern of Yankee Infiltration in Mexican Alta California, 1821–1846," *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (February 1958): 27–37.

109. For their immigrant recruitment activities, see Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer,* 237, 242, 262–67, and James Shebl, *Weber! The American Adventure of Captain Charles M. Weber* (Lodi, Calif.: San Joaquin Historical Society, 1993), 44–51.

110. The most current treatment of the Bear Flag Revolt is found in Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846–1850* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 85–114. Also, see Barbara R. Warner, *The Men of the Bear Flag Revolt and Their Heritage* (Spokane, Wash.: Published by the Arthur H. Clark Company for the Sonoma Valley Historical Society, 1996.)

12

War in California, 1846–1848

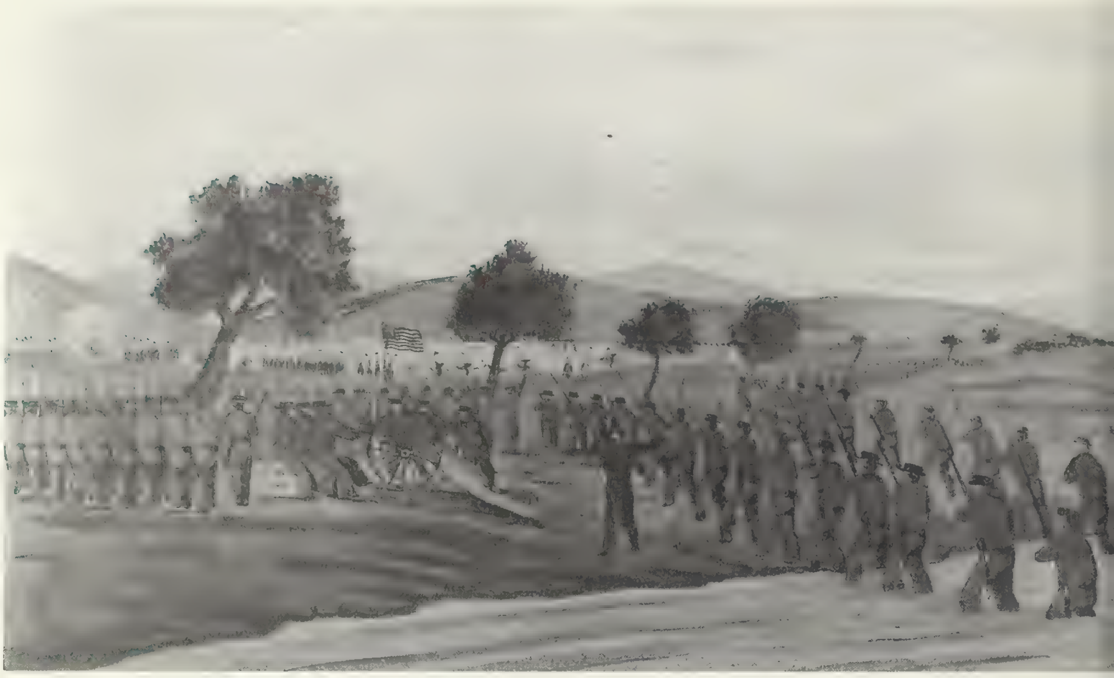
Lisbeth Haas

NTRODUCTION

'he most recent and thorough account of the Mexican-American War in Califor-
ia has been written by Neil Harlow in his book *California Conquered,* published in
982. Harlow provides the background to war and carries the story of American con-
uest through 1850, when California was admitted to the Union. Harlow's book
ffers the first complete story of the war since Hubert Bancroft's large and substan-
ve history was published in 1886.[1] Like Bancroft, Harlow relies on a wealth of pri-
nary sources. Though Harlow focuses his story around the American military lead-
rs who led the conquest of the territory, he also discusses the Californios' role in the
rar, and takes their resistance to the American occupation seriously.

Nevertheless, historians in general have yet to produce a literature that investigates
1 a sustained manner the strategies Californio leaders and citizens developed to
nwart the American takeover and that examines their goals and objectives in wag-
ng a resistance that lasted for six months and enabled them to reoccupy for a time
.os Angeles, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. In most war accounts, Californios are in-
isible, or their involvement and commitment, ideas, and intentions are dismissed.
Vith the exception of Harlow and a few others, historians have poorly portrayed Cal-
'ornios guerrilla-type tactics of war that involved surprise attack and quick retreat, or
ney have argued that Californios were too politically divided to effectively resist.[2]

Yet it took hundreds of troops under Stockton, Frémont, Kearny, Gillespie, and
Iervine to reestablish American control of southern California from late Septem-
er 1846 to early January 1847. The story behind this has remained relatively unex-
lored in part because few historians, including Harlow, have used Spanish lan
uage sources in writing their histories. Moreover, a frequently quoted Californio
ource gives the impression that Californios were indifferent to the American occu-
ation and cession of land. That source is a mistranslation that has Maria de las An-



United States troops cross the San Gabriel River on the afternoon of January 8, 1847, in a watercolor by William Meyers, a gunner on the U.S.S. *Dale.* The Americans, commanded by Commodore Robert Stockton and General Stephen Kearny, quickly vanquished the Californios and then advanced on Los Angeles for the final engagement of the war. Though the *Dale* was in Mexican waters at the time of the battle, Meyers was not on the scene, and as in his other depictions of military engagements in California, he relied on eyewitness accounts in composing his watercolors. *Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.*

gustias de la Guerra saying "the conquest of California did not bother the Californians, least of all the women." If accurately translated, her statement should read "the taking of the country did not please the Californios at all, and least of all the women."[3] Genaro Padilla is the only author to offer a detailed account of Californios reflections on the war, the daily resistance waged by women and men, and their changing perceptions of American society and political structure. This he did by examining almost one hundred narrative histories spoken or written by Californios during the 1870s.

If Californios are rarely at the center of war accounts, native peoples in California, who were still the vast majority of the population, are entirely absent, unless their presence is simply noted without being studied. One has to look at primary sources, or comb accounts of Indian history, in order to situate the war's effect on California Indians. We know that some joined the American battalions as scouts, a few worked

or and others worked against Californios. The majority remained neutral, intent
pon not becoming involved in a war between two nations interested in acquiring
ndian land and labor. We know little of Indian peoples' experiences during the war
xcept that the presence of ever larger numbers of settlers and soldiers meant that
neir conditions of life grew worse, their autonomy was sharply reduced, and their in-
eractions with settler society became ever more heavily policed.[4]

Much of what we do know has been written as biography or is contained in the
iaries, letters, autobiographies, and testimonies of the war's participants. The largest
umber of historical accounts and biographies document the lives and actions of
merican participants, many of whom also wrote vivid first-hand accounts of their
xperiences.[5] Published works on and by Californios are far less extensive, but a
ew have begun to be published and others are available in manuscript form.[6] These
ecent historical works, combined with primary accounts, make it possible now to
egin to develop a more complete portrait of the war as a military, political, and so-
ial event that dynamically shaped the new state and the lives of its Mexican, Amer-
an, and Indian populations.

HE WAR AT A GLIMPSE

Var between the United States and Mexico, the immediate causes for which
emmed from the United States' annexation of Texas, was declared on May 13,
846, and it ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on June 30, 1848. But pre-
ıdes to the war in California began as early as 1842. These heightened the Cali-
ornios' sense of caution against an American government and American immi-
rants who proved capable of, if not intent upon, defying the political sovereignty of
neir territory. When the war with Mexico was announced in California by U.S.
aval officer Commodore John Drake Sloat on July 7, 1846, Californio forces had al-
eady been fighting against Americans to retake the Sonoma area from a group of
ettlers instigated by U.S. Army officer John C. Frémont, who had illegally impris-
ned Californio officials, seized governmental and private property, occupied
onoma and its surroundings, and declared California the "Bear Flag Republic," in-
ependent of Mexico. After Sloat's announcement of war, these settlers were
rought into the United States Army as the California Battalion under Frémont.

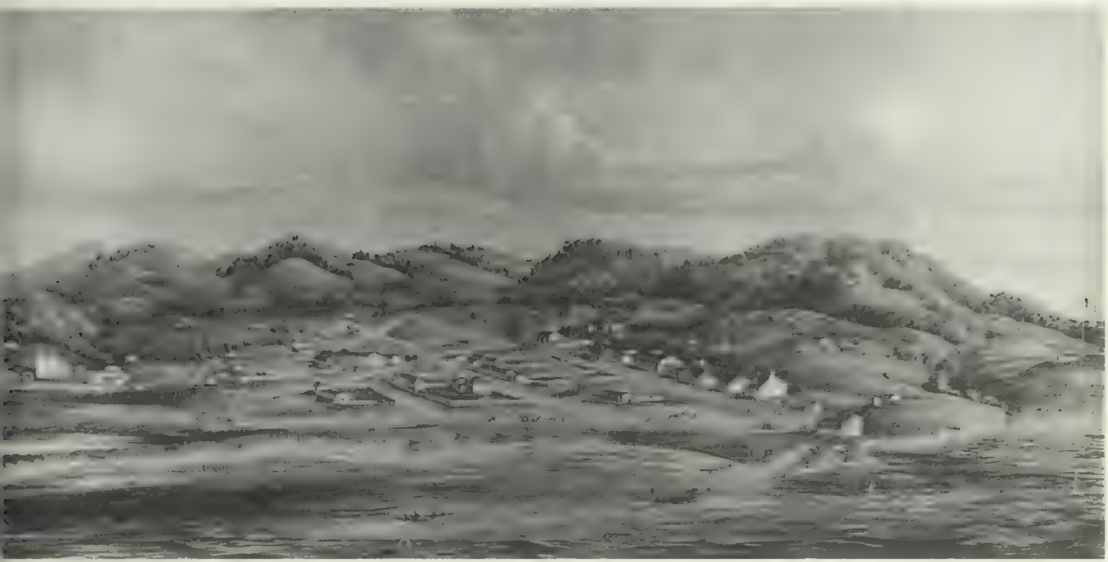
The U.S. Navy forces and the California Battalion took Monterey and San Fran-
sco, and the Californio forces moved south to join with others to protect the cap-
al of Los Angeles. The Americans followed them, occupying every presidio and
ueblo to San Diego as they went. After Los Angeles fell to the American forces in
nid-August 1846, Californios regrouped themselves under a new command. They
etook the whole of southern California by the end of September, and engaged in
attles and skirmishes to maintain the south through early January 1847.

Californio forces were always outnumbered and militarily overpowered by Amer ican volunteers, soldiers, sailors, and their superior weapons. The Pacific Squadron the land army under Frémont, and the U.S. Army under Stephen Kearny, who ar rived in December 1846, presented a formidable enemy that ultimately prevailed Californios signed the Treaty of Cahuenga on January 13, 1847, in which the pledged to put down their arms and were, in turn, promised the full exercise of thei civil liberties and property rights while the territory was occupied by the Unite States. Seven American military officers governed California from its occupation i July 1846 to its admission as a state in 1850. They were instructed to respect and ad here to Mexican law when it did not conflict with American objectives. Land spec ulation and continuous immigration into the territory during the occupation hinte at the momentous changes that would occur after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalg ceded California, Arizona, New Mexico, parts of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, an an enlarged area of Texas to the United States. At the war's end Mexico's nationa territory had been reduced by half, and the conditions of life for Californios and Na tive Americans within the ceded territories were drastically transformed. Having es tablished this chronology of the war and its aftermath, let me turn to a more detaile discussion of the preludes to war.

PRELUDE TO WAR AND THE BEAR FLAG REPUBLIC

On October 19, 1842, Commodore Thomas Jones sailed into Monterey harbor seized Mexican ships anchored there, and sent Captain James Armstrong into Monterey with a summons for the governor to surrender, declaring the intention of th United States to occupy Lower and Upper California (the latter embraced the present states of California, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado). Jones commanded th U.S. Pacific Squadron. If war between the United States and Mexico were declared he was under orders to seize and hold every port in California from San Francisc to San Diego. Jones received word that war with Mexico was imminent. He anticipated a conflict with British fleets when he arrived in Monterey Bay, since it wa also rumored that Mexico had ceded California to Great Britain in partial repaymen of British loans. Instead of encountering hostilities, the Pacific Squadron took th population of Monterey by complete surprise. The pueblo was not equipped to defend itself. With 29 soldiers and 25 others who could bear arms, Californio force were no match to the 160 men Jones would march ashore. Nor were the eleven cannons protecting the Monterey presidio able to defend the pueblo against Jones's eighty cannons.

That same night, former Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado sent a commission o Californios to Jones's ship to discuss the terms of surrender. The treaty they drew up ceded control of the district of Monterey, an area extending from San Juan Bautista



Ionterey in 1842 as depicted by the lithographer Charles Gildemeister, working from n original drawing by an unidentified artist. Commissioned by the prominent American rader Thomas O. Larkin, the print shows the sweep of the town from the old presidial hapel, *far left,* to the custom house. That October, when Commodore Thomas ap Catesby ones sailed in and demanded that Mexican authorities surrender the California capital, arkin served as interpreter. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California; gift of Mrs. Emil Iagstrom.*

o San Luis Obispo. Though Jones had demanded possession of both Californias, he surrendered land was enough to enable his forces to occupy the presidio and ueblo of Monterey. After signing the treaty the following morning, Jones's men vent ashore. Marching six abreast to the tunes of "Yankee Doodle" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," they took over the presidio as Californio soldiers evacuated the ort.[7] Jones read a proclamation to the citizens of Monterey in which he announced hat they could exercise their full civil liberties, and would be protected by the "stars nd stripes . . . henceforth and forever."[8] All the while, of course, Jones lacked any fficial information about whether the two countries were indeed at war.

While the Californios capitulated militarily instead of risking a battle in which hey had no chance, Alvarado sent word for help to California's recently appointed Governor Manuel Micheltorena in Los Angeles. Micheltorena immediately began o organize a resistance to the American forces. He urged all Californios to drive heir cattle to the interior and take up arms to defend their territory. He ordered the nilitary officers in each presidio to similarly encourage citizens to prepare for onflict. Micheltorena also requested troops from Mexico to defend the territory. The governor was two hours into his march north to Monterey when he received an official apology from Commodore Jones, who declared he had made a mistake and withdrawn his forces. The occupation had lasted less than two days. On October 21, 1842, Jones's secretary had found correspondence in Monterey that confirmed Mexico was neither at war with the United States nor intended to give California to England.

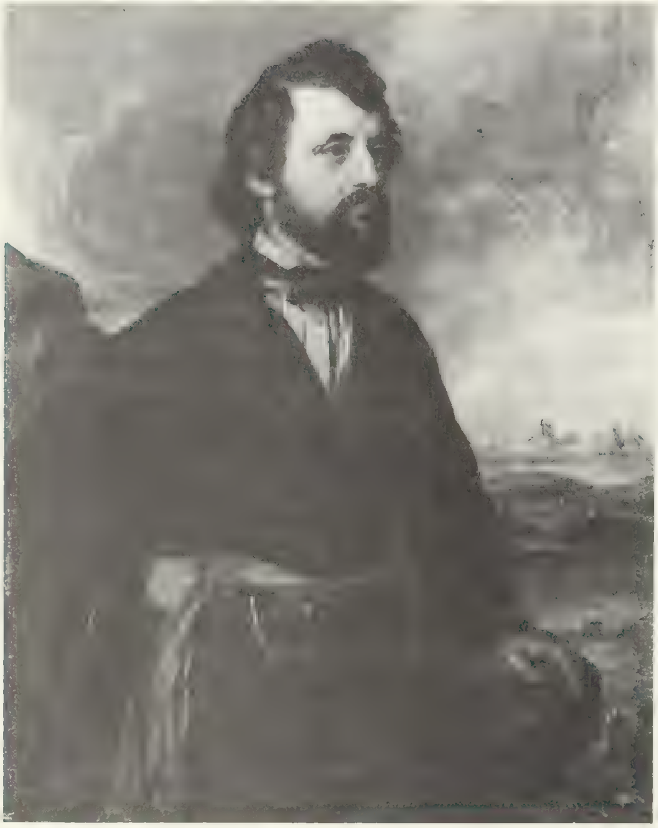
Jones was temporarily recalled for this unwarranted aggression. He would, however, return to Alta California as commodore of the Pacific Fleet at the end of the war. His willingness to risk his position to secure California for the United States was acknowledged with appreciation by a government that had attempted to acquire California, Texas, and New Mexico through diplomatic channels as early as 1822.[9] Commodore Jones's instructions to occupy California in the case of war was consistent with U.S. policy as defined in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which declared the United States' intentions of keeping all European powers from gaining new colonies or politically intervening in the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The doctrine was frequently invoked in official discussions about California. In late October 1845, for example, President Polk stated in a cabinet meeting, and recorded in his diary that, "the people of the United States would not willingly permit California to pass into the possession of any new colony planted by Great Britain or any foreign monarchy."[10] Senator Thomas Hart Benton, an expansionist and the father-in-law of John C. Frémont, added that it was his opinion that American settlers on the Sacramento River would ultimately hold California for the United States.

Severing California from Mexico and annexing it to the United States was one of the main objectives of the Polk administration, and it appears that the United States government provided covert leadership to organize American immigrants in California to revolt and declare an independent republic, as Americans had done in Texas.[11] Certainly the immigrants who arrived in California after 1841 were likely prospects for this action. Unlike earlier immigrants who learned Spanish, adopted Catholicism, established close ties with the population, and sought the status of naturalized citizen or legal residence, later immigrants most often remained illegal settlers who resided on the margins of California's social and political life. Many of them believed themselves superior to the Californio and Indian populations, expressing their right to the land in conjunction with their notions of white racial superiority. As Reginald Horsman argues, "by 1850 the emphasis was on the American Anglo-Saxons as a separate, innately superior people who were destined to bring good government, commercial prosperity" and Christianity to less civilized peoples.[12]

Californios had long fought to create and protect their political autonomy in territorial affairs and would not allow either Mexico or the United States to erode their sovereignty without significant resistance.[13] Even those who sympathized with the United States's republican system and democratic ideals would express a strong sense of having been deceived by Americans whose race ideas were pervasively exressed against them during the war and occupation. Though Californios had a istory of conflict over power between the northern and southern parts of the ter tory, they had joined forces in November 1844 against Governor Micheltorena nd the Mexican soldiers who arrived under his command to protect California, but ere known for pillaging instead. After ejecting Micheltorena from the territory in ebruary 1845, prominent figures among the rebels assumed authority over the gov rnment. In a spirit of compromise between north and south, Pío Pico from Los ngeles became governor, and General José Castro from the vicinity of Monterey ecame military commander of the territory. But political antagonisms between alifornios had not abated. When war broke out with the United States, Pico was umored to be planning an attack against Castro. War caused them to again join heir forces instead. Indian peoples in California made strategic use of these tensions o increase their raids against Californio ranches and pueblos, and were successful in eeping Californio society from expanding beyond the coastal area. Drawing on ng-standing enmity between Indian peoples and Californios, the United States ould benefit by making a few, limited alliances with Indians during the war.

The U.S. government was confident that California would become part of the nited States at some future date, and began to send expeditions to explore the re ion during the 1840s. In the summer preceding the war, Captain John C. Frémont f the Topographical Corps led a large group of frontiersmen and a few scientists hrough Mexican territory, including parts of the present states of New Mexico, Col rado, Utah, and California, allegedly to determine, among other things, a route for railroad to the Pacific, terminating either in California or in the Oregon Country.[14] rémont, who had led a previous expedition through northern California and was fa iliar with American settlements there, reached California at the end of December.

Frémont arrived during a period of extreme tension between Mexico and the nited States, and between Californios and the American settlers. The U.S. Con ress had voted to annex Texas that December. Months earlier, during the late ummer of 1845, Governor Pico had already sent out a call for Californios to pre are to defend themselves against the United States. Californios and the Mexican overnment feared the dangers posed by the hundreds of American immigrants ho had taken up residence along the Sacramento River and north of San Francisco ay. Orders arrived from Mexico City to stop American immigration into Cali ornia. In an attempt to eliminate Sutter's Fort as a gathering point for foreigners, Mexico sent envoy Andrés Castillero with instructions to purchase it for the Mex an government. In early November 1845, General Castro and Castillero went to he fort to persuade John Sutter to sell, but he rejected the offer. While there, Cas ro attempted to establish amicable relations with the immigrants. He told them hey could stay in the territory if they obeyed its laws, settled only in Sonoma or New Helvetia (the territory surrounding Sutter's Fort), and applied within three



Probably painted in San Francisco in 1852, William S. Jewett's romantic portrait of John C. Frémont conveys the popular contemporary image of the young Army officer—dashing, bold, defiant, courageous. Frémont helped focus national attention on California through his writings and, later, played an important role in the conquest of the province. *Courtesy National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.*

months for a permit to reside in the territory on the condition that they leave if their permits were denied.

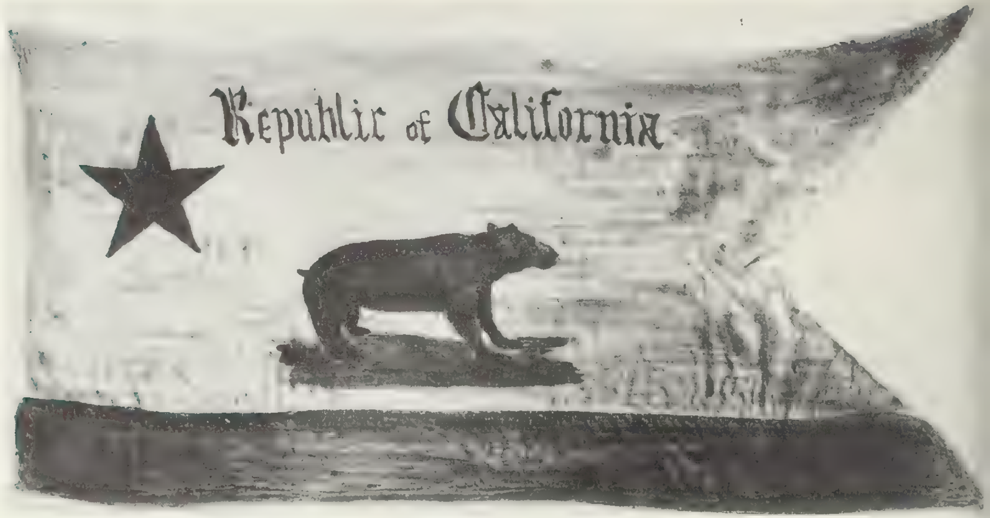
Frémont arrived among these immigrants near Sacramento in the middle of January 1846, and proceeded south to Monterey. He stayed in Monterey with the American counsel and merchant Thomas O. Larkin, from whom he purchased supplies. Larkin and Frémont both asked General Castro to give Frémont permission to stay in California to rest his men and animals before proceeding to Oregon. Castro qualified his consent by stating that the Americans needed to remain in the valley of the San Joaquin River, far away from Mexican pueblos and ranchos along the coast. In defiance of this order, Frémont and sixty armed men traveled in and camped near the settlements at San José, Santa Cruz, and Salinas Valley. As they traveled, the Californios' accusations against them mounted.[15]

Upon receiving these reports of aggression and the persistent, unauthorized presence of armed Americans, José Castro ordered Frémont to leave the province immediately. Frémont's response was belligerent. He camped his men on a small plateau between the Salinas and the San Joaquin valleys overlooking the principal oad to Monterey and the pueblo of San Juan Bautista. Raising the American flag, e invited conflict. As Castro prepared to remove them by force, Frémont abandoned amp on the night of March 9, 1846, and headed for the Sacramento Valley, where e found American settlers fearful that they would be expelled from the territory and onvinced that Castro had encouraged bands of Yokuts and Miwok Indians to attack hem.[16]

Frémont meandered toward Oregon in late April, but five days before war was delared between the United States and Mexico (on May 13, 1846), he received an urgent and confidential message from a courier that sent him back to California. By lay 29, Frémont had established a camp north of Sutter's Fort, which became the enter of activity for the Americans who organized the Bear Flag incident. On June o, eleven of these men left Frémont's camp to take some 170 horses from Castro's oldiers, who were driving them to join forces Castro was massing in Santa Clara. he Americans were perhaps responding to their fears that Castro was organizing military campaign to force them to leave the territory. Perhaps they were inspired o act by Frémont's insistence that they could, indeed, establish an independent republic. Their illegal seizure of government horses was the first act of the Bear Flag ncident. Having seized the horses, they decided also to take the military garrison at onoma. With twenty men and a body of recruits that grew as they rode, they eaded to the garrison.

General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was awakened by these men and informed hat he was under arrest. Aware that he did not have troops at the garrison or other neans to restrain the men and defend his family and the town, Vallejo surrendered nd invited three negotiators into his home. As he formulated the articles of capitulation, his captors drank the brandy Vallejo offered. The articles contained three aragraphs, one of which Vallejo wrote in Spanish. This paragraph emphasized that 'allejo's motive for peaceful capitulation was to protect the lives of his family members, and the lives and interests of all the inhabitants under his jurisdiction. For literary critic Genaro Padilla, this paragraph symbolized Vallejo's resistance "within a onfined, and dangerous, rhetorical space."[17] Prohibited by the articles from taking p arms for or against the invaders, General Vallejo should have remained free. But e and a captain, a colonel, and Vallejo's son-in-law were taken prisoner, and would emain locked up in extremely harsh conditions for the next few months. In the days hat followed, the mayor of Sonoma and other prominent Californios were similarly ailed.

That same Sunday morning the Americans occupied Sonoma and made a flag vith a bear and a star, hoisted it at the fort, and brought together citizens from the ueblo and vicinity to proclaim the Bear Flag Republic of Independent California.[18] n a crude formulation of their position, they told the citizenry, "as enemies we will ill and destroy you! but as friends we will share with you all the blessings of lib-



The guidon carried by the American frontiersmen who in June 1846, following their capture of Sonoma, proclaimed the Republic of California. Joseph Warren Revere of the U.S. Navy secured the guidon the following month, when American forces occupied the town, and later presented it to the Society of California Pioneers. Along with the original Bear Flag, it was destroyed in the fire of 1906. *Courtesy California State Library.*

erty."[19] The Bear Flaggers took horses from Vallejo and others, and "borrowed" flour, meat, and other goods from the storerooms of many citizens without offering compensation.

In a letter to Thomas Larkin, the United States consul in Monterey, Governor Pío Pico protested this act, stating that a "great number (multitude) of North American foreigners have invaded the frontier, encamping in the Plaza of Sonoma. . . . Personal rights have been attacked, well-established social contracts broken, the sacred soil of another nation profaned and, in short, the leader of the multitude of foreigners, William B. Ide, by insulting libel, urged them to a separation from the Mexican Union."[20] Rosalía Vallejo de Leese elaborated on the event. Frémont, she stated, arrived some days after this incident. On June 20, on hearing that Californios under Captain Padilla were approaching Sonoma to rescue the citizens, he forced her to write Padilla to stop him. Stating that he would "burn our houses with us inside of them if I refused to address Padilla in the manner he wishes me to do," Vallejo de Leese acquiesced. "In the family way," she explained, "I had no right to endanger the life of my unborn baby." She decried their thieving and aggressive manner in Sonoma, and closed her account by describing her means of resistance, which was to keep the memory of the incident alive, and to refuse to learn English. "Those hated men inspired me with such a large dose of hate against their race," she passionately recalled, "that though twenty-eight years have elapsed since that time, I have not yet forgotten the insults they heaped upon me, and not being desirous of coming in contact with them, I have abstained from learning their language."[21] While significant for the war, the incident was perhaps even more important for creating great resentment and bitterness against the Americans on the part of Californios.

THE WAR

Californios under Castro engaged in skirmishes against the Bear Flaggers immediately, and the citizens of Sonoma began a quiet, but sustained, resistance that spread throughout the territory once the war was announced and the formal occupation of California began.[22] As Juan Bautista Alvarado explained about the political and judicial authorities who fled to the hills and organized the resistance, we "loved our country most dearly because we had only been able by dint of immense sacrifice to maintain it at the level of contemporary civilization."[23] Alvarado, like almost all of the Californio elite, spoke favorably of the American constitution and democratic government, but he, like many others, was not willing to accept an occupation that was unconditional and beyond Californio power to control.

This resistance gathered momentum when American forces planted their flag and declared possession of California, which happened in early July, under the command of Commodore Sloat, naval commander of the Pacific Squadron. Upon hearing of the early battles of the war, he carried out his long-standing instructions to seize California before another power did, a policy that had similarly motivated Commodore Jones almost five years earlier. On July 2, 1846, Sloat sailed into Monterey and learned of the Bear Flag incident from United States Navy Commander John Montgomery, who had pledged the government's neutrality. On July 7, 1846, Sloat raised the American flag and sent word to General Castro and Governor Pío Pico to surrender. He sent Commander Montgomery to occupy San Francisco Bay and the town of Yerba Buena, and enlisted 350 men who had been acting under the auspices of the Bear Flag Republic into the California Battalion under Frémont.[24] The would-be republic dissolved with the American occupation.

With the northern part of the state secured by Sloat and Montgomery, and the impending arrival of Commodore Stockton, who sailed into Monterey Bay on July 15 to take over the leadership of the Pacific fleet in California from Sloat, General Castro began a retreat southward to join his forces with those of Governor Pico. On July 16, Governor Pico issued orders in Santa Barbara that all citizens of the territory, whether native-born or naturalized, take up arms. He sent for ammunition from Baja California. Acting under orders from Pico, Abel Stearns, a southern California ranchero, threatened to fine rancheros who did not join the defense. Pico's force of 100 men joined Castro's 160 men, and they marched to Los Angeles to protect the capital. Their former inter-regional tensions "turned to nearly unanimous animosity toward the common enemy."[25]

Leaving behind enough men to secure their hold on the north, the American forces followed Castro south. Frémont arrived at San Diego harbor in late July. Town officials refused his request to hoist the American flag, so Frémont's men raised it themselves, and a contingent of forty-eight Americans remained in San Diego after Frémont began his march north to Los Angeles. Stockton sailed from Monterey on August 1. He stopped in Santa Barbara to raise the American flag and leave a small occupation force, and anchored at San Pedro on August 6. Though General Castro sent word to Stockton that they should not fight but discuss the terms of a truce instead, Stockton refused anything short of Californios' declaring the territory independent of Mexico and under American protection. Castro and Pico had already rejected this alternative.

On August 9, as Stockton was marching towards Los Angeles, Castro, then camped outside of the city with his men, composed a mournful farewell to Californios and went south to Sonora, where he would ceaselessly petition the Mexican government for arms and soldiers to retake California. That same evening, Pico similarly wrote a proclamation of farewell that emphasized California's inadequate defense. He stayed in hiding on Teodosio Yorba's rancho south of Los Angeles until September 7 when he escaped to Baja California. From there, he also endlessly petitioned the Mexican government for money, arms, and troops to restore California to Mexico.[26]

An advance American contingent arrived in Los Angeles on August 11 to find the streets deserted and government buildings ransacked of their documents and furniture by government officials who had fled with the Californio troops to the hills surrounding the city. Stockton marched into Los Angeles two days later. With Castro and Pico gone and the major ports occupied by American troops, he decreed that both Californias belonged to the United States and proclaimed himself commander-in-chief and governor. In the days that followed, Californio troops were rounded up in northern and southern California and then released on parole after they promised not take up arms again for the duration of the war. Government was to be conducted through the same institutions and laws as during the Mexican period, and Stockton declared that the citizens of California should meet and elect their officials. But the military occupation stood in the way of the smooth operation of elective government. The city had a curfew, soldiers searched and seized goods in private homes, and citizens' freedom of association was limited.[27] With these conditions in place, the troops under Stockton and Frémont returned to Monterey and Sonoma, respectively, and left Archibald Hamilton Gillespie in charge of Los Angeles.

The Americans returned north with a false sense of victory. In the following month Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Diego, Santa Inés, and San Luis Obispo, and surrounding lands were retaken by a Californio army composed of both soldiers and civilians. They had gathered together at ranchos outside the cities and beyond easy surveillance, and built a force under José María Flores. Simultaneously, the citizens of Los Angeles banded together under the leadership of Sérbulo Varela and Flores to force Gillespie out of Los Angeles by the end of September. On September 29, Gillespie signed the Articles of Capitulation, which called for an exchange of prisoners and ensured his safe retreat to a ship in San Pedro harbor.[28] Flores, Andrés Pico, and José Antonio Carrillo led the resistance. Flores called the departmental assembly into session. On October 26, 1846, they elected Francisco Figueroa as president of the California territory and Flores as commander-in-chief and governor, with Manuel Castro appointed military commander in the north. Flores declared a state of siege and issued a proclamation in early November that required all male citizens between the ages of fifteen and sixty, whether born in California or naturalized, to appear for military duty at the first warning, under penalty of death as a traitor. To fund the war the government rescinded Pío Pico's order to sell the California missions.[29]

The Californios' tactics of resistance incorporated a broad sector of the population. They moved their cattle and other livestock from the coast so that the American troops would not be able to use the cattle for meat, but left enough for the Californio forces, who traveled without supplies because they could rely on the citizenry. When Stockton withdrew American troops from Sonoma, Yerba Buena, San José, San Juan Bautista, and Monterey to send them south to quell the counterattack, paroled Californios similarly left for the countryside to join the resistance. Women aid Californio soldiers at great risk to their families, pleaded for the lives of their loved ones, and prepared the ground for negotiations that would leave the Californio citizenry able to exercise their civil rights once the hostilities had ended. They engaged in small, but daily, acts of resistance, and criticized Californio leaders José Castro and Pío Pico for leaving the country rather than defending it.[30]

These acts enabled the outnumbered and overpowered Californio army to maintain its hold for months, even as a concerted American force was preparing a counter-offensive. Gillespie's ship stayed in San Pedro harbor after he was ousted from Los Angeles, and he was soon joined by another American warship on October 6. A battalion of vigilant Californios kept them close to the harbor. On October 14, Stockton and Fremont sailed south from San Francisco to Monterey. Frémont began his overland march to Los Angeles, with a battalion of 430 men. Some had come on his original exploration party or were emigrants who continued to arrive on sailing vessels or via the Overland Trail. Frémont's men generally furnished their own equipment, ammunition, and uniforms, and drove three hundred head of cattle. A company of Indian scouts traveled with them. They included Wallawallah and Delaware Indians from the Columbia River in Oregon territory, and Miwok and

Yokuts from the Sacramento Valley. Part of the company encamped without fires some three miles in advance of the battalion and the rest remained some distance to the rear, according to Fremont, "so that no traveler on the road escaped falling into our hands."[31] Frémont's battalion was formidable, and Californios were largely relegated to skirmish with contingents of the troops when the opportunity arose, such as at the battle of La Natividad, near San Juan Bautista on November 16. Though Californios had inferior weapons, at this encounter they outnumbered the contingent of Americans and suffered fewer casualties.

Stockton sailed to San Pedro harbor and then moved on to San Diego with approximately 750 men. Though his numbers and armaments would have permitted him to retake Los Angeles, the resistance appeared sufficiently strong to make him wait for the reinforcement by Frémont and Kearny's forces. Though he occupied the center of town, American forces did not control the countryside. From San Diego, Stockton sent men into Baja California for horses, cattle, and sheep, built fortifications, and fended off attacks by Californios. In the meantime, General Stephen Kearny marched overland to California from New Mexico, which he had occupied after the outbreak of the war with Mexico. He brought a relatively small contingent to California, though supporting troops, called the Mormon Battalion, would follow.[32]

The biggest battle of the war was fought at San Pascual on December 6 as Kearny's tired and unprepared troops approached San Diego. Because the gunpowder of most of Kearny's men was wet, much of this confrontation involved hand-to-hand combat that was favorable to Californios, who were famous for their horsemanship and more equipped with lances and muskets than rifles. Americans suffered significant casualties, with eighteen dead and seventeen wounded. Californios reported eleven injuries and no deaths.

The final battles of the war involved about five hundred Californio forces at the San Gabriel River, outside of Los Angeles, on January 8 and January 9, 1847. They fought against Stockton's troops, while the battalions of William Mervine, Kearny, and Frémont were marching towards Los Angeles to converge on the city at once. Though the battles of San Gabriel and La Mesa (also known as the Battle of Los Angeles) were fought on two consecutive days, relatively few casualties resulted, with about twelve Americans wounded and three Californios killed.[33]

Waging the war was very costly to Californios. The relatively few deaths were deeply felt among the small population that was closely interconnected through family and extended kin relations, and for whom victory remained out of reach. For decades, they had not been able to stem the tide of American immigration, control the California Indian frontier, or secure monetary aid, arms, and soldiers from Mexico, despite the constant appeals of General Castro and former Governor Pío Pico. After the lost battle of Los Angeles, and with doubts growing rapidly among soldiers

The illustrious ranchero and Californio patriot Andrés Pico, who on a cold December morning in 1846 led his men to victory at San Pascual, beating the weary dragoons of General Stephen Kearny in one of the bloodiest battles of the war in California. The following month, realizing further resistance was futile, Pico surrendered the country to John C. Frémont in the Treaty of Cahuenga. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

nd the civilian population about the feasibility of continued fighting, Californios ought a truce. General Flores and men among his ranks left for Sonora, as negoiators went to Stockton's camp to determine the conditions for peace.[34]

The war in California ended with the Treaty of Cahuenga, signed on January 13, 847. The articles of capitulation provided every citizen with the same rights as Jnited States citizens. Californios were all guaranteed the protection of their life and property and the right to unhindered movement and travel, and the men pledged hat they would not take up arms again for the duration of the war with Mexico. They were also guaranteed that they would not have to take an oath of allegiance to he United States until a treaty of peace was signed between the two nations.

Though fighting ended in Upper California, both Californias had been objects of nterest to the United States government. Stockton announced as early as August 17, 846, that the United States had taken possession "of Upper and Lower California" nd declared these separate territories under the possession of the United States as single territory.[35] He ordered a military blockade of the Pacific ports of Mexico in August 1846, and the disruption of commerce in the Gulf of California, sending ome of his fleet to occupy Baja California. In September 1846, just as the resistance o the American occupation was being organized in Upper California, an American warship landed in the harbor of La Paz, Lower California, seized a number of Mexcan vessels, which they put into the service of the United States, and secured a pledge of neutrality from Governor Colonel Francisco Palacios Miranda. The governor had little choice. For two years he had been left without any military or naval resources. With neutrality secured and a resumption of hostilities in Upper California, Stockton's men went back to Alta California. Only after peace was finally secured in January 1847 did Stockton order his troops to resume the blockade of Mazatlán, and to occupy Baja California.[36]

When the naval occupation of the Baja Peninsula began in July 1847, the invaders did not encounter resistance. And the annexation of Baja California was initially sought in the armistice talks that began in late August 1847. Perhaps in part for that reason, by September a significant resistance had been organized by Captain Manuel Piñeda. Battles, skirmishes, and raids against American troops persisted in Lower California until the end of the war on May 30, 1848, when the United States agreed by treaty to evacuate, rather than to annex, Baja California. Over five hundred residents of that territory were given asylum and United States citizenship for their support of the occupation. These refugees were transported to the United States by retreating American vessels.[37] Most of the refugees were from among the landowning and political elite, and had family connections among elite Californios. They were provided with limited compensation by the United States government for their losses as they left the territory. Others continued to claim land in Baja California, as did María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, and would wage long and retracted battles to retain that land in the American period.[38]

THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded the territories of Alta California and New Mexico to the United States (these territories contained land in the present states of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado). Together with the loss of Texas, Mexico's national territory was reduced by half at the war's end. In the initial treaty negotiations that began as early as September 1847, Mexico was only willing to cede that part of California that extended from Monterey northward. Its reluctance led the United States to drop its demands for Lower California, though President Polk, in his annual message to Congress in December of 1847, promised never to give either of the Californias back to Mexico. The United States remained firm in its demand for Upper California. Mexico initially sought a compromise by establishing the border two leagues north of the port of San Diego, to retain that valuable harbor on the Pacific, but the United States succeeded in proving that San Diego had been a part of Alta California from the first Spanish exploration of the area. The international boundary was established one marine league south of the southernmost point of the bay of San Diego.[39] In compensation, the U.S. paid fifteen million dollars for this land and met other financial obligations to Mexico.[40]

Of the treaty's twenty-three articles, four defined the rights of Mexican citizens and Indian peoples in the territories. Articles 8 and 9 outlined Mexican citizens' ights of residence, property, and citizenship. Free to continue to live in the ceded erritories as either United States or Mexican citizens, their property was to be "in-iolably respected" whether or not they assumed citizenship or continued their res-dence as Mexicans in the United States. If property was sold, the proceeds were free of taxation. All persons had to declare their intent of citizenship within one year or hey would be assumed to have elected to become United States citizens. These new citizens, Article 9 reads, "shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States and be admitted, at the proper time (to be judged by the Congress of the Jnited States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States ac-ording to the principles of the constitutions."[41]

Article 10 guaranteed that "all grants of land made by the Mexican govern-nent . . . shall be respected as valid."[42] The article also enabled citizens to continue he process to clear their titles under terms defined by Mexican law. The most severe onsequence of the treaty for Californios was that the president asked the U.S. Sen-te to strike this article, arguing that property rights were already guaranteed in Ar-icle 8 of the treaty. However, one of the first acts of Congress after California was dmitted to the Union in 1850, was to pass the California Land Act (1851). Each Spanish and Mexican land grant had to be reviewed and approved by a land court nd the U.S. attorney general before legal title could be acknowledged. Rancheros had to submit to the land court a map of their ranchos and all the documents that proved legitimate title. The land had to be surveyed using American techniques of neasurement. Litigation over these ranchos took an average of seventeen years. The and court often approved the grants, but the attorney general of the United States ust as often sent them back rejected. Many cases went as far as the U.S. Supreme Court. In the meantime, California state law enabled squatters to preempt unculti-ated land for which title had not yet been confirmed. If the grant was accepted and patented, the grantee had to pay squatters for the cost of their improvements on the and.

Most titles were ultimately confirmed, but only a handful of ranchero families still possessed their lands when their titles had cleared. In the relatively cash-scarce econ-omy of California, lawyers, land speculators, surveyors, new immigrants with ready cash, and squatters ended up owning or claiming all or portions of almost every ran-cho in the state. As long as titles were unconfirmed, the new owners held their por-tions in shares-in-common, but this did not stop the ranchos from being bought and sold on paper one or more times before their titles were secured. Once confirmed, the and was legally divided at a rapid pace. Land speculation had already begun before the war. In commenting on a report about the "laws and precedents" pertinent to land titles, Military Governor Richard Mason observed in early 1850 that "much of what would probably constitute the public domain had been acquired by speculators who would endeavor to dispose of it to settlers at an exorbitant profit."[43] Rancheros, U.S.

The Indian Chefo gathers his family about him in a photograph probably taken in the late nineteenth century. When California passed from Mexican to American rule, Indians were accorded even less protection under law than previously, with no right of title to the lands they occupied. Living on the periphery of society, openly hunted down and killed in mining days, their numbers declined precipitously. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30500.*

Army and Navy personnel, and the newest immigrants who arrived for the Gold Rush were speculating in town lots and on rancho lands. Miners and others who arrived for the Gold Rush gained the passage of land laws that favored the squatter, speculator, and farmer, after mounting intense political pressure upon the declaration of statehood.[44] Some Californios, like José Castro and Antonio María Osio, left California and returned to Mexico. The vast majority remained in the territory, living on ever smaller pieces of rural land, or moving into the old pueblos where it was easier to hold on to a small parcel of land.[45]

California Indians were even less protected by the treaty. While all Indians in Mexico were made citizens by law in 1826, few California Indians had been able to exercise their rights of citizenship during the Mexican period. Interpretations of their rights generally placed them among Indians discussed in Article XI of the treaty. This article begins by stating that "A great part of the territories which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes." The treaty map identified the largest area f ceded land as "*Apacheria*." This reference included from 160,000 to 180,000 In- ians.[46] The article declared the United States responsible for policing and control- ng those tribes, and preventing their raids into Mexico, especially protecting the tates of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Sinaloa.

The article was written at the request of Mexican negotiators, who felt they eeded the provision to get northern states whose populations were sharply against ession of the territory to accept the treaty. This article denies all land rights to In- ian peoples who had not exercised their rights of citizenship by stating that "when roviding for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said territories, or r its being settled by citizens of the United States . . . special care shall then be aken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking homes." hough some California Indian peoples, such as the Tapai and Ipai near San Diego, ltimately won the right to hold dual nationality status because their lands were di- ided by the border, the great majority of California Indians living within or near lexican society held their village lands in a usufructory manner (their land rights xtended to the use of the land, but did not confer legal title).[47]

A U.S. Senate committee confirmed the federal government's right to declare ndigenous lands public domain and to take possession of them "as the absolute and nqualified owners." "The Indian," the committee stated, "had no usufructory or ther rights therein which were to be in any manner respected."[48] Land speculators, quatters, and settlers would also seek Indian lands and state law offered these lands the speculator, who dispossessed whole villages with impunity.[49]

UBLIC MEMORY AND HISTORY

listorical accounts and public records of the military and civil resistance to the merican occupation by Californios are rare. Few names from Mexican California are nown. Likenesses of Pío Pico and Mariano Vallejo, the two most prominent, stand s civic monuments that record a memory of their presence and activity in Mexican alifornia. Towns and cities may also record a name or two of a local Californio, rarely ever connecting it to political history or a more substantive account of the colonial nd Mexican past, the war, and statehood. This absence of representation in public nemory contrasts quite sharply to the public monumentalization of Sutter's Fort, the ear Flag republic, and the figures of Montgomery, Stockton, Frémont, Kearny, loat, and Polk. Other American men are remembered locally. Their stories play a art in forging the pioneer and patriotic history that so commonly pushes out other ersions of the past in public commemoration.[50] But the relative absence of Cali- ornios and Indians in public memory is also the result of their demographic, politi- al, cultural, and economic losses that began during the occupation in 1846.

This near erasure of Californios and California Indians from public memory is reinforced in much of the scholarship, which is organized around the American involvement in California to the near exclusion of other groups. In sharp distinction to the numerous biographies of American military men who were involved in the war, biographies of California leaders, and female and male citizens who were highly affected by and involved in the war, have yet to be written. But the material exists to write about the war from Californio perspectives and according to the experiences of individuals and particular groups. Many of those primary sources are recorded in Norman E. Tutorow's annotated bibliography, *The Mexican-American War.* Tutorow lists narratives of Californios, describes the collections at the Bancroft, Huntington, and California State libraries, and at Santa Barbara Mission, and points to the official papers and other documents left by Castro, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, and many other Californio governmental and military officials.[51]

These same archives must be searched in systematic ways for material on Indian history. Indian perspectives on the war and occupation must be brought to the fore. How was the war interpreted and responded to by each group? Did it change the nature of Indian-white relations? The territorial dispossession of most Indian societies in California shortly after the war needs to be thoroughly examined and Indian responses carefully studied.

We need to understand, in short, the many sides to this conflict and to investigate it through Spanish as well as English-language documents. This would begin to provide a fuller accounting of the war and its consequences for the entire population of California. We also should push our understanding of American involvement in the war beyond the history of generals, their policies, and military action. We need to understand more fully who these soldiers were on both sides of the battlefield. What were their hopes, their aims and aspirations, and how did these change during the course of the war? What were the goals and aspirations of the citizens who supported either side?[52] We need to know more about the response of Californios who were for and against the American invasion, and of those foreigners who had settled in California and who fought on the Californio side, or turned their affiliations back to the United States during the war. We need to have new studies of the war that also reexamine the Bear Flag incident to see how and why the men and women who had recently settled in this territory were willing and able to take up arms.

A social history of the occupation and war would begin to explain how people lived through the period and how they were changed by this political event. It would bridge two periods in time, raise and answer new questions about society and politics. The newest studies of wars show them to be important to understanding the formation of patriotic legends and state histories, of gender, ethnic, and race relations, and of the political ideas that pervade post-war society. Future studies of the Mexican-American War should take a broader view that takes into account the various sectors of society and the whole spectrum of persons and relationships that were affected by it.

OTES

1. Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846–1850* (Berkeley: niversity of California Press, 1982). Hubert Bancroft, *History of California,* Volume V, 46–1848 (San Francisco: The History Co., 1886). Few books have been written on the war California. Most of the literature consists of articles on battles and books on particular in viduals. Perhaps the war in California is not well researched because the war with Mexico is been, according to Robert W. Johannsen, virtually forgotten by the nation. See his article merica's Forgotten War," *Wilson Quarterly* (Spring 1996): 96–107.

2. In Sally C. Johns's article "Viva Los Californios! The Battle of San Pasqual," *Journal San Diego History* (Fall 1973): 1–13, she presents a well-researched essay that provides a vid portrait of the Californios' resistance. In contrast, see Kenneth Johnson, "The Battle of an Pasqual" *Pacific Historian* 20 (Winter 1977): 368–73; Frank J. Polley, "Americans at the attle of Cahuenga" *Historical Society of Southern California, Annual Publication* (1894): –54; Corinne King Wright, "The Conquest of Los Angeles" *Historical Society of Southern alifornia Publications* (Spring 1919): 18–25.

3. Genaro Padilla, *My History, Not Yours* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 9. María de las Angustias de La Guerra Ord, "*Ocurrencias en California,*" 1878, ms, Bancroft ibrary, University of California, Berkeley. The translation is entitled *Occurrences in Hispanic alifornia,* translated and edited by Francis Price and William Ellison (Washington, D.C.: cademy of American Franciscan History, 1956), 59.

4. On neutrality and a brief account of the war years, see George Harwood Phillips, *hiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: niversity of California Press, 1975), 61, and James Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changg Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), esp. 82–105.

5. Though not exhaustive, the titles below are some of the richest sources of information. e Mary Lee Spence and Donald Jackson, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont: he Bear Flag Revolt and the Court-Martial* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), vol. ; Allan Nevins, ed., *John Charles Frémont: Narratives of Exploration and Adventure* (New ork: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1956); Simeon Ide, *Who Conquered California? The Conuest of California by the Bear Flag Party, and a Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide* Glorieta, N. Mex.: Rio Grande Press, 1967); Philip St. Geo. Cooke, *The Conquest of New lexico and California: An Historical and Personal Narrative* (Albuquerque: Horn and Walce, 1964); Harlan Hague and David Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and rofit in Old California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); George P. Hamond, ed., *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver arkin, Merchant and Consul in California,* 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 951–68).

6. Padilla's *My History* was extremely useful, as was Antonio María Osio, *The History of lta California: A Memoir of Mexican California,* translated by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert enkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996). Also see Rosalía Vallejo de eese, "History of the Bear Party," ms, 1874, Bancroft Library; Juan Avila, "Notas Califor anas" ms, 1878, Bancroft Library; Juan Bautista Alvarado, "Historia de California, 1876," s, Bancroft Library.

7. See C. L. Higham, "Songs of the Mexican War: An Interpretation of Sources," *Jou al of the West* 28 (July 1989): 16–23.

8. Harlow, *California Conquered,* 9, and see Gene A. Smith, "The War that Wasn't: Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Seizure of Monterey," *California History LXVI* (June 1987): 105–13.

9. See Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). Seymor V. Conner and Odie B. Faulk focus on the short-term causes for the war in *North America Divided: The Mexican War, 1846–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) and Thomas B. Jones criticizes that perspective, emphasizing the long-term goals of United States foreign policy in his article "Mexican War Scholarship: The Connor-Faulk Assessment" *The Journal of Mexican American History* 5 (1977): 103–24. Also see Wayne Cutler, et al., eds., *Essays on the Mexican War* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1986). For a study of contemporaneous Mexican perspectives on American expansionism, see Gene M. Brack, *Mexico Views Manifest Destiny, 1821–1846: An Essay on the Origins of the Mexican War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975).

10. Allan Nevins, ed., *Polk: The Diary of a President, 1845–1849* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1952), 19 (entry of Friday, 24 October 1845).

11. See John A. Hawgood, "John C. Frémont and the Bear Flag Revolution: A Reappraisal" *Southern California Quarterly* 44 (June 1962): 67–96. Historians have disagreed about how far Polk was willing to go for California. In "California History Textbooks and the Coming of the Civil War: The Need for a Broader Perspective of California History," *Southern California Quarterly* 56 (Summer 1974): 159–74, Ward M. McAfee asks whether Polk deceitfully pushed Mexico into a war to acquire California, or whether, by sending John Slidell to negotiate with Mexico, he was honestly attempting to reach a peaceful settlement. For more on this debate, see Richard R. Stenburg, ed., "President Polk and California: Additional Documents" *Pacific Historical Review* 10 (June 1941): 217–19, and Glenn W. Price, *Origins of the War with Mexico: The Polk-Stockton Intrigue* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), who argue that California was a principal cause for the war, while Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (1919, reprinted Gloucester, Mass., 1963), and Eugene I. McCormac, *James Polk: A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), argue that Polk would have sacrificed California to avoid war if the Texas boundaries were settled.

12. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 2, and esp. chapters 7 and 8. Robert Walter Johannsen examines the meaning of the war to many Americans in his *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford, 1985). John Edward Weems explores the race ideas and experiences of the common soldier in the Mexican War in his *To Conquer a Peace: The War Between the United States and Mexico* (1974, reprinted College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1988).

13. Before the war Californio political leaders held differing views on their allegiance to Mexico. See Hague and Langum, *Larkin,* 117, and Harlow, *California Conquered,* 89.

14. Merk, *Manifest Destiny,* 77. Adrian George Traas emphasizes the importance of the topographical engineer to expansion; see his book *From the Golden Gate to Mexico City: The U.S. Army Topographical Engineers in the Mexican War, 1846–1848* (Washington, D.C.: United States Army publ., 1993).

15. Hague and Langum, *Larkin,* 120–21. They were accused of attempted rape (see Osio, *The History,* 223), and of horse theft and insulting, belligerent attitudes towards the population (see Harlow, *California Conquered,* 61–73).

16. George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 133.

17. Padilla, *My History*, 56–60.

18. On the whole incident, see Ide, *Who Conquered California?*; Hawgood, "John C. Fre mont"; and James L. Brown, *Dissension in Arcady: The Bear Flag Revolt* (Cambell, Calif.: The cademy Press, 1978).

19. Padilla, *My History*, 58.

20. Pío Pico, from Santa Barbara, June 29, 1846, in "Governor Pico's Protest Against the ction of the Bear Flag Party" in *Historical Society of Southern California Publications* 10 916): 129–30.

21. Vallejo de Leese, "History of the Bear Party."

22. Osio, *The History*, 230–34.

23. Juan Bautista Alvarado, "History of California," 1876, ms, Bancroft Library, 5: 219–22, nd quoted in David Weber, ed., *Foreigners in the Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican mericans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 129–30.

24. On the role of the United States Navy in the California war, see Oakah L. Jones, Jr., The Pacific Squadron and the Conquest of California, 1846–1847," *Journal of the West* (April 966): 187–202, and on American military action in the war, also see John D. Tanner, Jr., Campaign for Los Angeles—December 29, 1846, to January 10, 1847" *California Historical ociety Quarterly* XLVIII (September 1969): 219–41.

25. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 177, and Harlow, *California Conuered*, 143.

26. See "Pío Pico's Correspondence with the Mexican Government, 1846–1848," *Calirnia Historical Society Quarterly* XIII (March 1934): 99–149.

27. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 149–54; Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 148.

28. Hubert H. Bancroft translates the text of the rebels, entitled *Pronunciamiento de Varela otros Californios contra los Americanos*, in his *History*, 5:310 n; also see Monroy, *Thrown mong Strangers*, 178.

29. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 161–63 and 193–94.

30. See Osio, *The History*, 235–36; Padilla, *My History*, 114–20, 125–30; Spence and Jackon, eds., *The Expeditions*, 236–37.

31. Spence and Jackson, eds., *The Expeditions*, 235.

32. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 172–73.

33. Ibid., 211; Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 155; Juan Avila, "Notas Californianas," ms, ancroft Library.

34. See Juan Avila, "Notas Californianas."

35. See Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *The Mexican War in Baja California: The Memorandum of Capin Henry Halleck* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1977), 18–19.

36. Nunis, ed., *The Mexican War*, 24.

37. Ibid., 26–27, and 60. Also see Kenneth M. Johnson, "Baja California and the Treaty f Guadalupe Hidalgo," *Journal of the West* (April 1972): 328–47.

38. Ruiz de Burton's book, *The Squatter and the Don* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1992, itally published in 1885), represented her last effort to plead for the land rights of elite Californios.

39. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 38–40; also see David M. Pletcher's *Diplomacy of Annexation: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War* (Columbia: University of Missour Press, 1973).

40. Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty*, 179–99.

41. Ibid., 189–90.

42. Ibid., 189–90, and 45–48.

43. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 290; Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 176–98; and see Beverly E. Bastian, "'I Heartily Regret That I Ever Touched a Title in California': Henry Wager Halleck, the Californios, and the Clash of Legal Cultures," *California History* LXXII (Winter 1993/94): 310–23.

44. One of the first and still highly informative studies of this process is presented by Leonard Pitt in *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

45. Osio, *The History*, 247–48. On land loss and its political, social, and cultural ramifications see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); and, for a recent text that examines Californio and Indian society through Spanish and American conquests, see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), and the previously cited work of Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers.*

46. Griswold del Castillo, *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo;* Oscar Martínez, *Troublesome Border* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 53–79, 57.

47. One person's history that vividly depicts this dilemma is presented in Florence Shipek's, *Delfina Cuero* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1991); and see Shipek's history of land policy in, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769–1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

48. See Robert Heizer, ed., *Report of Special Federal Concern About the Conditions of California Indians, 1853–1913: Eight Documents* (Socorro, N.Mex.: Ballena Press, 1979), 65.

49. See Rawls, *Indians of California*, parts II and III.

50. See John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), especially 120–37.

51. Norman E. Tutorow, comp. and ed., *Mexican-American War: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 42, 46–47, and John Parish, "California Books and Manuscripts in the Huntington Library," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 7 (April 1935): 36–58, summarize the manuscripts in the Huntington Library related to the Mexican War. Genaro M. Padilla also lists narrative accounts in *My History*, 271–72.

52. A more recent literature brings social history to the study of the Mexican War. On soldiers' experiences and their ideas and attitudes, see James M. McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny: The American Soldier in the Mexican War, 1846–1848* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), and Samuel J. Watson, "Manifest Destiny and Military Professionalism: Junior U.S. Army Officers' Attitudes Toward War with Mexico, 1844–1846," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 99 (April 1996): 466–98. On the cultural history of war photos, as this was the first war with a photographic record, see Martha A. Sandweiss, Rick Stewart, and Ben W. Huseman, *Eyewitness to War: Prints and Daguerreotypes of the Mexican War, 1846–1848* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum/Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press,

89), and Thomas R. Kailbourn, "The View from the Ojo de Agua: A Daguerreian Relic
Saltillo, Mexico, ca. 1847," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95 (October 1991): 221–31. On
e Irish soldiers who deserted and became heroes in Mexico, see Robert Ryal Miller, *Sham-*
ck and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.–Mexican War (Norman: University of
klahoma Press, 1989), and Marc Cramer, "The Fighting Irish of Mexico," *Americas* 48
larch–April 1996): 20–27.

icturing California

Anthony Kirk

he images of early California that illuminate the pages of this volume are a well-ring of information and delight. Encompassing the widest range of artistic xpression—from mysterious and fiercely beautiful pictographs to lyrical and wonrously evocative nineteenth-century landscape views—they enlarge our underanding of a long-lost world, vividly illustrating the firsthand observations of early xplorers as well as the scholarly studies of modern historians. Speaking to us across e ages, the pictures tell of a world once fresh and new on the far western reaches f the American continent, of the rhythms of life played out by vital and vigorous vilizations, of the clash of empires on Pacific shores.

The Indian peoples who entered this virgin land sometime before the end of the st Ice Age produced the first pictorial art in California as many as two thousand ars ago, when they began to paint designs on secluded rock outcroppings. Their nagery, which comprised both simple monochromatic symbols and complex mul-colored designs, reached a highpoint among the Chumash, whose startling and rilliant art (figure 2) is believed to have been associated with religious ceremonials, me of them incorporating the use of the hallucinogen datura. The Chumash iefly made use of geometric elements in the creation of their pictographs, but like ther California Indians, they also incorporated figures of humans, beasts, reptiles, d insects into designs, suggesting that whatever supernatural visions may have annated their creative impulses, they were also powerfully influenced by the natural orld about them.

The Spanish navigators who sailed dangerous seas to explore California's wild and indswept shores similarly composed pictorial images that reflected their relationip to this fabled land—a relationship entirely different from that of the native peoes, whose lives moved with the very pulse of nature itself. Like the French, English, and Russian voyagers who followed in their wake, the Spanish used art to advanc imperial ambitions. The primary imagery of discovery was cartography, the makin of maps to further subsequent exploration and settlement. Though the simple *der* *roteros,* or charts, produced by Vizcaíno and other early explorers evoke no real sens of place, some of the decorative and highly finished maps of the eighteenth centur invite us to picture California much as the Spanish did more than two centuries ag Suggestive of the evolving Hispanic understanding of this new land is the recentl rediscovered *Plano del Puerto de Sn Francisco* (figure 3), a striking cartographic rep resentation that seamlessly blends realism with abstraction. Drawn in 1776 by Jos de Cañizares, the pilot who the previous year had accompanied Captain Jua Manuel de Ayala on the first Spanish reconnaissance of the most magnificent o California estuaries, it incorporates discoveries made on a second survey that Octo ber. A seminal image of one of the defining natural landmarks of the Golden State it portrays the Hispanic presence of presidio and mission with two tiny icons—out posts of empire nearly lost in a vast and largely unknown landscape, on which appea symbolic representations of countless trees, some of them, as indicated by the map' legend, *colorados,* or redwoods.

As international interest in Spain's distant province mounted over the decades, in creasing numbers of European explorers came to anchor off the California coast. Th passionate pursuit of knowledge that characterized the Enlightenment was the prin cipal inspiration of many of these voyagers, though hopes of advancing trade rela tions and, not infrequently, imperial ambitions also underlay their visits. In seekin to add to the rapidly growing body of "natural philosophy," navigators and scientist devoted themselves to observing, measuring, collecting, and cataloguing, embracin in their investigations the wide-ranging interests of the age. The creation of a use ful visual record was often fundamental to the success of their endeavors, and in a era when photography was unknown, artists played an essential role in these gran enterprises.

The earliest known European images of California to emerge from direct obser vation are two ornithological drawings, pictures of a California thrasher and a pai of California quail, executed in Monterey in 1786 by Jean-Louis-Robert Prevost, on of the artists who accompanied the famed French navigator Jean-François d Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, on his final, ill-fated voyage to the South Sea. Of th two pictures, published eleven years later in the posthumous *Voyage de La Pérouse au tour du monde,* the latter (figure 1) is the more engaging. It shows a male and femal of the species posed on the brow of a hill, the pair characteristically active and alert and in the best tradition of expeditionary art, the illustration is both aestheticall pleasing and accurately drawn.

Subsequent voyagers added to this founding pictorial record, directly and indirectly documenting the course of empire in this golden land. In picturing California,

peditionary artists preserved their impressions of flora and fauna, native peoples,
ispanic institutions, and the land itself. To assist in the advance of geographical
owledge—so crucial to mariners and, potentially, to military men—draftsmen
equently made careful topographical studies of landfalls, headlands, and harbors.
hn Sykes, a young master's mate and amateur artist who sailed with George Van-
uver to California in the early 1790s, created a vast visual record of the far-flung
cific coastline. Typical of his work is *View of Monterrey* (figure 4), a subtly rendered
atercolor that shows the adobe walls of the royal presidio nestled in the lee of
ne- and oak-studded rolling hills. Upon the expedition's return to England, the
ost significant images were copied by a professional artist and later appeared, to-
ether with a series of sailing charts, as engravings in the atlas to Vancouver's *Voy-*
e of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World (1798). The three vol-
nes of Vancouver's narrative, which portentously concluded that the sole
nsequence of the Spanish settlement of California was to throw "irresistible temp-
tion in the way of strangers to trespass over their boundary," was similarly en-
ened with drawings from Sykes's brush, including three illustrations of Monterey
d environs. These images—which, like the work of other artists discussed here, can
found scattered through the present volume—gave European and American
aders their first glimpse of the California landscape and the tenuous Hispanic
esence of presidio and mission.

Throughout the age of exploration,the astonishing variety of wildlife in this
orth American Eden attracted the attention of naturalists and artists alike. Al-
ough the scientists who accompanied the great Spanish navigator Alejandro
alaspina to Monterey in the autumn of 1791 recorded a wide range of birds,
adrupeds, and fish, it was the former that captivated José Cardero, the expedition's
official artist. Cardero, who had shipped with Malaspina as a cabin boy and was
scribed by his superiors as "a simple amateur, not devoid of taste or artistic feeling,"
oduced a series of handsome ornithological drawings that are the oldest extant
lor images of California by an expeditionary draftsmen. In picturing California,
rdero, like Jean-Louis-Robert Prevost before him, captured the wild beauty of the
alifornia quail (figure 5), carefully preserving the appearance of what a century
d a half later would become the state bird.

Though wildlife and floral specimens were usually drawn on the spot or soon
ereafter, the first representation of the state flower, the golden poppy, was com-
eted years after it was collected in the autumn of 1816 by Adelbert von Chamisso,
e naturalist with the Russian South Sea exploring expedition commanded by Otto
n Kotzebue. The specimen obtained at San Francisco by Chamisso, who named
e flower in honor of the ship's surgeon, Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, ultimately
tered the botanical collections of the Royal Academy of Berlin. Drawn and en
aved by Friedrich Guimpel, this emblematic California flower, *Eschscholzia cali-*

fornica, with its vivid yellow petals, appeared as a hand-colored illustration (figure 6 in the 1820 compilation of recent Royal Academy acquisitions, *Horae Physicae Berolinensis,* printed in Bonn.

Like the distinctive flora and fauna of California, the native inhabitants of Spain' distant province drew the attention of expeditionary artists. Typically, though, thei approach was strictly scientific, and as suggested by the work of José Cardero, Geor Heinrich von Langsdorff, and others, they focused on elements of dress and decoration and ethnic features rather than on the essential humanity of their subjects In sharp contrast to these images are the watercolors produced by two Russians Louis (Ludwig) Choris, who, like Adelbert von Chamisso, arrived in California i 1816 with Otto von Kotzebue, and Mikhail Tikhanov, who two years later visite Monterey and Bodega Bay with the around-the-world expedition of V. M. Golovnin Tikhanov's beautiful and highly finished watercolor *Balthalzar* (figure 7), whic shows a young Coast Miwok or Kashaya Pomo in both profile and full-face, is no only rich in ethnographic detail but suggestive of the boy's complex inner life Though more loosely rendered, Louis Choris's brooding portrait of a man from th Guimen tribelet, *Indian of California* (figure 8), is the more evocative of the two likenesses, the deep and powerful humanity of Indian eyes shining brightly across th centuries.

Although José Cardero made drawings of a presidial soldier and his wife as earl as 1791, the Hispanic settlers who held California for Spain and, later, Mexico neve received the close artistic attention bestowed on the native peoples. One of the mor striking images of Old California, however, illustrates the provincial dress of the pastoral period. The work of an unidentified artist who in 1837 accompanied Abel D Petit-Thouars to Monterey, *Costume de la Haute Californie* and *Dame de Montere* (figure 9) are among the brilliant hand-colored lithographs that appear in th magnificent folio atlases to the French explorer's travel narrative. In pose and costume, the pair reveal the elegance, color, and grace of elite Californio society, whic so captivated Richard Henry Dana and other travelers of the 1830s and 1840s.

Chiefly concerned with creating accurate visual documents, the artists who visite this Pacific Eden when the banners of Spain and Mexico floated overhead rarel concerned themselves with high aesthetic intentions. A notable exception wa Richard Beechey, a young midshipman on the British vessel of discovery H.M.S. *Blossom,* which came to anchor in California waters in the autumn of 1826. The so of the prominent London portrait painter, Beechey, in the course of two visits, produced a series of striking watercolors that are not only carefully observed and accurately drawn but are wonderfully evocative of the lyrical beauty of provincial California, suggesting the artist's own enchantment with a bright and sunny land. Typical is *The Mission of San Carlos, Monterrey* (figure 10), executed in January 1827 before the winter rains had begun to turn the landscape green. Enlivened with picuresque details, such as the Californio watching a group of Indians gambling, it is splendid depiction of a mission in its heyday, when the Franciscan establishments ere the great economic institutions of the province.

The commander of the *Blossom,* Midshipman Beechey's half-brother Frederick, mented, like Vancouver before him, the lack of development in California, warnng "that this indifference cannot continue; for either it must disappear under the resent authorities, or the country will fall into other hands." But though the British oveted California, as did the French, the Russians had already taken action to seize nd hold part of this Spanish possession, constructing in 1812 a fortified village, later nown as Ross, on a coastal bluff some seventy miles north of San Francisco. Among he few images of this isolated outpost is a watercolor, (figure 11) by Il'ia Voznesenkii, a Russian scientist who arrived at the settlement in 1840 and spent a year inestigating the natural history and Indians of the region. Made as a gift for Alexaner Rotchev, the governor of the colony, the picture shows the fort, a scattering of arm buildings and workshops just outside the stockade, and to the right, beyond the oad, the wooden houses where Russians, Aleuts, and Kashaya Pomo lived. Wellbserved and crisply rendered, like all of Voznesenskii's work, it is a charming and icturesque vision of Russian California.

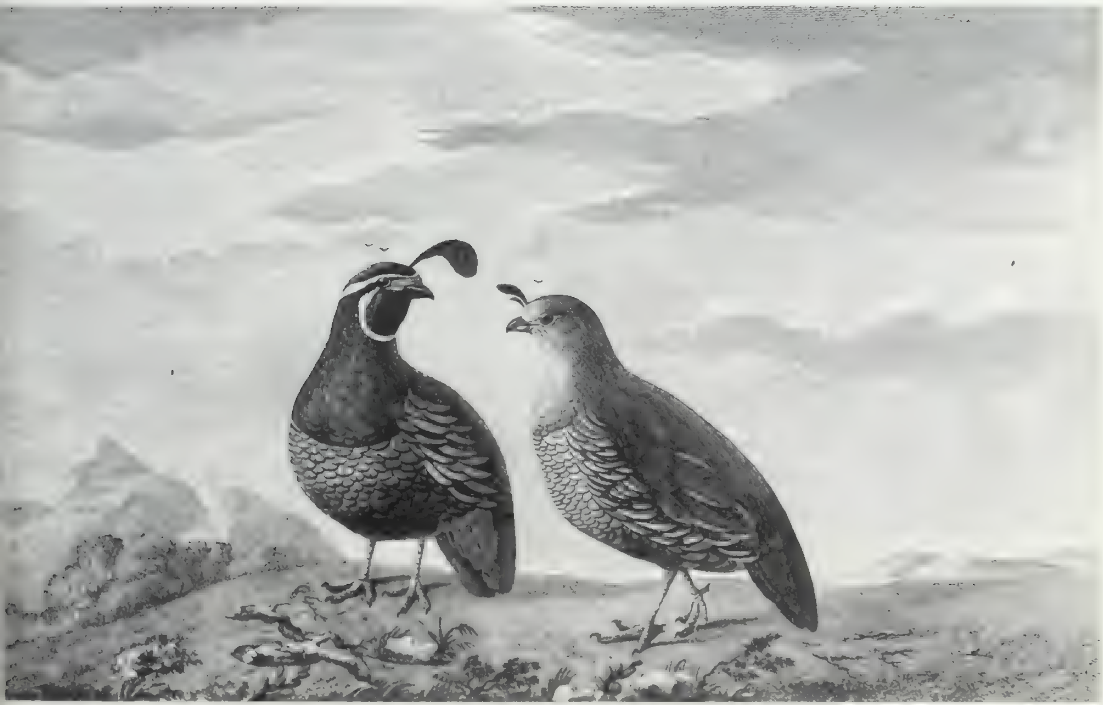
In the summer of 1841—the same year the Russians would sell Ross and retreat orth to Alaska, abandoning old dreams of empire—the first exploring expedition om the United States, the Wilkes Expedition, entered California. Among the embers of a detachment that traveled overland from the Oregon country and own the Sacramento Valley was the artist Alfred T. Agate, who produced the earest known drawings of the interior of the Mexican province. Completed from field ketches shortly after Agate returned to New York, *South Branch of the Clamet* (figure 2) depicts an incident in which two Indians were discovered watching the explorng party from a high outcrop of lava rocks. In Agate's handsome watercolor, the rich iparian growth bordering the Klamath River contrasts strongly with the soft earth ones of the dry upland plain, which teemed with herds of antelope, while in the disance can be seen Mt. Shasta and, to the right, the towering barren cinder cone hat Wilkes thought "the most remarkable object in this place."

American interest in California mounted swiftly in the years following Wilkes's isit, culminating in the Bear Flag Revolt and the Mexican War, which brought west umerous men with a talent for drawing. Among the artists who pictured the rovince in this momentous era was the unidentified maker of the delicate waterolor *California Regiment in Camp* (figure 13). One of several drawings by different ands in the journal of Lieutenant John McHenry Hollingsworth, a Maryland naive who planned on settling in California, it shows the smartly attired soldiers of ompany I of the First New York Volunteers at Monterey in the spring of 1847.

Also swept westward by the winds of Manifest Destiny was William R. Hutton, paymaster's clerk to the United States volunteer troops. A surveyor by training and a talented amateur artist, Hutton produced dozens of drawings during his California years, among which *San Francisco in 1847* (figure 14) is particularly fine. Looking across Yerba Buena Cove from Rincon Point, it shows the scattered village bathed in the warm light of the setting sun, a moment of quiet grace before the dawning of the American era in which the discovery of gold would swiftly change the face of Old California.

Picturing California

A Folio



igure 1 · Jean-Louis-Robert Prévost, *Male and Female California Quail.* From ean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, *Voyage de La Perouse autour du monde,* 797. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30508.*

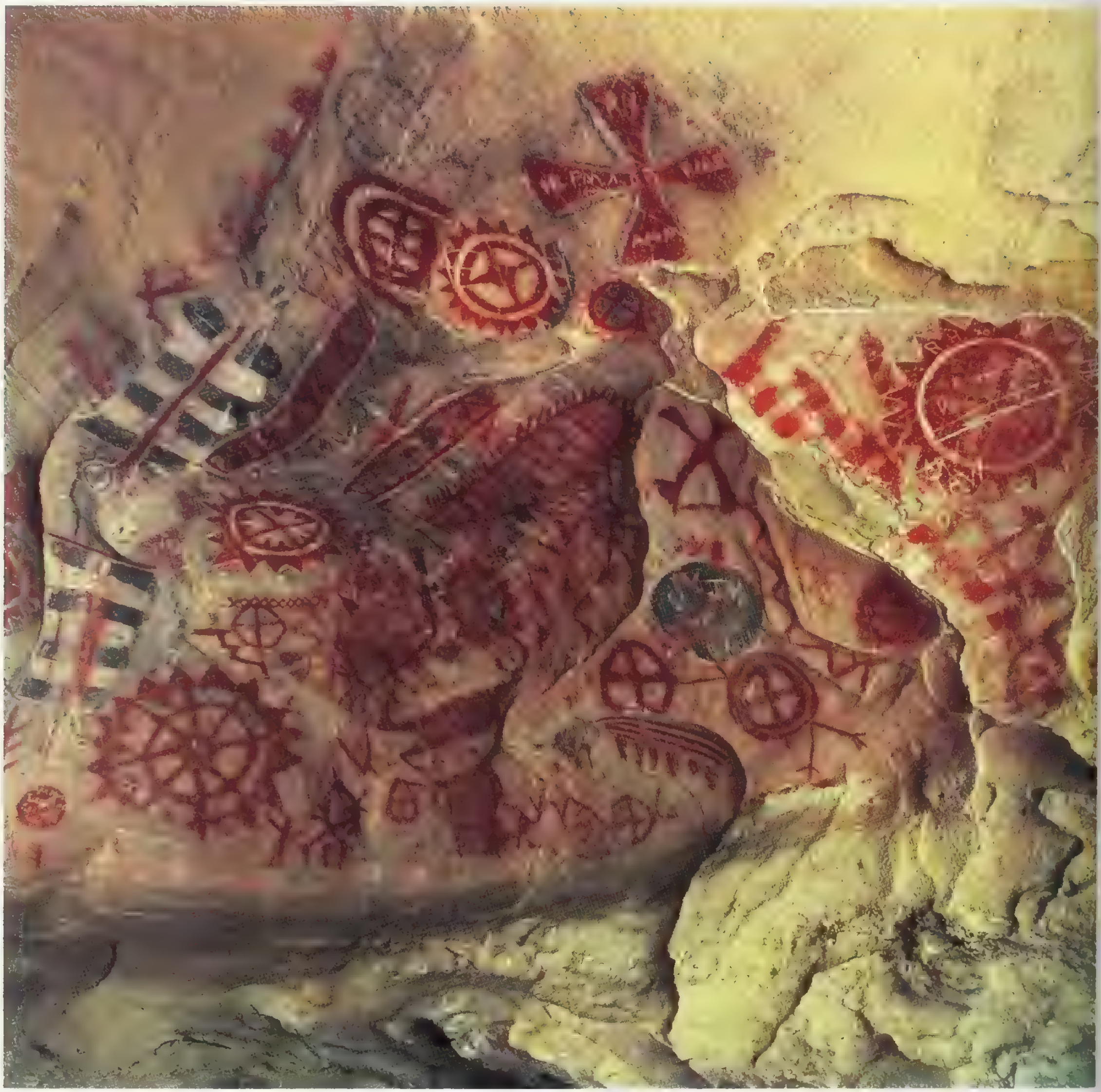
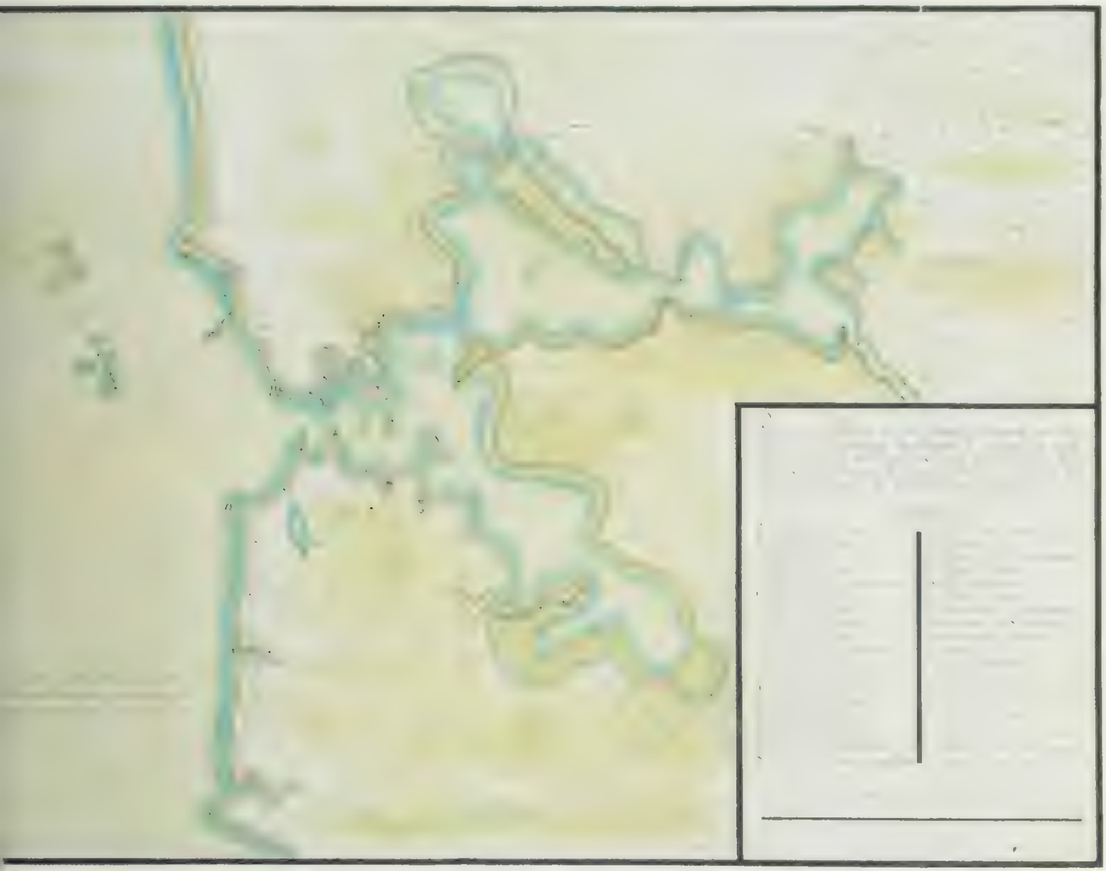


Figure 2 · *Painted Cave,* Santa Barbara County, ca. 1000–1780. *Courtesy Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Photograph by George Stoll.*



igure 3 · José de Cañizares, *Plano del Puerto de Sn Francisco*, 1776. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

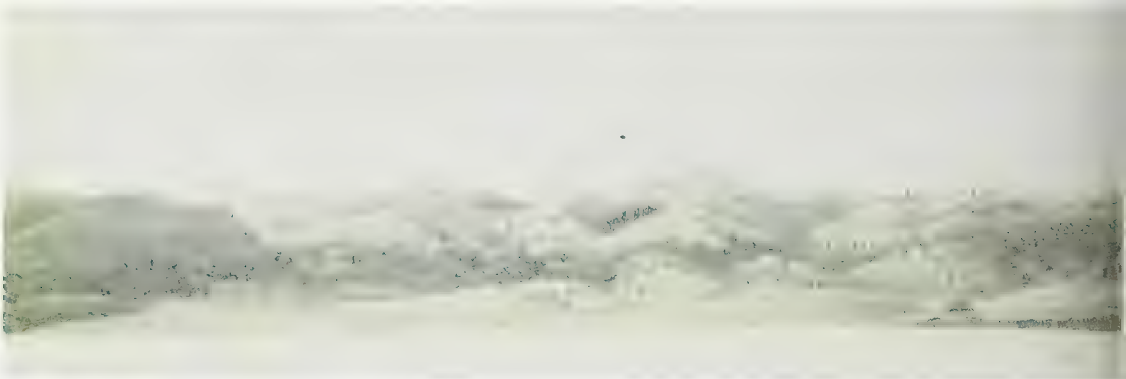


Figure 4 · John Sykes, *View of Monterrey,* ca. 1792. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

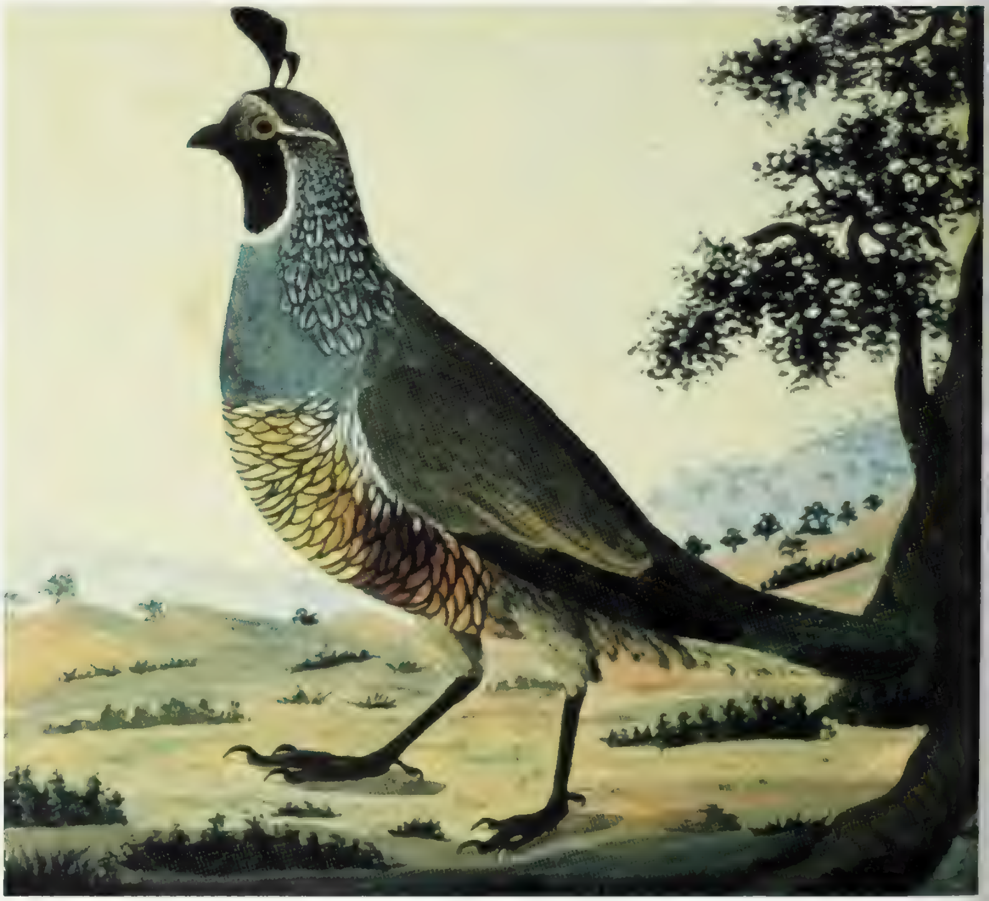
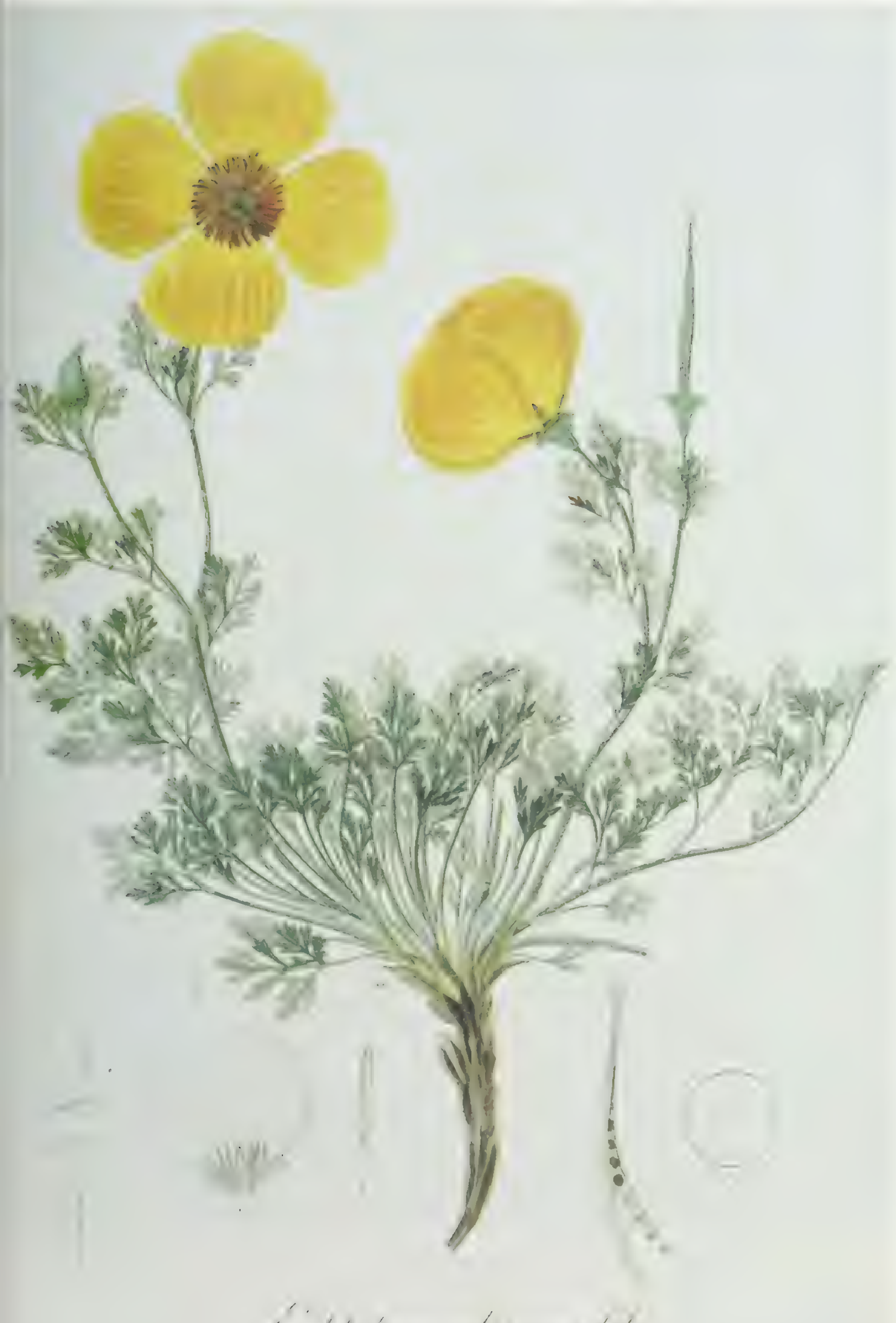


Figure 5 · José Cardero, *California Quail,* 1791. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*


Eschholtzia californica Ch.

igure 6 · Friedrich Guimpel, *Eschholzia californica.* From *Horae Physicae Berolinensis,* 1820.

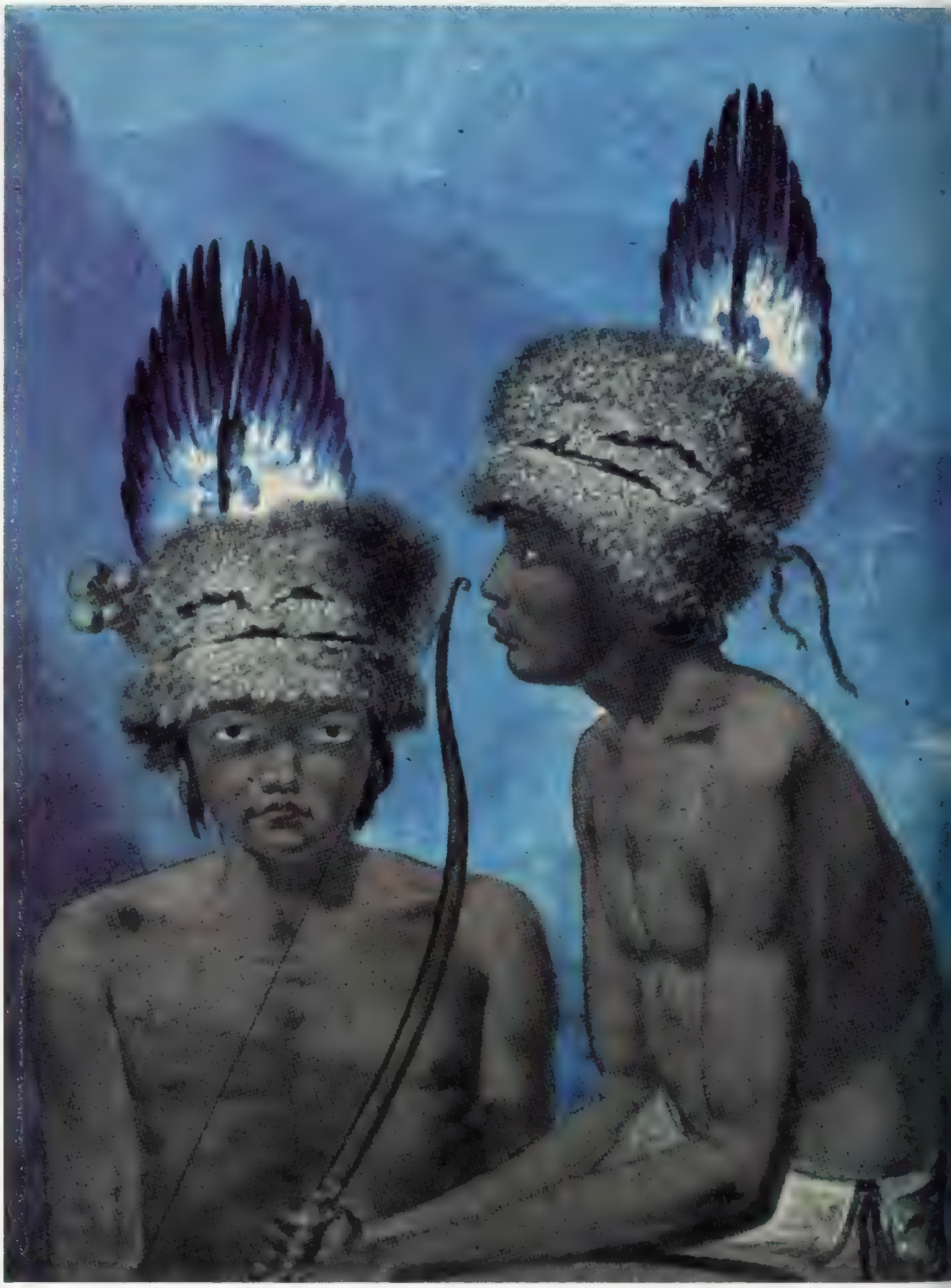
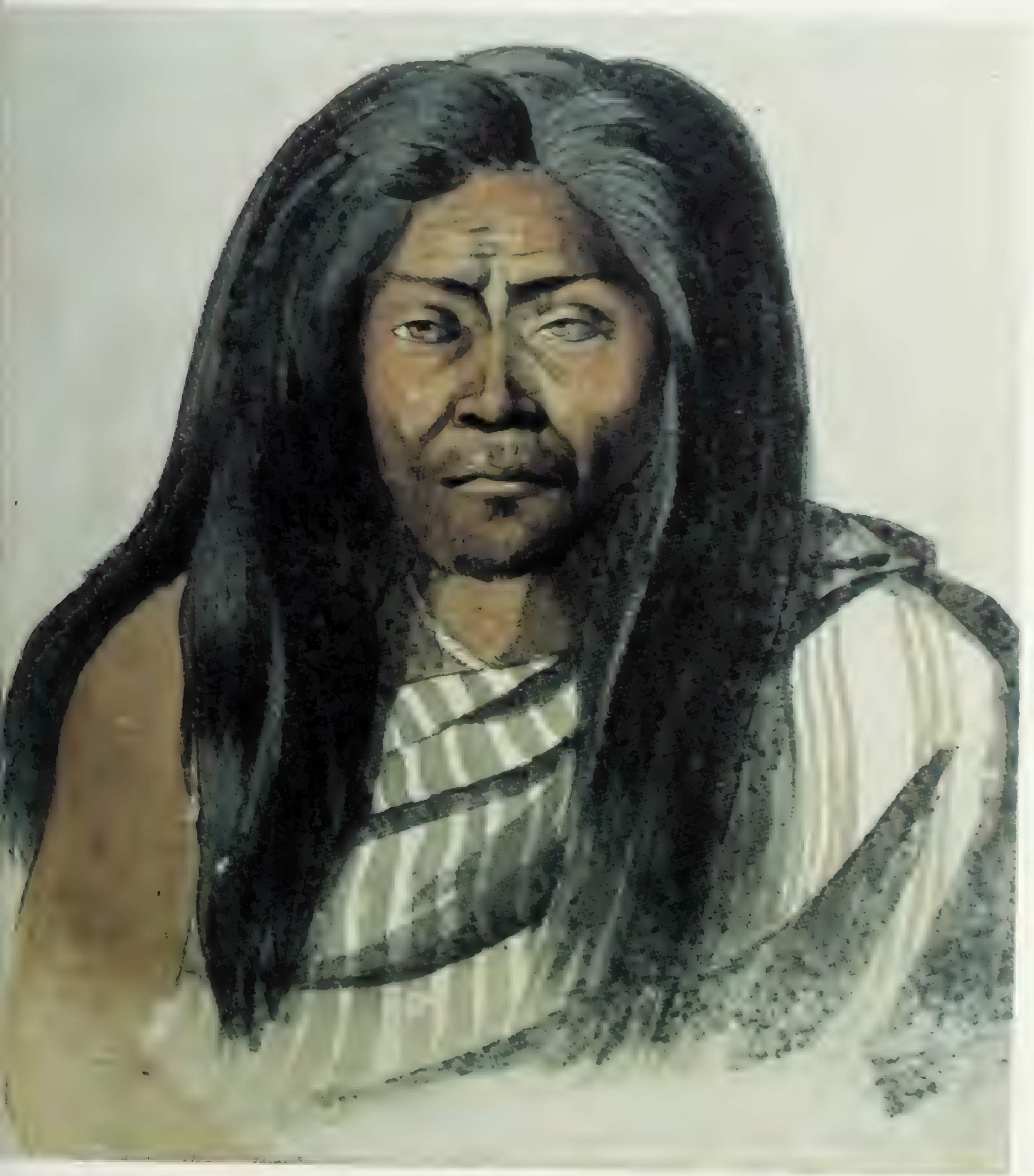


Figure 7 · Mikhail T. Tikhanov, *Balthalzar,* 1818. *Courtesy Art Research Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Photograph courtesy Anchorage Museum of History and Art.*



igure 8 · Louis Choris, *Indian of California*, 1816. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California; luseum Donors Acquisition Fund.*

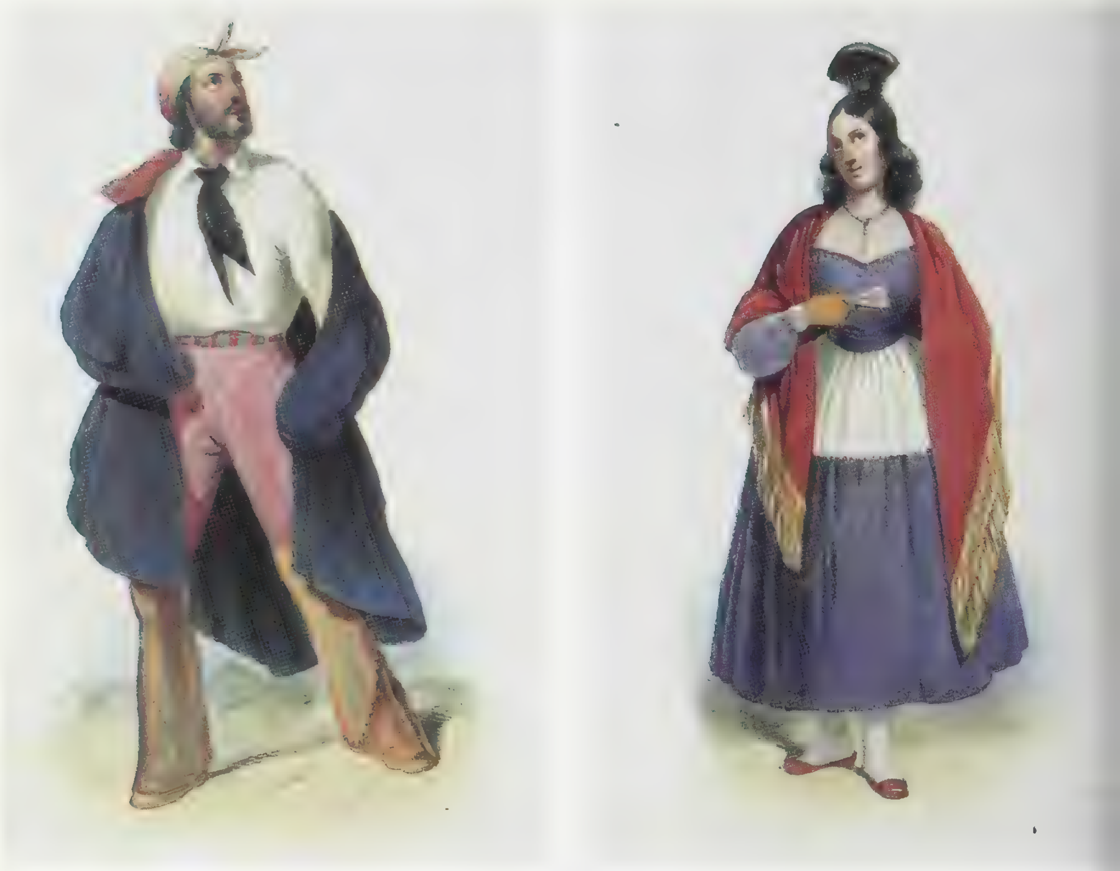
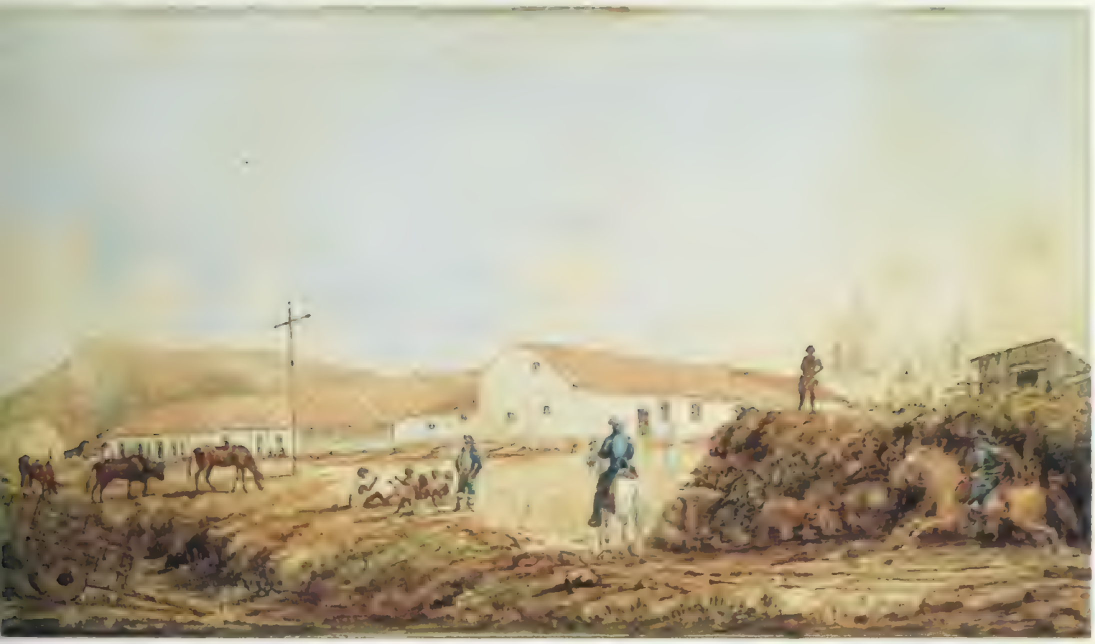
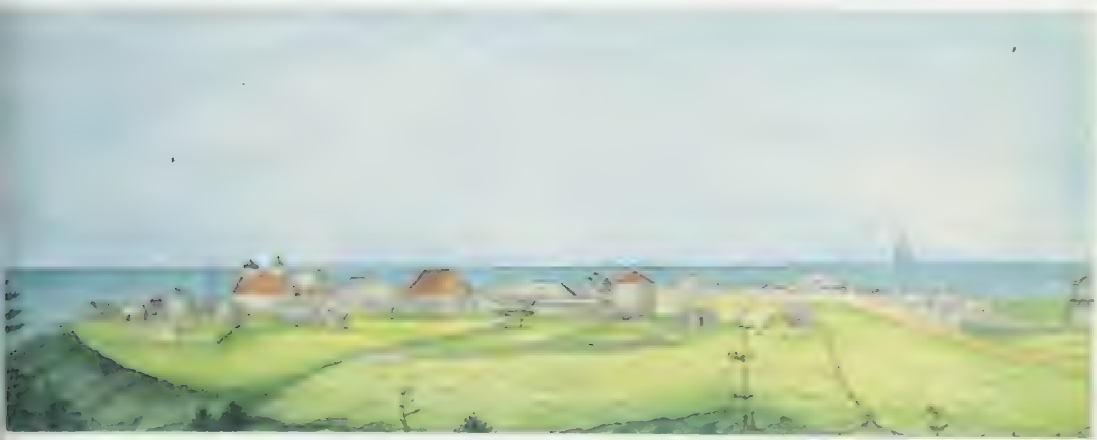


Figure 9 · Unidentified artist, *Costume de la Haute Californie* and *Dame de Monterey.* From Abel Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate la Vénus, pendant les années 1836–1839: Atlas pittoresque,* 1841. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*



gure 10 · Richard Beechey, *The Mission of San Carlos, Monterrey, 1827. Courtesy Autry useum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles.*



gure 11 · Il'ia Voznesenskii, *View of Ross, 1841. Courtesy Peter the Great Museum Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg, Russia. Photograph courtesy Anchorage useum of History and Art.*

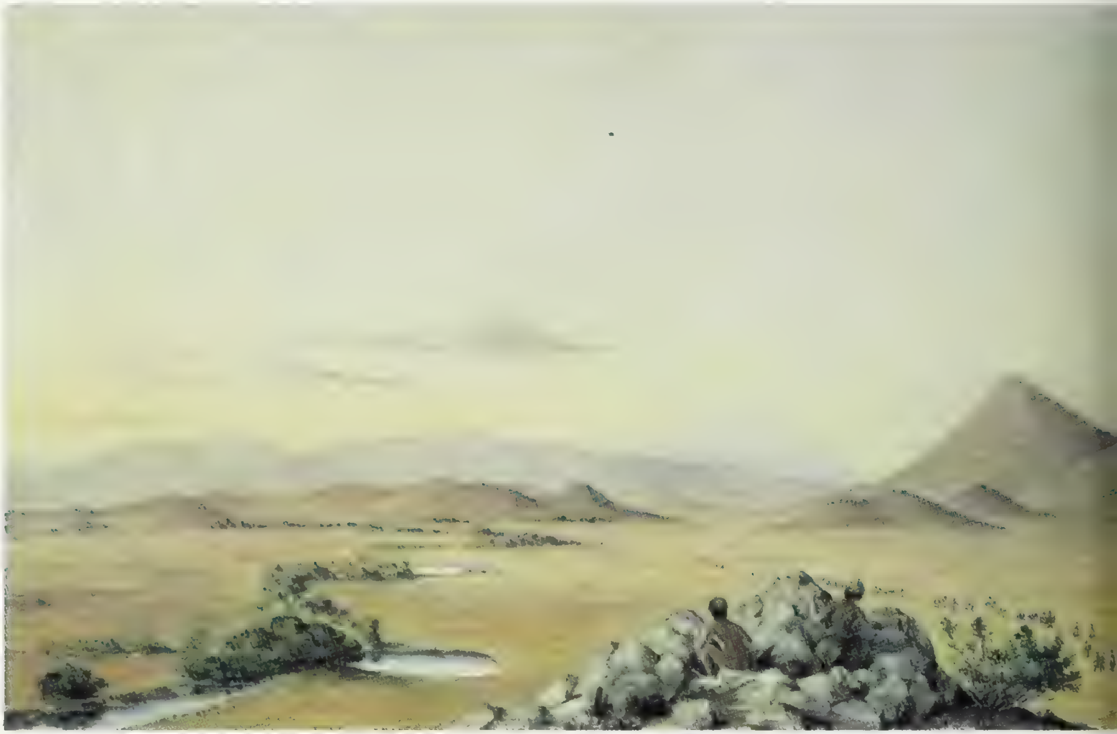
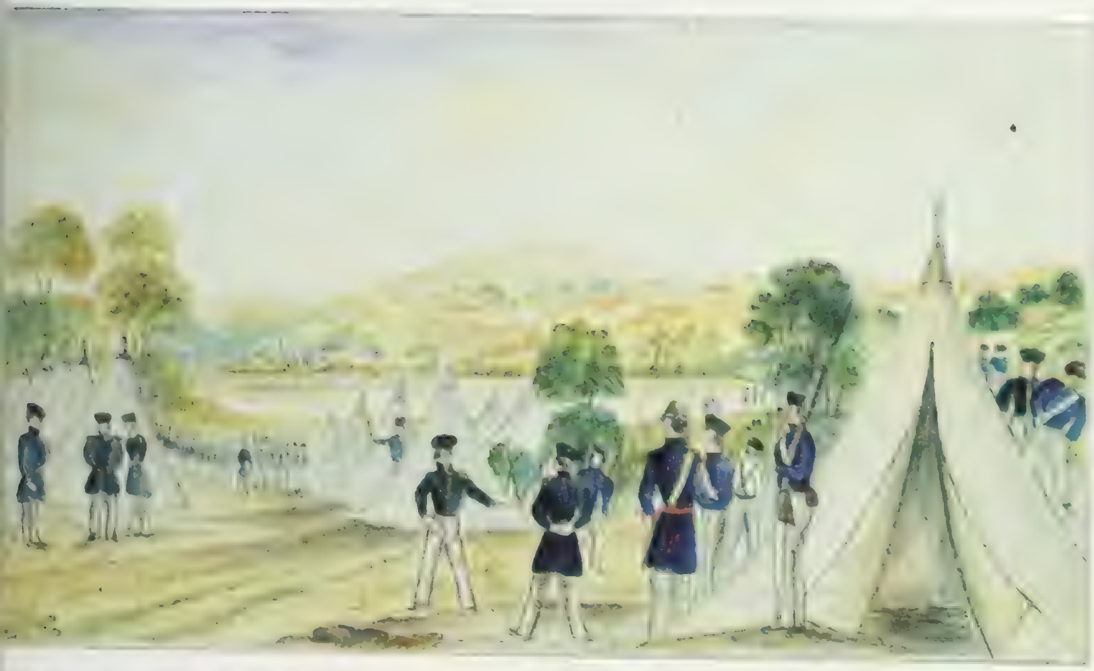


Figure 12 · Alfred T. Agate, *South Branch of the Clamet,* 1842. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*



gure 13 · Unidentified artist, *California Regiment in Camp*, 1847. *Courtesy California storical Society.*

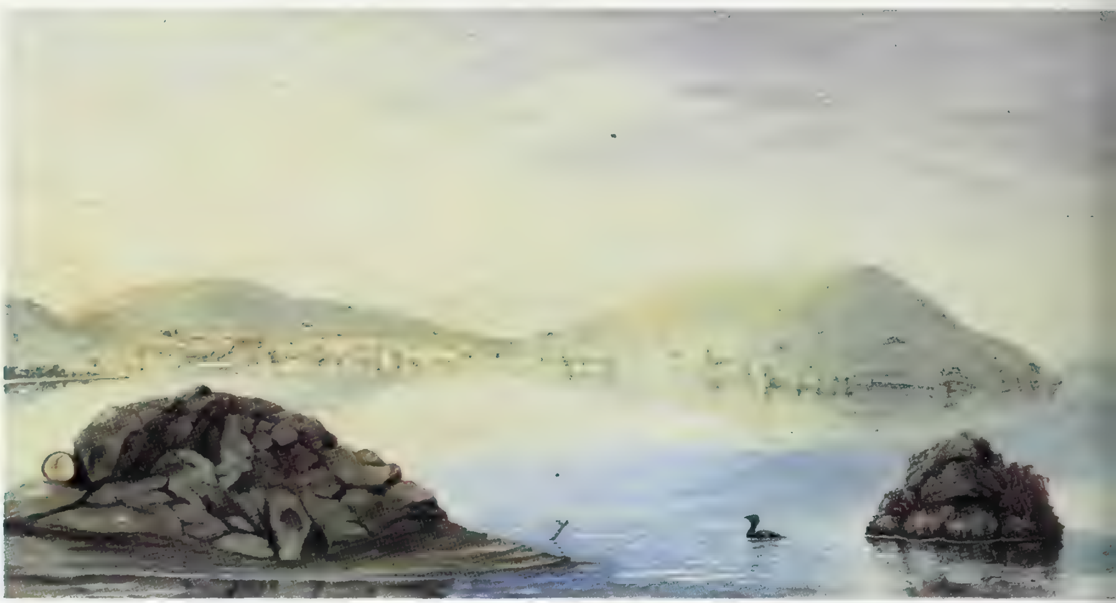


Figure 14 · William R. Hutton, *San Francisco in 1847*, 1847. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Contributors

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ndex

apulco, 81, 83, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 99
homawi Indians, 55, 58
rns, as food source, 52, 54
t for the Government and Protection of Indians (1850), 220
t for the Relief of the Mission Indians (1891), 164
rica, 86
ate, Alfred T., 361, 372
insky, Burt and Ethel, 64
iculture, 116, 118, 285–86, 287
ardiente, 165
ueda, 70
pollution, 29, 44n40
meda County, 186
ska, 54, 97, 361
ldes, role of, 210–13
ut Indians, 213, 215, 304, 305, 361
sal Rancho, 310
ng the Mariposa Trail, 28
nso, Ana Maria, 230, 231
ine tundra, 30
arado, Juan Bautista, 130, 152, 180, 181, 91, 310, 311, 312, 321, 334, 341
arado, Pedro de, 83
nador, Jose Maria, 186
nador, Maria Ignacia, 187
nerican colonization, 49, 64
nerican River, 218, 284
American Valley, 56
Amoros, Fr. Juan, 65
Anderson, M. Kat, 6, 264
Andrews, Patricia J., 260
Anglo-Americans, 1, 3, 5, 10, 337; Californios romanticized by, 175; conquest of California by, 173; migrate to California, 311–19; as traders and trappers, 119, 129, 132, 133–34, 179, 183, 216, 220, 272, 282, 303, 309–12
animals: indigenous and non-native, 261–98. *See also* livestock, cattle
Anthropoligical Records, 51
Anza, Juan Bautista de, 21, 174, 239, 246, 300
Anza expedition: map of, 247
Arballo, María Feliciana, 246, 248
Arcata, 22
Archivo General de Centro América (Guatemala), 83
Archivo General de Indias (Seville), 83
Arguello, Concepcion, 304
Arguello, Jose Dario, 99, 129, 191
Arguello, Santiago, 153, 181
Arispe, 248
Arizona, 54, 334, 346
Armijo, Antonio, 312
Arrillaga, José Joaquín de, 21, 103, 119, 120, 129

Articles of Capitulation, 343
Arzaga, Manuel, 151
Ascención, Father Antonio de la, 91
Asia, 32
Asian-American Company, 130
Asians, 3
Atrevida (corvette), 99, 100
Atsugewi Indian , 55, 69
Auburn, 64
Avila family, 182
Ayala, Juan Manuel de, 94, 95, 358
Aztec empire, 80, 82, 160, 161

Baca, Judith F., 238
Bachelot, Fr. Alejo, 151
Badger Road, 67
Baja California, 90, 91, 102, 116, 275, 300, 311, 341, 342, 344, 345–46; exploration of, 81–82, 84; Indians of, 199
Bakersfield, 272
Balthazar (watercolor), 360, 368
Bancroft Library, 173, 350
Bancroft, Hubert H., 149, 162, 173, 174–75, 186, 192, 242, 331
Bandini, Juan, 179, 187, 250, 307
Bandini, Margarita, 250
Barbieri, Leonardo, 184
Barret, Samuel, 71
Barrett, Samuel A., 50
Bartleson, John, 314
basketry, 52, 53
Battle of Cahuenga, 321
bay tree (*Umbellularia californica*), 24
Bean, Lowell, 60
Bear Flag, 340
Bear Flag Republic, 333, 440
Bear Flag Revolt, 218, 322, 339–41, 349, 361
beargrass, 16
Becerra, Diego de, 81
Beechey, Frederick W., 131, 306, 361
Beechey, Richard, 360, 361; painting by, 13, 371
Behar, Ruth, 237
Belcher, Edward, 306
Benicia, 280
Benton, Sen. Thomas Hart, 336
Bering, Vitus, 283
Bernal, Josefa, 250
Bibliography of Early California and Neighboring Territory Through 1846, (Santos), 322
Bicknell, Susan, 35
Bidwell, John, 217, 218, 219, 220, 314, 315 316
Bidwell-Bartleson party, 314–15, 316
Big Meadows, 56
Big Sur, 22, 23
Bilboa, 94
black cottonwood (*Populus balsamifera* subspecies *trichocarpa*), 29
black oak, 36
black walnut, 38
blackbrush scrub, 32
Blackburn, Thomas C., 264
Blossom (ship), 360, 361
blue oak (*Quercus douglasii*), 26
Blumler, Mark A., 262
Bodega Bay, 62, 88, 95, 213, 214, 283, 284, 304, 305, 360
Bodega y Quardra, Juan Francisco de la, 78, 94–95, 101–2
bolander pine, pygmy (*Pinus contorta* subspecies *bolanderi*), 20
Bolton, Herbert E., 203
books, as a trade item, 310–11
Bordelais (ship), 305
Borica, Diego de, 103, 117, 119, 120, 241
Borthwick, J. D., 14
Boscana, Gerónimo, 203
Bourbon Reforms, 7, 9, 232, 299
Brading, David, 159
Briggs, Henry, 79
bristlecone pine (*Pinus longaeva*), 30
British, in California, 9, 10, 319
British Columbia, 301
British East India Company, 90
British traders, 129
brittlebush (*Encelia farinosa*), 32
Brown, Henry B., 53, 54
Bryant, Edwin, 187, 270
Bryant, William, 14

ucareli, Antonio de, 92
uchanan, James, 319
uckeye (*Aesculus californica*), 26
unchgrass, 26, 30, 31
ur clover (*Medicago polymorpha*), 26
urling, Joseph, 303
urrobush (*Ambrosia dumosa*), 32
urton, María Amparo Ruis de, 346
ustamente, Carlos María, 160
ustamente y Guerra, Antonio, 98
yron, California, 313

abrillo, Juan Rodríguez, 39n2, 48, 60, 70, 78, 83–86, 91, 105nn10,16, 266, 268
acti, 31
adiz, 100
ahuilla Indians, 16, 53, 54, 220
ajon Pass, 217, 220
alifornia: climate of, 3, 18–39; colonization of, 49, 299; economy of, 3; maps of, 2, 79; Mexican rule of, 9; myths surrounding, 1, 155; supply shipments to, from Mexico, 114, 299; trade in, 111–46; vegetation in, 20–39
alifornia Battalion, 218, 333, 341
alifornia black oak (*Quercus kelloggii*), 26
alifornia coffee berry (*Rhamnus californica*), 23, 27
alifornia Conquered (Harlow), 331
alifornia Department of Forestry, 29
alifornia Department of Parks and Recreation, 29
alifornia fan palm (*Washingtonia filitera*), 32
alifornia Historical Society, 121
alifornia oatgrass (*Danthonia californica*), 23
alifornia Pastoral, by H. H. Bancroft, 175
alifornia Regiment in Camp, 361, 373
alifornia Republic, 322
alifornia State Archives, 350
alifornia Trail, 312
alifornia walnut (*Juglans californica*), 26
alifornia Wedding Party of 1845, 243
alifornios, 173–95, 309–10
allis, Eulalia, 245, 246–48

Canada de Santa Ana Rancho, 134
Canizares, José de (pilot), 358, 365
Canton, China, 119
canyon oak (*Quercus chrysolepis*), 24
Cape Horn, 99
Cape Mendocino, 87, 91, 92
Cape San Lucas (Cabo San Lucas), 89, 91, 102, 301
Captain Tom, 64
Cardero, José, 57, 97, 100, 101, 115, 126, 200, 240, 359, 360, 366
Carlos III, King of Spain, 95, 96, 299
Carlos IV, King of Spain, 96, 100, 103
Carlos V, Emperor, King of Castile, 82
Carmel area, 284
Carmel Mission, 57
Carquinez Strait, 279
Carrillo, Carlos Antonio, 150–51, 178
Carrillo, Ignacio, widow of, 177
Carrillo, José Antonio, 310, 343
Cascade Mountains, 35
caste system, 160
Castillero, Andrés, 337
Castillo, Edward, 124
Castro family, 132
Castro, José, 180, 190, 310, 311, 312, 321, 348, 350; conflict with Frémont, 337–39; Mexican-American War role, 341–44
Castro, Manuel, 343
Catalina Island, 92
cattle, grazing by, 31, 116. *See also* livestock
caudillos, 216–20
Cavendish, Thomas, 89–90
Caymus (Wappo) Indians, 285–86
Ceanothus, 27
Cebu, 87
Cedros Island, 82
Central Valley, of California, 2, 20, 25, 216, 275, 276, 280, 282
Cermeño, Sebastián Rodríguez, 89, 90, 91
Cescubierta (corvette), 99
chamise (*Adenostoma fasciculatum*), 27
Chamisso, Adelbert von (naturalist), 359, 360
Channel Islands, 85, 88
chaparral, 12, 19, 24–27, 20, 21, 274

Chapman, Joseph, 305
Chaquiles, José, 123
Charles, Rosa, 37
Chatham (ship), 101, 301
cheatgrass (*Bromus tectorum*), 32
Chefo, photo of, 348
Chemehuevi Indians, 55
Chico (Gov. of California), 181
Chico Rancheria, 218
Chihuahua, Mexico, 349
Chile, 19, 99
Chiles, Joseph B., 316
China, 119
Choris, Louis (Ludwig), 36, 49, 205, 360, 369
Christmas berry (*Heteromeles arbutifolia*), 27
Chulamni Indians, 265
Chumash Indians, 38, 53, 54, 58, 60, 102, 209, 210, 236; art by, 357; rebellion of, 152, 203, 204, 211, 237
church-state conflict and cooperation, 147–72
cienegas o tulares, 2
Cipriano (*alcalde*), 212
civil rights, 3
Clavijero, Francisco, 160
Clear Lake, 58
climate, 3, 12; and soils, 20
clovers, 35
Clyman, James, 317
Coast Ranges, 24, 48, 52, 274
coast, 22–24
Cobo, Berabé (naturalist), 264
Colima, 83
Collins, Paul (zoologist), 38
Coloma, 284, 317
Colonization Act of 1824, 132, 136, 180
Colorado, 54, 334, 337, 346
Colorado Desert, 32, 33
Colorado River, 54, 55, 81, 210, 220, 285, 300
Columbia River, 95, 311, 343
Columbia-Fraser Plateau, 55
Columbus Quincentenary, 78
Columbus, Christopher, 260
Concepcíon (frigate), 102, 118
Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936 (Haas), 176
conservation, by Native Americans, 33
Constanso, Miguel, 270
Cook, Capt. James, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103
Cook, Sherburne F., 124, 149, 216, 222
Cooper, John B. R., 306, 307
Coos Bay, Oregon, 88
Copa, Maria, 66, 67
Coronado, Francisca Vásquez de, 83, 85
Coronado Islands, 84, 91
Corr, Capt. Ebenezer, 302
Cortés, Hernán, California explorations of, 80–82
Costanoan Indians. *See* Ohlone
Costume de la Haute Californie (lithograph), 360, 370
cottonwood (*Populus fremontii*), 31
Coulter pine (*Pinus coulteri*), 24
Count of Montesclaros, 92
cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*), 23
coyote-brush (*Baccharis pilularis* subspecies *consanguinea*), 23
coyote stories, 59, 68–69, 71
creosote bush (*Larrea tridentata*), 32, 33
Crescent City, 19
Crespi, Juan, 21, 94, 156
criollos, 160
Cronon, William, 14, 198
Crosby, Alfred L., 270
Cucamonga Rancho, 315
Cupeño Indians, 15, 53, 218, 220
Cuyler's Harbor (San Miguel Island), 85

Daedalus (ship), 301
Dale (ship), 332
Dame de Monterey (lithograph), 360, 370
Dana, Richard Henry, 174, 186, 189, 300, 307–9, 310, 360
Dasmann, Raymond F., 287
Davis, William Heath, 183, 243, 279, 307, 313
The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890 (Pitt), 176

e la Guerra, José Antonio, 184, 189, 191
e la Guerra, María de las Angustias,
  331–32
e la Guerra, Pablo, 310
e la Guerra family, 182, 188, 189, 244
e la Guerra Ord, Angustias, 180, 181,
  187
Bry, Théodore, 89
Soto, Hernando, 83
er, 26, 52
ergrass, 35
elaware Indians, 343
escubierta (ship), 99, 100
esert willow (*Chilopsis linearis*), 32
sert, 12, 31–33
ick, George, 63
iegueño Indians, 16, 53, 54, 199
iscovery (ship), 96, 101, 102, 301
sease, 8, 192, 199–200, 215–16, 222, 263,
  267, 269, 278
vorce, among Native Americans, 234
ixon, Roland B., 50, 58, 61, 69
olores Mission, 205, 304, 305
omínguez, Don Manuel, 179
omínguez, Juan José, 177
onner Lake, 318
onner Party, 220
ouglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), 13, 23,
  24, 27
rake, Francis, 70, 71, 78, 268; exploration
  of California coast, 87–89, 90, 106n27
rake's Bay, 88, 90, 92
u Bois, Constance G., 50
u Bois, Cora, 72
uché de Vancy, Gaspard, 97
unlap Valley, 67
urán, Fr. Narciso, 151, 212, 213, 311
utch explorations, 90
ye, Job, 312

arthmaker story, 69
rthquakes, 71
ast Indies, 80
astman, Seth, 17
cheandia, Jose Maria de, 130, 162, 163,
  179, 212

Echeverria, Atanasio, 101
Echeveste, Jose de, 118
Echeveste, Juan Jose, 114
Echeveste Reglamento, 114
economics, in Spanish and Mexican
  California, 111–46
Ecuador, 99
education, 151
Eel River, 59, 231
El Camino Viejo, 274
El Molino Viejo, 121
El Niguel Rancho, 181
Eliza, Francisco de, 102
Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 88
elk, 52
Elsasser, Albert, 52
Emancipation Proclamation, 220
Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California
  (Hastings) (1845), 318
encomienda, 122
Engelhardt, Zephyrin, 162
Engels, Friedrich, 111
England, 359; and California, 181
English: in California, 113, 119, 361
Enlightenment, 4, 7, 8, 96, 153, 159, 180
Ensenada, 84
environment, 12, 259–98
Erasmus, 155
Eschscholtz, Johann Friedrich, 359
Esselen Indians, 52, 57
Estanislao, 197, 212–13
Estrada, Joaquin, 182
Estudillo, José María, 60
Estudillo, María, 243
Eucalyptus, 23
Euro-Americans: arrival of, 23, 37, 38, 50
Europe, 32
Europeans, colonization and exploration
  by, 6, 49, 64, 72, 78–110, 357

Fabián y Fuero, Francisco, 155
Fages, Gov. Pedro, 99, 108n53, 118, 126, 128,
  149, 150, 177, 236, 246–48
Farallon Islands, 297n81
Farnham, Thomas Jefferson, 308, 312, 314
Feather River, 315

feminism, 4
Ferdinand VI, King of Spain, 105n7
Fernandez, José, 305
Ferran, Augusto, 133
Ferrer (Ferrelo), Bartolomé, 86
fescue (*Vulpia* species), 26
Fibel, Pearl R., 322
fiesta, 188
Figueroa, Francisco, 343
Figueroa, José, 112, 152, 161, 163, 178, 179; *Manifesto a la República Mejicana,* 181
Fiji Islands, 100
filaree (*Erodium* species), 26
fire: and environment, 12, 15, 19–20, 23, 26, 32, 273, 274, 294n51; and Native Americans, 14, 16, 35, 36–37, 39; suppression of, 12, 23, 26
First New York Volunteers, 361
Fitch, Henry D., 306, 311
Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 314
five-needled whitebark (*Pinus albicaulis*), 30
flood, 23
Flores, José María, 345
Font, Fr. Pedro, 246
food: gathering, 16, 18; shortage, 118
foothill pine (*Pinus sabiniana*), 26
Forbes, James A. (consul), 319
forests: alpine, 27; conifer, 20, 27–29, 36; montane, 12, 19, 27–30; old growth, 13, 24
Fort Laramie, 316
Fort Ross. *See* Ross
Fort Vancouver, 311
forty-niners, 3
foxtail (*Hordeum* species), 26
foxtail (*Pinus balfouriana*), 30
Franciscan missionaries, 112–14, 150, 197; and commercial trade, 119, 131; and Indian labor, 122–27, 147; philosophy of, 153–59; secularization's effect on, 148
Frankfort, Jacob, 315
free trade, 130
Frémont, Jessie B., 320
Frémont, John C., 320, 322, 331, 333, 334, 336, 337–39, 340, 343, 345, 349; leads California Battalion, 341–42, 344
French, in California, 10, 96–97, 319, 361
Fresno River, 219
fur trade, 80, 179, 216, 311–12

Gabrielino Indians, 53, 60, 71, 128, 210, 234, 235–36, 238
Galaup, Jean François de. *See* la Pérouse
Gali, Francisco de, 106n31
Galiano, Dionisio Alcalá, 101
Gálvez, José de, 113
Garcia, Rev. Diego, 149
Garden of Eden, 264
Garr, Daniel, 150
Garra, Antonio, 220
Gasquet, Louis, 319
Gayton, A. H., 61, 63
Geary, Gerald, 162
General Grant Park, 67
Genesee, 69
genocide, 222
gente de razón, 122, 148, 149, 150, 159, 162, 163, 166n1, 178–79, 239, 242, 249; and Native Americans, 152, 157–58, 161, 164–66; secularization and, 181
George, Billy, 37
ghost pine (*Pinus sabiniana*), 20
giant sequoia, 27, 36
Gifford, Edward Winslow, 50–51
Gildemeister, Charles, 335
Gillespie, Archibald, 331, 342, 343
Gilroy, John, 317
Gitlin, Jay, 198
Goddard, Plyny Earle, 50
gold, 1, 134
gold miners, 48
Gold Rush, in California, 111, 112, 137, 173, 218, 276, 278, 280, 286, 317, 348
Golden Hind (ship), 88
golden poppy (*Eschscholzia californica),* 359–60, 367
Golovnin, V. M., 62, 360
gorse, 23
Graham, Isaac, 312
Graham Affair, 312, 313

rand fir (*Abies grandis*), 24
rasshoppers, as food, 35, 36
assland, 12, 20, 24–27, 273
rayton, Ann, 58
razing, effect on environment, 31
reasewood (*Sarcobatus vermiculatus*), 32
reat Basin, 55
reat Basin Desert, 31, 32
reat Salt Lake, 318
reen, John, 99
rigsby-Ide party, 317
rizzly bears, 185, 279–80
uacamal, 85
uadalajara, 120, 239
uam, 100
uatemala, 83
uaymas, 81
uide to the History of Calfornia (Nunis and
  Lothrop), 323
uimen tribelet, 360
uimpel, Friedrich, 359, 367
ulf of Alaska, 95
ulf of California (Sea of Cortés), 81, 84,
  92, 300, 345
utiérrez (Gov. of California), 181
utiérrez, Ramón, 231, 235

aas, Lisbeth, 10, 176
abitants de Californie (lithograph), 49
aënke, Tadeo, 99, 100
ahn, William, 25
alchidhoma Indians, 55
ansen, Woodrow, 150
arlow, Neil, 331
armer, Alexander, 248
arrington, John Peabody, 37, 50, 51
artnell, William E. P., 306, 310
arvest Time, 25
astings, Lansford W., 316, 318
astings, Samuel, 137
astings' Cut-off, 318
avasupai Indians, 55
awaiian Islands, 90, 96, 97, 102, 135, 151,
  319
awaiian laborers, 313
azelnut, 16
Heizer, Robert, 52, 58, 71, 264
Hemet, 221
hemp, cultivation of, 119–20
Henriquez, Antonio Dominguez, 121
Herrera, José María, 130
Hezeta, Bruno de, 94
Hidalgo, Fr., 304
hide and tallow trade, 130–34, 157, 183, 282,
  303, 306, 309–11
Híjar, Carlos, 185, 187, 190
Híjar-Padrés expedition and colony, 130,
  158, 241
History of Stockton (Tinkham), 196
Hollingsworth, Lt. John McHenry, 361
homosexuality, 234
Honey Lake Valley, 68
honey mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora* var.
  torreyana), 32
Honolulu, 313
Hooper, Charles, 316
Hopi Indians, 55
Horae Physicae Berolinensis (book), 360
Horcasitas, Mexico, 246
Horsman, Reginald, 336
horticulture, and environment, 15
Huchnom Indians, 231
Hudson's Bay Company, 311
Humboldt, Baron Alexander von, 100
Humboldt Bay, 59
hunting, 16, 64–65; by Hispanics, 281–82
hunting-gathering societies, 51, 52
Huntington Library, 350
Hupa Indians, 54, 56
Hurtado, Albert, 238
Hutchinson, C. Alan, 159
Hutton, William R., 112, 135, 286, 361–62,
  374

Iberian Peninsula, 103, 239
Ice Age, 16, 261, 262
Idaho fescue (*Festuca idahoensis*), 23
Ide, William B., 340
Ilem (ship), 304
immigrants, 3
incense cedar (*Calocedrus decurrens*), 27
Independence, Missouri, 313, 316

The Indian Manner of Combat (drawing), 70
Indian of California (portrait), 360, 369
Indian Valley, 56
Indians. *See* Native Americans
India y Indio de Monterey (drawing), 57
indigenous peoples. *See* Native Americans
Inquisition, 155, 178
Iroquois Indians, 60
Isaac Tood (ship), 317
Isla de Cedros. *See* Cedros Island
Italian ryegrass (*Lolium multiflorum*), 23
Italy, 198

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 221
Jackson, Robert H., 124
Jamul Rancho, 192
Japchavit *rancheria*, 235
Jeffrey pine (*Pinus jeffreyi*), 29
Jepson, Willis, 38
Jesuit missionaries, 314
Jewett, William S., 338
Jiménez, Fortún, 81
Jimeno, Manuel, 310
Jimerson, Tom, 64
Jimsonweed, 38
Joasps, "Captain," 60
Jones, Thomas ap Catesby, 319, 334–36, 313, 316
Joshua tree, 32
Jota, 215
Journal of a Voyage Between China and the North-Western Coast of America, made in 1804 by William Shaler, 306
Juan Antonio, 192
Juaneño Indians, 203, 209
Juárez, José, 219
juniper trees, 20, 33
Juno (ship), 303
Junta de Fomento de Californias, 129
Junta Superior de Real Hacienda, 117

Kamchatka, 98
Kamia Indians, 54
Karuk (Karok) Indians, 16, 54
Kaweah Delta, 284
Kay, Charles E., 266
Kealakakua Bay, Hawaii, 96
Kearny, Stephen W., 331, 332, 334, 344, 345, 349
Kelly, Isabel, 67
Kelsey, Andrew, 317
Kelsey, Benjamin, 317
Kelsey, Harry, 78
Kern, Edward, 17
Kino, Father Eusebio, 79, 104n7
Kirk, Anthony, 10
Kitsepawit. *See* Librado, Fernando
Klamath River, 10, 16, 361
Kotzebue, Otto von, 49, 215, 305, 359, 360
Kroeber, Alfred L., 50, 51, 52–56
Kroeber, Theodora, 264
Kuchler, Will, 21
Kumeyaay Indians, 16, 199. *See also* Diegueño Indians
Kuskov, Ivan, 304

La Astrea (ship), 98
La Cañada de los Alisos Rancho, 181
La Mesa, Battle of, 344
La Natividad, Battle of, 344
La Paz, Baja California, 81, 82, 345
la Pérouse, Count of, 103, 108n53, 156, 301, 302, 358; on California, 98, 302; explorations of, 96–98
La Purísima Mission, 51, 203, 209, 211
La Victoria (ship), 83, 84, 85, 86
Lachryma Montis (Vallejo home), 196
Lakisamni Indians. *See* Yokuts
land grants, 177–78
Land of Sunshine (magazine), 221
land-taking, 202
Langsdorff, Georg Heinrich von, 5, 360
Langum, David J., 322
Lanphere-Christensen Dunes (California), 22
Larkin, Thomas O., 132, 133, 137, 307, 308, 319, 335, 338, 340
Larkin House, 308
Lassen County, 68
Las sergas de Esplandián, 79
The Last Judgment (painting), 156

asthenia species, 20
asuén, Fermín Francisco de, 99, 102, 121,
  124, 125, 128, 152, 154, 302
atta, Frank, 67
urel sumac (*Malosma laurina),* 27
aven, Richard D., 260
aw and Community on the Mexican Frontier (Langum), 322
eague of the Iroquois, 60
edyard, John, 108n52
ee, Dorothy, 63–64
eese, Jacob P., 313
eese, Rosalía Vallejo de, 340
elia Byrd (ship), 319
monade berry (*Rhus integrifolia*), 27
emon Cove, 67
eonard, Zenas, 273, 280
eonor (ship), 311
sbians and gays, 3
eyva (Mayordomo of Jamul Rancho), 192
iberalism, 180, 190
ibrado, Fernando, 51
ife and Adventures in California, 308
ife in California (Robinson), 137, 175
ightfoot, Kent, 52
mber (*Pinus flexilis*), 30
inck, Winceslaus, 21
nguistics, 7
innaeus, Carolus, 96
ve oak, *Quercus* species, 21, 24, 26; coast (*Quercus agrifolia*), 24, 26; interior (*Quercus wislizenii*), 24
vestock, 118, 275–78; mission holdings, 116. *See also* cattle
ockhart, Katharine Meyer, 244
dgepole pine (*Pinus contorta* subspecies *murrayana*), 29, 30
ongino-Martinez, José, 21, 102
opez, Claudio, 121
ópez de Legazpi, Miguel, 87
orenzana, Apolinaria, 241, 249
orenzana, Francisco Antonio de, 155
os Angeles, 117, 118, 120, 127, 128, 136, 150, 152, 162, 165, 174, 177, 178, 181, 185, 190, 191, 243, 244, 274, 306, 311, 312, 313, 318; Battle of, 344; drawing of, 135; during Mexican-American War, 331, 333, 341–43
Los Angeles basin, 32, 156
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 221
Los Meganos Rancho, 313
Los Rifleros Americanos, 312
Lothrop, Gloria R., 323
Luckie, Kate, 72
Lugo, Antonio María, 185
Lugo, José del Carmen, 177, 185, 187, 192, 217, 220
Lugo, María Antonia Isabela de, 241
Lugo family, 182
Luiseño Indians, 53, 198
lumbering, 283–85
Lummis, Charles Fletcher, 221
lupine (*Lupinus arboreus*), 23
Luzon, 87

Macao, Philippines, 98
Madrid, 101, 103
madrone (*Arbutus mensiezii*), 21, 24
Magdalena Bay, 91
Magellan, Ferdinand, 78, 86
The Maidu Indian Myths and Stories of Hanc'ibyjim (Shipley), 69
Maidu Indians, 52, 54, 56, 58, 61, 62, 68, 69, 71, 218
malaria. *See* disease
Malaspina, Alejandro, 57, 78, 359; death of, 100; expedition of, 80, 97, 98–101, 126, 200
Malheur River, 316
Mallon, Florencia, 245
Manifest Destiny, 174, 176, 274, 319, 361
Manifesto a la República Mejicana, 181
Manila, 90
Manila galleons, 78, 91; trade routes of, 86–87
Manrique, Manuel, 94
Manuelito 220
manzanita (*Arctostaphylos*), 27
Maquinna, 99
Mare Island, 279
María Luisa, Queen of Parma, 100
Marin County, 67

Marin Peninsula, 213
Mariposa River, 219
Mariposa War, 220
market-making, 202
Marsh, John, 313–14, 316, 322
Marsh, Sadie, 64
Marshall, James W., 111, 218, 317
Martin, Robert, 15
Marx, Karl, 111
Mason, Gov. Richard B., 347
Mason, John Alden, 50
Mathes, W. Michael, 78
Mattoal Indians, 59
Mayfield, Thomas Jefferson, 59, 65
Mazatlán, Mexico, 346
McCulloch, Hartnell and Company, 130–31
McGroarty, John Steven, 221
McKinstry, George, Jr., 317
McMahon, Green, 317
McWilliams, Carey, 176
Mendocino County, 20
Mendoza, Antonio de, 82, 83
Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de, 80–81
mercantilism, 113
Merced, 272
Merced River, 28, 66
mercury, traded for furs, 119, 282
Merriam, C. Hart, 50, 65
Mervine, Capt. William, 331
mesa oak (*Quecus engelmannii*), 26
mestizos, 7, 9
Mexicana (ship), 101
Mexican-American War, 5, 6, 10, 137, 174, 219, 361; in California, 148, 331–55
Mexican-American War (book), 350
Mexicans, 5
Mexico, 3, 10, 14, 92, 98, 116, 130; and California, 49, 64, 129; independence struggle of, 120, 129, 160
Mexico City, 114, 120, 150, 159
Meyers, William, 332
Micheltorena, 190, 320, 335–36, 337
Michoacán, 80
Mier, Fr. Servando Teresa de, 160
Miles, George, 198
Milliken, Randall, 205
Miranda, Gloria, 243, 244
Miranda, Gov. Francisco Palacios, 345
Mission Bay, San Diego, 91
Mission of San Carlos, Monterrey (watercolor), 302, 360, 371
"Mission Play" (McGroarty), 221
missions: daily activities at, 157; economic growth, 116–17; establishment of, 80, 113; Indian resistance at, 203–13; map of, 207; mention of, 5, 6, 177, 201; secularization of, 132, 134, 136, 148, 163, 165, 179, 191, 237; surplus produced by, 118. *See also* Carmel; Dolores; La Purísima; San Antonio de Padua; San Buenaventura; San Carlos Borromeo; San Diego; San Fernando; San Francisco; San Gabriel; San José; San Juan Bautista; San Juan Capistrano; San Francisco Solano; San Louis Rey; San Luis Obispo; San Miguel; Santa Barbara; Santa Clara; Santa Cruz; Santa Inés; Soledad
Missouri, 313
Miwok Indians, 17, 18, 52, 53, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 88, 89, 209, 213, 214, 215, 218, 339, 343, 360
Mixton War, 83
Modoc Indians, 55
Moerenhaut, Jacob A., 319
Mohave Indians, 34, 55
Mojave Desert, 32
Mokelumne River, 284
Moluccas, 80
Mono Indians, Western, 14, 52, 53, 55, 58, 63, 66
Monroe Doctrine, 336
Monroy, Douglas, 9, 176
montane vegetation, 27–30
Monterey, 70, 92, 93–94, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 114, 115, 121, 130, 159, 162, 177, 210, 244, 269, 284, 301, 306, 307, 309, 312, 338, 341, 342, 343, 358, 360, 361; drawing of, 126, 131, 335, 359; fed by San José, 117; Indian labor at, 125; occupied by U.S. forces, 322, 333
Monterey Bay, 90, 92, 95, 156, 334

onterey County, 182
ontgomery, John, 341, 349
ora, José Luis, 160
oraga, Gabriel, 115
oraga, José Joaquín, 107n49
orales, Leona, 68
orelos, Fr., 304
ormon Battalion, 344
orro Bay, 90
t. Diablo, 313, 314
t. Shasta, 215, 361
t. Tamalpais, 261
ountain heather (*Phyllodoce* species), 30
ountain hemlock (*Tsuga mertensiana*), 30
ountain juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis* subspecies *australis*), 29
ourelle, Francisco, 95
oziño, José Mariano, 101
agartegui, Father Pablo, 93
uir, John 27, 29, 31
anger, Gilbert, 261
unrás, Estevan, 208
thology, 1, 6

hl, Charles, 185
pa Range, 38
pa River, 285
pa Valley, 132
poleonic Wars, 303
rrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (Wilkes), 320
rvaez, Jose Maria, 2
tional Park Service, 29
tive Americans: behavior of, 136, 157; conversion of, 122, 147, 206; cultivation by, 15–16, 34; culture areas of, 52–56; disease among, 8, 18, 52, 124, 192, 222; ecological manipulation by, 12, 14, 15, 16, 33–35, 37–39, 264–67, 288; exploitation of, 80, 163–65; fishing by, 16, 18; gambling of, 205, 361; gathering by, 16, 18, 34; gender issues among, 234; graffiti by, 209; hunting by, 16, 18; labor of, at missions, presidios, pueblos, ranchos, 9, 121–28, 152, 178, 190–93; land ownership by, 161; languages of, 7, 48, 56, 70; life and culture of, in California, 48–72, 80; livestock used by, 116, 275–76; "memory culture" of, 51; mention of, 1, 4, 5, 179, 357, 360; Mexican-American War's effect on, 332–33; at missions, 5, 103; myths of, 68–69; perception of foreigners, 69–70; politics, 59–60; population of, 18, 48, 52, 122, 136, 151, 222, 278, 288, 295n63; punishment of, 123–24; religious beliefs of, 52, 155; resistance by, 148, 197–99, 203–13, 235–38; sexuality among, 234; slavery among, 122; Spanish explorers meet, 85; trade with Euro-Americans, 202, 281; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and, 346, 348–49. *See also* Achomawi; Aleut; Atsugewi; Cahuila; Caymus; Chemehuevi; Chulamni; Chumash; Cupeño; Delaware; Diegueño; Gabrieliño; Halchidhoma; Havasupai; Hopi; Huchnom; Hupa; Iroquois; Juaneño; Kamia; Karuk; Kumeyaay; Lakisamni; Luiseño; Maidu; Mattoal; Miwok; Modoc; Mohave; Mono; Nisenan; Nootka; Ohlone; Paiute; Pima; Pomo; Rumsien; Serrano; Shasta; Shoshone; Temecula; Tipai-Ipai; Wallawallah; Washoe; Western Shoshoni; Wintu; Wiyot; Yana; Yokuts; Yuki; Yuma; Yurok
Naval Department of San Blas, 101
Navidad, 83, 86
Nayarit, 114
needle grasses (*Stipa* species) 26
Neolithic period, 263
Neuerburg, Norman, 207–9
Nevada, 55, 346
Neve, Felipe de, 114, 117, 118, 149, 152, 163
New England, 135
New Hebrides, 98
New Helvetia, 218, 337
New Mexico, 54, 180, 244, 334, 336, 337, 344, 346
New South Wales, 100
New Zealand, 100
Nicaragua, 99

Nicolas José, 210
Nieto, Manuel, 177
Nisenan Indians, 64, 218
Nootka (Mowachaht) Indians, 99
Nootka Sound, 94, 99, 101–3, 301
Nordhoff, Charles, 175
Noriega, Fr. de, 246
Noriega, José, 313
North Beach, San Francisco, 95
North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States (McWilliams), 176
Northwest Pasage, search for, 80, 83, 86, 96, 97, 99

Oak, Henry L., 175
off-road vehicles (ORVs), 32
Ohlone (Costanoan) Indians, 36, 52, 58, 65, 70, 209
Olbes, Father, 235
Old Spanish Trail, 312, 316
opal phytoliths, 35
Oregon, 313, 337, 338, 339, 343, 361
Oregon hairgrass (*Deschampsia cespitosa* subspecies *holciformis*), 23
Oregon Trail, 312
Oregon white oak (*Quercus gayyana*), 26
Ortega, Lt. José Francisco de, 127
Ortega family, 244
Osio, Antonio María, 348
Otter (ship), 302, 303
Out West (magazine), 221
Owens River, 285

Pablo, Pedro (Luiseño leader), 164
Pacific beachgrass (*Elymus mollis*), 22
Pacific Squadron, U.S. Navy, 334
Padilla, Genaro, 251, 332, 339, 340
Painted Cave, Santa Barbara County, 364
Paiute Indians, 15, 33, 55
Palos Verdes Rancho, 181
palo verde (*Cercidium* species), 32
Palóu, Fr. Francisco, 159, 270
pampas grass, 23
Panama, 99
Parrish, Essie, 71
Pass in the Sierra Nevada of California (lithograph), 320
pathogens, 260–61, 266–74. *See also* disease; livestock; vegetation
Pattie, James Ohio, 311, 312
Pattie, Sylvester, 311
Paula Anino, Father Francisco de, 99
Payeras, Fr. Mariano, 129
Peale, T. R., 280
pearls, 81
Peconom, Roxie, 66
Pelican (ship). See *Golden Hind*
Peña, Tomás de la, 94
The Peraltas: Spanish Pioneers and First Family of the East Bay (Fibel), 322
Pérez, Juan, 78, 93–94
Pérez, Eulalia, 187
Peru, 99
Petaluma, 215
Petaluma Rancho, 213
Petit-Thouars, Abel Du, 360
Peyri, Father Antonio, 112, 148
Philippine Company, 119
Philippine Islands, 83, 86, 87, 100
Phillip II, King of Spain, 88
Phillips, George Harwood, 162, 207, 210
Pico, Andrés, 343, 345
Pico, Eustaquia de, 192
Pico, Pío, 161, 165, 179, 321, 349; appointed governor, 190; Mexican-American War role, 341–44; opposes Micheltorena, 337; portrait of, 174; protests Bear Flag revolt, 340
Pico family, 182
Pilgrim (ship), 307
Pima Indians, 55
pine nuts (pinyon seeds), 31
Piñeda, Manuel, 346
Pinto, Marcelo, 250
pinyon pine (*Pinus* species), 21, 31
Pious Fund, 113
Pit River, 55, 316
Pitt, Leonard, 176
Placerville, 14
Plano del Puerto de Sn Francisco (map), 358, 365

ants, California, 12–39. *See also*
vegetation
eistocene epoch, 278
umas County, 69
ymouth, England, 88
oint Conception, 85
oint Loma, 84, 91
oint Reyes, 64, 92
oint Reyes National Seashore, 22
oint San Antonio, 82
olk, Pres. James K., 319, 336, 346, 349
lygamy, 234
omo Indians, 15, 52, 58, 60, 62, 71, 214,
360, 361
nderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), 27, 36
ntremoli, 100
ortola, Gaspár de, 21, 70, 92, 156, 261, 270
rtugal, 86
owers, Stephen, 36, 59, 65
e Presidio of Monterrey (engraving), 93
esidios, 113, 116–17, 207
evost, Jean-Louis-Robert, 358, 359, 363
ce regulations and fixing, 118–21, 149
incesa (ship), 118
onghorn, 26, 31, 52
eblo de Canoas, 85
eblos, 113, 117–18, 207
erto de Bucareli, 95
erto de los Remedios, 95
lpunes Rancho, 313
ne, Stephen J., 260

aking aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), 29
echnajuichom. *See* Luiseño Indians
intana, Fr. Andrés, 237

nfall, in California, 19, 21, 30
mona (Jackson), 221
nchos, 116, 134; Indian labor on, 190–93;
ife on, 182–90; production on, 187.
See also Alisal; Cañada de Santa Ana;
Cucamonga; El Niguel; Jamul; La
Cañada de los Alisos; Los Meganos;
Palos Verdes; Petaluma; Pulpunes; San
Antonio; San Leandro; Santiago de
Santa Ana; Sespe; Trabuco

rape, 7, 158, 206, 230, 250
Reception of Count de La Perouse at Mission Carmel (drawing), 97
recuerdos, 173, 177, 186, 188, 189, 190
red fir (*Abies magnifica*), 29
red shank (*Adenostoma sparsifolium*), 27
redwoods, coast (*sequoia sempervirens*), 13,
23–24, 43n33, 99, 358
Regina Josefa. *See* Toypurina
Reid, Hugo, 71, 234
Remarkable Mountain near the River of Monterey (watercolor), 15
repartimiento, 122
Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843–'44 (Frémont) (1845), 320
Resolution (ship), 96
Revere, Joseph Warren, 219, 340
Revillagigedo, Viceroy, 101
Rezanov, Nikolai Petrovich, 303–04
Rica de Oro, 90
Rica de Plata, 90
Richardson, William A., 306
Rincon Point, San Francisco, 362
Rio de la Plata, 88
rip gut (*Bromus diandrus*), 26
Ripoll, Padre (Santa Barbara), 152
Rivera y Moncada, Fernando, 150, 239, 275
Robinson, Alfred, 137, 175, 188, 306
Rocha, Vera, 238
Rodeo (drawing), 183
Rome, 69
Roméu, José Antonio, 99, 102
Roquefeuil, Camille de, 305
Ross (Russian settlement), 211, 213, 215,
218, 283, 284, 304, 361
Rotchev, Alexander, 361
Rowland, John, 315, 321
Royal Academy of Berlin, 359
Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain,
102
Royce, Josiah, 175
Rumsien Indians, 239
Rurik (ship), 305
rushes (*Juncus* species), 30

Russian-American Fur Company, 213, 304
Russian River Valley, 215
Russians, in California, 9, 10, 49, 64, 92, 97, 113, 119, 213, 215, 283, 304–5, 361
Russian traders, 95, 129, 213

Sacramento, 215, 217, 312
Sacramento River, 218, 336, 337
Sacramento Valley, 48, 52, 53, 54, 58, 63, 72, 132, 216, 219, 273, 282, 284, 287, 311, 312, 317, 322, 339, 343, 361
sage (*salvia* species), 23
sagebrush (*Artemisia californica* and *A. tridentata*), 23, 31, 32
Sagimomatsse, Andrés (*alcalde*), 211
Sal, Hermengildo, 102
salal (*Gaultheria shallon*), 23
Salinan Indians, 52, 60, 70
Salinas, 338
salmon, 52, 280
saltbush (*Atriplex canescens*), 32
Salt cedar, 32
San Agustín (galleon), 90
San Antonio (packet boat), 114
San Antonio de Padua Mission, 70, 116, 158, 239
San Antonio de Pala, 164
San Antonio Rancho, 177, 185
San Bernardino, 165, 192
San Bernardino Valley, 311
San Blas, 93, 94, 101, 102, 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 129, 299, 303
San Buenaventura (boat), 90
San Buenaventura Mission, 150, 178
San Carlos (ship), 94, 95
San Carlos Borromeo Mission, 65, 99, 102, 116, 121, 211, 233, 236, 239, 246, 301; drawing of, 154, 200, 371
San Clemente Island, 38, 85
San Diego (ship), 91
San Diego, 49, 93, 113, 162, 177, 199, 218, 267, 301, 306, 311, 334, 342, 346, 349; during Mexican-American War, 331, 333, 342, 344; naming by Vizcaíno, 85, 91; rainfall in, 19
San Diego Bay, 13, 102; arrival of Cabrillo in, 84
San Diego County, 217
San Diego Mission, 116, 150, 151, 155, 210, 249, 260, 268
San Fernando Mission, 158, 207, 304
San Fernando Valley, 156
San Francisco, 49, 93, 94, 113, 213, 215, 273, 274, 305, 306, 334, 361; dunes near, 22; earthquake of 1906, 71; fed by San José, 117; rainfall in, 19; U.S. forces occupy, 333
San Francisco Bay, 5, 13, 36, 58, 85, 88, 94, 95, 102, 205, 265, 301, 311, 313, 337, 341
San Francisco in 1847 (drawing), 362, 374
San Francisco Solano Mission, 102, 116, 209, 213, 215
San Gabriel Mission, 71, 116, 121, 151, 152, 158, 177, 181, 182, 183, 210, 221, 230, 234, 235, 286, 305, 311
San Gabriel River, 332, 344
San Joaquin River, 212, 338
San Joaquin Valley, 48, 52, 58, 63, 67, 211, 212, 216, 217, 272, 273, 274, 311, 315, 316, 317
San José, 117–118, 120, 123, 127, 128, 150, 244, 338, 343
San José Mission, 8, 117, 212, 213, 304
San Juan Bautista Mission, 212, 334, 339, 343, 344
San Juan Capistrano Mission, 116, 181, 198, 203, 209
San Leandro Rancho, 243
San Luis Obispo, 14, 342
San Luis Obispo Mission, 116, 239, 335
San Luis Rey Mission, 69, 112, 148, 164, 165, 197, 206
San Luis Rey Mission (painting), 112
San Miguel (brigantine), 83
San Miguel Island, 85, 86
San Miguel Mission, 208, 209, 272
San Nicolas Island, 38
San Pasqual, Battle of, 344, 345
San Pedro Bay, 85, 102, 151, 306, 321, 343, 344
San Rafael, 213

m Salvador (galleon), 83, 84, 85, 86
nchez, Joaquín, 120
nchez, Rosaura, 149, 174, 177
ndwich Islands. *See* Hawaiian Islands
nta Agueda (ship), 81, 82
nta Ana (galleon), 89–90, 91
nta Barbara, 38, 90, 102, 178, 182, 185, 188, 189, 243, 248, 301, 306, 307, 341; during Mexican-American War, 331, 342
nta Barbara Channel, 53, 92
nta Barbara Mission, 156, 203, 209, 210, 211, 236, 271, 286
nta Barbara Mission Archives, 350
nta Barbara Presidio, 177–78, 184
nta Catalina Island, 38, 85, 277
nta Clara County, 186
nta Clara Mission, 102, 116, 158, 209, 235, 301, 339
nta Clara River, 178
ita Clara Valley, 125
ita Cruz, 99, 117, 338
ita Cruz Island, 38
ita Cruz Mission, 121, 123, 124, 212, 237
ita Fe, 312, 313, 315, 316
ita Fe traders, 220
ita Fe Trail, 316
ita Inés Mission, 203, 209, 305, 342
ita Rosa, 215
itiago (frigate), 93, 94, 95
itiago de Santa Ana Rancho, 181
itos, Robert L., 322
ito Tomás (ship), 81, 91
S ling Grove, 314
S sis, David, 15
S age, James D., 217, 218–20
S umacher, Paul, 38
S urz, William Lytle, 78
S tch broom, 23
S tt, James, 203, 204
s ib oak (*Quercus dumosa*), 27
s vy, 105n22
S of Cortés. *See* Gulf of California
S of Japan, 98
s otters, 119, 213, 282
S ularization Act of 1833, 132, 136, 163. *ee also* missions
sedges (*Carex* species), 30
Señan, Fr. Jose, 158
Sepulveda, Jose, 181
Sequoia National Park, 34
Serra, Junipero, 21, 70, 92, 93, 94, 154, 155, 199, 233; appeals for aid, 114; battles with Fages, 150; and Native Americans, 152, 239
Serrano Indians, 53
Servín, Manuel, 150
Sespe Rancho, map of, 178
Seville, 83
sexuality, women and, 232
Shaler, William, 275, 281, 319
shamans, 61–62, 66, 205, 210
Shasta Indians, 60
sheep, grazing of, 31
Shipes, Henry, 62
Shipley, William, 69
shore pine (*pinus contorta* subspecies *contorta*), 20
Short, Fr. Patrick, 310
Shoshone Indians, Timbisha tribelet, 35. *See also* Western Shoshone
Siberia, 3, 263
Sierra Nevada, 28, 35, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 58, 68, 218, 220, 274, 312, 314, 315, 317
silver mining, 9, 113
Simpson, Sir George, 137, 192
Sinaloa, Mexico, 239, 349
Sitka, 303, 313
Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*), 24
slavery, 122
Sloat, Com. John Drake, 333, 341, 349
smallpox. *See* disease
Smith, Jedediah, 311
Smyth, William, 8, 131, 154
Society of California Pioneers, 340
Soda Springs, Idaho, 314
soft chess (*Bromus mollis*), 23
soil groups, in California, 20, 30
Solá, Pablo Vicente de, 129, 131
Sola, Pedro de, 163
Solano , 215
Soldado de Monterey (drawing), 115
Soledad Mission, 123

Sonoma, 213, 215, 217, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343
Sonoma Valley, 322, 337
Sonora (schooner), 94, 95
Sonora, Mexico, 116, 239, 300, 342, 345, 349
South Africa, 19, 88
South America, 98, 100
South Branch of the Clamet (watercolor), 361, 372
Spanish colonialism, 7, 49
Spanish explorations, 48, 80–96, 98–103, 357
Spanish settlers, 1, 4
Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of American in the Sixteenth Century (Wagner), 78
Sparks, Isaac, 312
Spear, Nathan, 306, 310
Species-shifting, 199–201
Squaw Valley, 67
St. Louis, 312
Starr, Kevin, 206, 222
Stearns, Abel, painting of, 307; 133, 135, 306, 341
Stevens, Elisha, 317
Stevens-Murphy party, 317
Stockton, Robert F., 331, 332, 341, 342, 343, 345–46, 349
Stokes Mountain, 67
Strait of Anián. *See* Northwest Passage
Strait of Juan de Fuca, 101
Strait of Magellan, 88, 90–91
Sublette, Solomon, 317
Suffolk, England, 89
sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana*), 27, 34
Suñol, Antonio María, 305
Supplemental Regulations of 1828, 132, 136
Suría, Tomás de, 70, 100
Susan River, 68
Susanville, 56, 66, 68
Sutil (ship), 101
Sutter, John, 202, 217, 218, 219, 220, 284, 287, 312–13, 320
Sutter's Fort, 219, 220, 313; 316, 317, 337, 339, 349
Swasey-Todd party, 317
sweet vernal grass (*Anthoxanthum odoratum*), 23
Sycamore Creek, 60
Sykes, John, 15, 93, 302, 359, 366
syphilis. *See* venereal disease

Tac, Pablo, 69–70, 197–98
tanbark oak (*Lithocarpus desniflurus*), 24
Taos, New Mexico, 311
Tapia, Tiburcio, 165, 315
Tarakanoff, Vassili, 304
Tehachapi Mountains, 276
Tehama, 53
Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios (Sanchez), 177
Temecula Indians, 192
Tenochtitlán, 80
Tepic, Mexico, 312, 313
Texas, 137, 244, 314, 333, 334, 336; annexed by U.S., 337, 346
Thompson, Alpheus B., 307
Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in California (Monroy), 176, 322
Tikhanov, Mikhail, 62, 360, 368
Timbrook, Jan, 38
Tinkham, George, 196, 198
Tipai-Ipai (Tapai and Ipai) Indians, 60, 349
tithing, 150
tobacco (*Nicotiana clevelandii*), 38
Tomales Bay, 88
Toypurina, 210, 235–36, 238
Trabuco Rancho, 181
transvestitism, 234
Travels in California (Farnham), 312
Treaty of Cahuenga, 334, 345
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 333, 346–49
Tres Reyes (ship), 91
Trinidad (ship), 81, 82
Trinidad Bay, 88, 94
Tulare County, 67
Tulare Lake, 59, 272
tule elk, 26
Tuolumne County, 66

orow, Norman E., 350
Years before the Mast (Dana) (1840), 74, 300, 307

a, Francisco de, 81–82
pqua River, 311
laska, 303
muno, Pedro de, 90, 91
ted States, 181; consul of, in California, 19; emigrants from, 137
ted States Constitution, 154
ted States Forest Service, 29
ted States-Mexico War. *See* Mexican-merican War
versity of California, Berkeley, 88
versity of California Publications in merican Archaeology and Ethnography, 1
anea, Andrés de, 87
h, 55, 334, 337, 346
h juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*), 31

lés, Antonio, 98
és, Cayetano, 101
ejo, Mariano Guadalupe, 161, 165, 68n21, 179, 180, 182, 190, 196, 197, 198, 05, 215, 217, 218, 220, 310, 311, 322, 349, 0; Bear Flaggers capture, 339; fights stanislao, 213; welcomes emigrants, 315
ejo, Salvador, 310, 315
ejo, Ygnacio Vicente Ferrer, 241–42
jo family, 244
y oaks (*Quercus lobata*), 20
couver, George, 93, 101–2, 301, 359, 361; titude towards Spanish in California, 3, 109n71; importance of California sit, 301–02
couver Island, 94, 101, 102
Dusen's Fork, 58
eros, 8, 183, 184
a, Serbulo, 343
dre y Vega, Vicente, 119
tation, 6; changes in, 12, 23; intro-uced, 21, 23, 26, 32, 261, 269; types, –39
sco, Luis de, 86
velvet grass (*Holcus lanatus*), 23
venereal disease, 158, 166, 199–201. *See also* disease
Verdugo, Mariano, 178
Vietnam, 3
View of Monterey (watercolor), 359, 366, 371
Vigil, Esteban, 315
Villa de Branciforte, 117, 150
Villalobos, Ruy López de, 83, 86
Vizcaíno, Juan Sebastián: names San Diego, 85; voyages of, 90–92, 268; 269, 358
Volunteer (ship), 130
Voyage of Discovery (Vancouver), 93, 302, 359
Voyage pittoresque autour du monde (Choris) (1822), 36, 49
Voyage Round the World, in the Years 1785, 1786, and 1788 (la Pérouse), 301, 358
Voznesenskii, Il'ia, 361, 371

Wagner, Henry Raup, 78
Walker, James, 277
Walker, Joseph R., 311, 316
Walker's Pass, 311, 316
Wallawallah Indians, 343
Walnut Creek, 38
Walnut Grove, 38
Warner, Jonathan Turnbull (J. J.), 216, 217, 218, 220, 312
Warner's Ranch, 220
Wasatch Mountains, Utah, 31
Washington state, 95
Washoe Indians, 14, 55
Weber, Charles M., 322
Weber, David, 149, 201, 222
Western Emigration Society, 314
Western Shoshoni Indians, 33
western white pine (*Pinus monticola*), 29, 30
West Indies, 101
wetland, 22
Whale Cove, Ore., 88
White, Michael, 306
white fir (*Abies concolor*), 27, 29
white heather (*Cassiope mertensiana*), 30
White Mountains, 30

The Wife of a Monterey Soldier (drawing), 240
wild barley (*Horduem* species), 23
wildfire. *See* fire
wild oats (*Avena* species), 23
Wilkes, Charles, 280–81, 320, 361
Willamette River, 311
Williams, Isaac, 312
Williams, Virgil, 28
willows (*Salix* species), 30
Wilson, B. D., 321
Wintu Indians, 37, 63, 65, 71, 72, 218
witchcraft, 237
Wiyot Indians, 54
Wolfskill, William, 312
women, 6; defined by law, 232; equality of, 3; friction of Indian, with missionaries and Anglos, 201, 235–38; on the California frontier, 230–59; resistance to society, 235–51; sexuality and, 232, 250; work by, 187
Wooden Valley, 38
Woodlake, 67
woodland: foothill, 19, 24–27, 274; oak, 12, 24–27
Work, John, 282
Workman, William, 315
Workman-Rowland party, 321
World War II, 176
Wyttenbach, Emanuel, 183, 243, 279

yampah, 35, 37
Yana Indians, 52, 218
Yankee traders. *See* Anglo-American traders
Yerba Buena, San Francisco, 341, 343, 362
Yokut Indians, 36, 52, 53, 58, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67, 211, 218, 219, 272, 276, 284, 339, 343; Choinumni (Choynumni) tribelet, 16, 59, 65; Lakisamni tribelet, 212; Tachi tribelet, 59; Wukchumni tribelet, 35
Yorba, Antonio, 181
Yorba, Bernardo, 134, 181
Yorba, Teodosio, 342
Yorba, Tomás, 181
Yorba family, 132, 182
Yosemite Valley, 28, 66, 220
Young, Ewing, 216, 311
Young, Tom, 69
Yount, George C., 213, 215, 217, 218, 277, 280, 285, 286
Yucca, 27
Yuki Indians, 52
Yuma Indians, 34, 55, 300
Yurok Indians, 18, 54, 56, 58

Zacatula, 80, 81
Zalvidea, Fr. José María, 121
Zamorano, Agustin, 162
zanjas, 166
Zúniga, Gasper de, Conde de Monterey, 9

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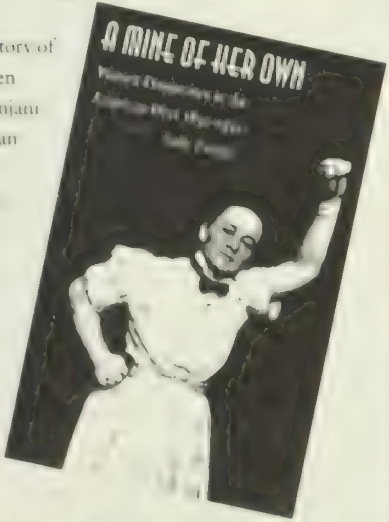

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly © 1997 by CHS

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LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

Periodicals postage PAID at San Francisco, CA, and at additional mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
California History
678 Mission Street
San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

DESIGNER: Terry Bain
COMPOSITOR: Integrated Composition Systems, Inc.
TEXT: 11/14 Adobe Caslon
DISPLAY: Adobe Caslon Regular, Italic and Small Caps
TEXT PRINTER: Malloy Lithographing, Inc.
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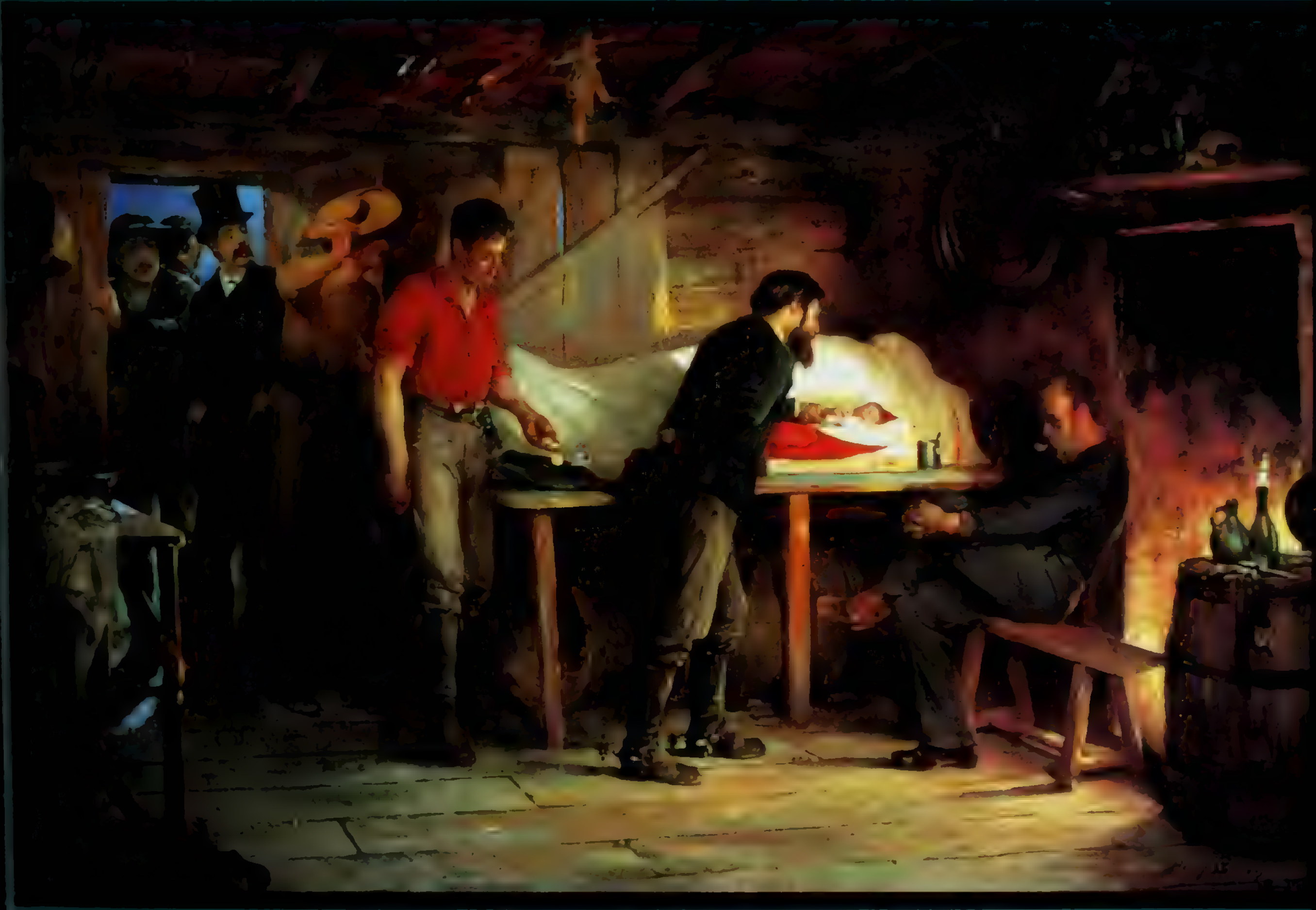
THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

WINTER 1997/98



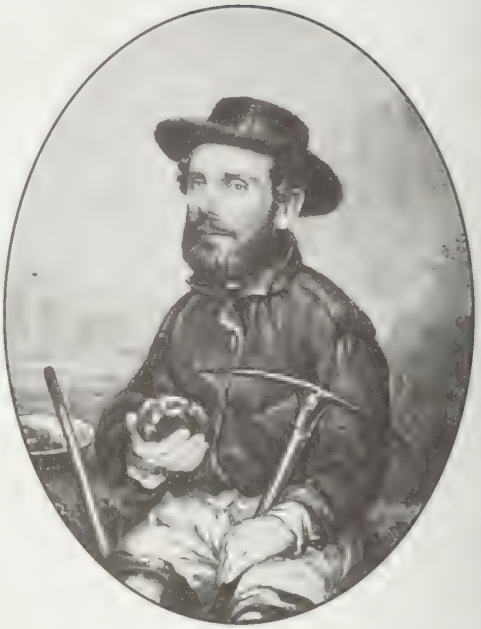
California Exhibitions—

Art of the Gold Rush

Among the legacies of California's Gold Rush was an outpouring of art work—including outstanding oil paintings, watercolors, and drawings—created by Argonauts who traveled west to participate in the events precipitated by James Marshall's discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in Coloma in January 1848. Although little information is known about some of the artists who recorded the distinctive landscape and lifestyles they encountered, others had studied at academies in Europe or on the East Coast and interrupted established careers to travel west. Many made the trip in search of riches in the gold fields, returning to their original professions for support when wealth from the placers proved elusive. Contrary to popular belief, however, others—such as William McIlvaine, Francis Marryat, or John Woodhouse Audubon—were attracted west on publishing ventures or to partake of promised adventure. In all, a remarkable number of talented artists visited or settled in California; and, while they often supported themselves in commercial practice—making designs for lettersheets or lithographs for mass distribution in the East—they likewise created a body of impressive, unique works of art that offer a visual counterpart to lively letters and journals documenting the gold-rush experience.

Although much of the art of the Gold Rush no longer survives, having been destroyed in periodic fires that ravaged San Francisco (including the devastation that followed the 1906 earthquake) or otherwise lost, a substantial number of sensitive views of miners panning for gold, diverting rivers, or operating long toms, and of developing gold-rush camps and communities (among them, Sacramento, Stockton, and Mokelumne Hill, as well as San Francisco) can be found in American collections. Along with impressive portraits of both luminaries and unidentified prospectors and stunning landscape views dating from the early years of the Gold Rush through the 1860s, seventy of the finest paintings of gold-rush subjects are being brought together by the Oakland Museum of California and the Crocker Art Museum for the exhibition Art of the Gold Rush. *Works featured will include well-known masterpieces such as Charles Christian Nahl's* Sunday Morning in the Mines *or William Smith Jewett's beautiful depiction of* Hock Farm, *as well as outstanding works from private collections (including Nahl's* Fire in San Francisco Bay, Miner's Return *by A.D.O. Browere, and E. Hall Martin's* The Prospector).

Whereas many of the artists represented in the exhibition stayed in California only briefly, others settled in San Francisco and were responsible for establishing exhibitions and art organizations that fostered northern California's prominence as a major regional art center by the mid 1870s. Their contributions will be examined, as will th evolution of images from directly observed scenes encoun tered in the early years of gold mining into more elabo rate, nostalgic compositions that were created a generatio later. What these paintings represent, and the endurin interest of gold-rush subjects into the 1880s, will b explored in the accompanying catalogue, published i cooperation with the University of California Press. Ar of the Gold Rush *is on view in Oakland from Januar 24 through May 31, 1998, and in Sacramento from Jun 21 through September 13, 1998, after which it will trave to the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonia Institution, in Washington, D.C., from October 31, 1998 through March 7, 1999. The exhibit will then appear a the Bowers Museum in Santa Ana, California, April 1 through June 6, 1999.*



Artist unknown (A.G.), *Portrait of a Miner,* n.d., watercolor, 6 ¾ x 5 ¾ in. *Collection of Dr. Oscar and Trudy Lemer.*

JANICE DRIESBACH

Janice Driesbach, acting director of the Crocker Art Museum, jointly organized *Art of the Gold Rush* with Harvey L. Jones, senior curator of art at the Oakland Museum. They co-authored the accompanying catalogue with Katherine Church Holland, formerly fine arts curator at the California Historical Society.

FRONT COVER: Henry Bacon (1839–1912), *The Luck of Roaring Camp,* 1880, oil on cloth, 30 x 47½ in. *Collection of George R. Stroemple, Portland, Oregon.* BACK COVER: Charles Christian Nahl (1818–1878), *Fire in San Francisco Bay,* 1856, oil on canvas, 26 x 40 in. *Private Collection.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXVI No. 4

Winter 1997/98

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82

94

108

82 Bridging the Pacific: California and the China Flour Trade
by Daniel Meissner

94 An Immigrant Path to Social Mobility: Portuguese Atlantic Islanders in the California Sheep Industry
by Donald Warrin

108 Albert Einstein at Caltech
by Abraham Hoffman

122 Mayor Roger D. Lapham, the Recall Election of 1946, and Neighborhood Voting in San Francisco, 1938–1952
by Dennis P. Kelly

136 Reviews

146 California Checklist

148 Notes

156 Donors

159 Yearly Contents and Index
by Robert Clark

California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward.

Bridging the Pacific:

California and the China Flour Trade

by Daniel Meissner

The situation now awaits the man. Another Governor C. C. Washburn would lead the American millers to a glorious trade conquest, beside which the achievements of the past would be dwarfed into insignificance. "There is the east; there is the Orient," should be the watch-word of the American miller.

—The Weekly Northwestern Miller (*1897*)[1]

PROLOGUE

In the mid-1800s, Cadwallader Washburn played a key role in converting the frontier town of Minneapolis into the milling capital of the United States and the center for American flour exports to Europe. Coupling modern steam-powered steel roller milling technology with the Midwest's boundless supply of wheat and expanding network of railroads and canals, Washburn led the way in transforming flour production from a cottage industry to one of the country's leading commercial enterprises.

During the same period in the Far West, the Gold Rush and the subsequent boom in California wheat production spurred the rapid development of a similarly dynamic but distinctly oriented Pacific Coast flour industry. Cut off from the vast American market by the Rocky Mountains, California millers created an industry that produced flour not only to meet regional demand, but also for overseas export by the 1860s. Their watchword did indeed become "the Orient," as they deliberately pursued, vigorously cultivated, and ultimately dominated the China flour trade. By the turn of the century, flour had become the leading export commodity from the West Coast to China, and in the process, it forged an enduring commercial bridge of trade between the two shores of the Pacific.

Long before California became a state, Spanish missions from San Diego to Sonoma were already cultivating wheat and milling flour.[2] By the early nineteenth century, these large missionary estates began trading surplus wheat and flour with fur traders from the Hudson Bay Company's trading posts along the Columbia River and from th Russian-American Company's settlements in Sitka By the early 1830s, the twenty-one Spanish mission in California were harvesting an annual wheat cro of approximately seventy thousand bushels.[4] However, with the disintegration of the missions unde the Mexican Secularization Act of 1833, California' rich wheat crop declined precipitously. As the larg missionary estates were converted to ranchos specializing in raising cattle for the hide-and-tallov trade, much of the acreage previously devoted t grain production reverted to fallow grazing land. By mid-century, wheat production in Californi could meet only the limited demands of the loca population.[6]

The American conquest of California and the subsequent Gold Rush forced a rapid change in this situation. Between 1848 and 1850, one hundre thousand fortune hunters from all corners of the glob swarmed into northern California, particularly th San Francisco Bay area, the Sierra foothills, and th Sacramento Valley.[7] This great influx of miners overwhelmed the available supply of staples, driving th price of flour in Pacific Coast ports from $16 per barrel in 1846 to more than $40 in late 1849.[8] Because o the difficulty in transporting goods through rugge terrain to the mining camps, miners paid even mor dearly for supplies. Sixty miles inland from Stockton a barrel of flour sold for as much as $400—ten time the already inflated retail price in port cities.[9]

During the early Gold Rush, the scarcity of good and exorbitant prices stimulated a tremendou import trade. In 1851, nearly 300,000 barrels of for

Grain ships near Martinez, ca. 1880s. This view looks west through the Carquinez Strait, toward Mount Tamalpais in the background.
L. L. Stein Collection, Contra Costa County Historical Society.

eign flour and almost 40,000 barrels of East Coast flour landed at San Francisco, at an average price exceeding $13 (in contrast to flour that sold at that time for about $1 per barrel in New England markets). The extreme demand for staples drove the average price of California wheat in 1853 to nearly $6 per cental, or hundredweight (approximately four times the cost of wheat sold in Minneapolis).[10]

Prices such as these and rich, available farmlands ttracted a legion of disillusioned miners—many of whom had originally left their farms for the gold fields—to homestead and cultivate wheat in California. Between 1850 and 1860, farm acreage in Cal fornia nearly tripled.[11] In the 1860s and 1870s, ailroad construction in the San Joaquin and Sacra nento valleys linked ever more of these fertile grain ands with the coastal markets of the Bay Area.[12] By he early 1870s, wheat farming had surpassed cattle aising as the dominant form of agriculture in Cali ornia.[13]

Like the mission estates and ranchos that preceded hem, California wheat farms were expansive enterprises. Hugh Glenn's "grain factory" in Colusa County spanned 66,000 acres and in 1880 produced a million bushels of wheat.[14] In Turlock, John Mitchell annually planted 25,000 to 50,000 acres of his 100,000-acre ranch in wheat, and boasted a warehouse capable of storing 100,000 bushels. Although these grain factories were exceptional in size, San Joaquin Valley farms of 5,000 acres or 10,000 acres were not uncommon.[15]

The vastness of these wheat farms, the shortage of labor, and the area's flat topography encouraged the introduction of mechanized farming equipment. As early as the 1870s, large farm machines were already a familiar sight in California's wheat valleys. By the 1880s, three- or four-horse "Stockton" gang plows were preparing fields, followed closely by centrifugal sowers and harrowers, capable of planting forty or fifty acres a day. On some of the largest farms, fifty—even one hundred—gang plows might have been working the land at any one time. During the harvest, a giant header, cutting a swath up to twenty-eight feet wide, sheared off the grain heads and fed them directly into waiting wagons.[16] The grain was transferred from wagons to nearby steam-powered threshers, and immediately from thresher to sacks, ready for transport to market, mill, or ship. Large combines came to dominate wheat harvesting later in the century.

As early as the mid-1860s, California farmers were producing surplus wheat, and exporters were beginning to seek markets for the region's excess production. Isolated west and east by the ocean and mountains and surrounded north and south by competing wheat-producing regions, they turned their attention half a world away—to England, where a recent series of disastrous harvests in Britain and continental Europe had critically depleted available grain stocks. The problem facing California exporters in exploiting this opportunity for trade, however, lay not in procuring sufficient wheat supplies for export, but in securing adequate, reliable, and affordab shipping.[17] The 14,000-mile journey from San Fra cisco to Liverpool subjected crew and cargo to near six months of volatile weather and treacherous sea In order to sustain such an extended trade route, stable and profitable market for English goods California—and/or California goods in England- was essential. Prior to 1865, however, such marke did not exist; consequently, shipping between th two destinations remained sporadic.

A San Francisco entrepreneur, Isaac Friedlande rose to meet the challenge of this shipping crisi Drawn in 1849 to the California gold fields from h South Carolina home, Friedlander toiled for near a year on the Yuba sand bars before leaving for th more "refined" environs of San Francisco business- an arena more suitable to his speculative nature ar bartering savvy. In 1852, he struck gold with a grou of investors who cornered the California flour ma ket, driving the port price from $8 to more than $2 per barrel.[18] Hoping to parlay his success, he investe part of his speculative profits in a flour mill—th state's most promising new industry—and began limited export business in California wheat ar flour. Recognizing that the key to expanding h exports was in securing adequate and reliable carg space, he initiated a system for chartering shi based on his own crop estimates made during th fall/winter sowing season.[19] This risky, speculativ venture paid off handsomely. His chartering syste replaced previously capricious shipping schedul with confirmed arrival dates and guaranteed to nage. As a result, the number of ships chartered transport grain from San Francisco increased dr matically, reaching 193 in 1868 and 240 the follow ing year.[20] By 1882, a record 559 vessels carryin wheat and flour sailed from San Francisco harbo Almost all were bound for England.[21]

In addition to Friedlander's initiative and a stron European demand, several other factors played part in the development of the California whe export trade. Shipping costs, for instance, decrease with the addition of "down easters" to the trad

Portrait of entrepreneur Isaac Friedlander, ca. 1872. After two years of searc ing for gold amidst hordes of other forty-niners, Friedlander abandoned t prospector's pan to trade in wheat and flour, which he ultimately found to a far more lucrative occupation. Hoping to capitalize on his early market su cess in 1852, he pioneered a more efficient and reliable method of scheduli shipments and thus played an important part in expanding and stabilizi trade routes from San Francisco to England. Friedlander later became one the first to tap into the booming Asian export market, but his speculations l to financial ruin in 1877. *California Historical Society, de Young Collection, F 27337.*

Constructed in Maine, these ships sailed as fast as China Clippers, but they could handle greater cargo with a smaller crew. They were able to navigate the San Francisco to England trip in as few as hundred days, a savings of from one to two months off the usual sailing time. Shipping costs were further lowered after 1868 when the British introduced iron-hulled clippers. The higher cargo capacity of these ships made them more economical even than the "down easters," and their durability in rough seas and resistance to fire earned them lower insurance rates.[22] By the late 1880s, shipping rates between San Francisco and Liverpool were less than one-half the 1860s' rate.[23]

As a result of improved transportation and reduced shipping costs, California wheat poured into England. Already by 1868, the United States was xporting almost sixteen million bushels of wheat; f the one-third shipped via San Francisco, 80 per-ent was bound for England.[24] The English wheat rade had very swiftly become, in the words of an arly pioneer in flour milling, "a constant feature of he business, and Liverpool prices regulated [the Cal-fornia] market."[25] As Table 1 illustrates, San Fran-isco wheat exports to Britain continued to increase hroughout the next two decades.

TABLE 1
California Wheat Exports to Europe[26]

Year	Centals
1864–65	0
1869–70	4,732,787
1874–75	9,252,822
1879–80	10,311,119
1884–85	17,787,123
1889–90	12,786,534

Source: Davis, Appendix Table III, 604.

The great wheat boom that had stimulated the xport trade with England also spurred the growth f the West Coast flour milling industry. To take dvantage of plentiful wheat, high flour prices, and growing population (which quadrupled during the 50s), nearly a hundred mills had already opened y 1860.[27] Most of these were small-yield, water-pow-ed "custom" mills grinding local wheat for the local arket. Gradually, however, these were overshad-wed by larger-scale, steam-powered, commercial ctories.[28] Out of these, three emerged as industrial leaders the Sperry, Golden Gate, and Starr flour milling companies.[29]

One of the first and most successful mill owners on the Pacific Coast was Austin Sperry, a congenial Virginian lured to the gold fields in 1849. Like many another successful early California business leader, Sperry worked the placers less than one month before seeking his fortune elsewhere. With $500 in gold dust, he settled in the river port of Stockton and began selling supplies to miners.[30] Though his business flourished, he soon began seeking even more lucrative business opportunities in which to reinvest his profits.

Through his mining supply business, Sperry was well-acquainted with the high cost of flour, and in 1851, he witnessed the first of California's large wheat harvests since Spanish mission days.[31] High flour prices and the availability of local wheat attracted Sperry to flour milling and in 1852 he constructed a small mill in Stockton.[32] It proved an opportune time for such an investment. Wheat production increased nearly eight-fold over the next three years, while population growth kept the price of flour consistently high. Under these conditions and Sperry's efficient management, the mill prospered. The company soon acquired a reputation for high quality flour, and its "XXXX" brand became a market staple in Stockton, neighboring cities, and mining camps throughout California.[33] Indeed, the Sperry mill became a focal point in the community: in addition to processing flour, it served as a bank for miners and a general gathering place for political discussion.[34] With plant renovations and technological improvements, the mill grew into one of California's largest, reaching a daily capacity of 800 barrels by 1885.[35]

A second pioneer of the flour milling industry in California was Horace Davis. In many ways, Davis's career paralleled that of C. C. Washburn, the great flour magnate of the Midwest. Both studied law, established flour mills, won election to Congress, and ultimately became pillars of the industry in their respective regions. They entered milling, however, under very different circumstances. Davis was another East Coast adventurer drawn west in 1852 by California gold. However, as a Harvard graduate (1849) and son of a United States senator and former governor of Massachusetts, he was attracted more to the lucrative potential of frontier business than the spartan life of the gold fields.[36] The success of local mills, plentiful wheat harvests, and the continually increasing demand for breadstuffs convinced Davis that the flour trade would play an important part in the commercial future of California. Consequently, in 1860, he founded the Golden Gate Flouring Mills in San Fran-

Abraham Dubois Starr (1830–1894), one of California's pioneering flour mill owners, posed for this portrait in 1875. A native of Greenfield, Ohio, Starr left for California in the spring of 1849 as an orphaned young man of eighteen. Success in the gold diggings allowed him to go into business supplying the miners along the American River, and he subsequently became the proprietor of the Buckeye Mill in Marysville. Active in political as well as business circles, Starr was a close friend of railroad tycoon Leland Stanford and a director of the California Pacific Railroad Company. *California Historical Society, FN-31092.*

cisco, a company destined to become famous for its consistently superior products. One appreciative patron once unabashedly praised the high quality of Golden Gate flour as being "blessed [alike] by hardy yeomanry and the most fastidious [consumer]."[37] Davis expanded the mill's production capacity several times over the next two decades, and by 1885 Golden Gate was producing 1,000 barrels a day—the second largest output of any mill in the state.[38]

The third prominent early mill owner was Abraham Starr. Only eighteen years old in 1849 when he left Ohio with an oxen team and wagon bound for California, Starr worked sluices on the Truckee River until he had saved enough gold to enter business.[39] Like Sperry, he started out supplying goods to mining camps north of Sacramento. Since flour was a major—and highly profitable—retail commodity in his trade, the newly constructed Buckeye Mill in Marysville attracted his attention. The Buckeye's three-run of millstones and supporting machinery had been shipped around Cape Horn. Coupled to a steam-driven power plant, the mill began operating in 1853. Starr invested in this mill and took over pr prietorship in 1858. Under his direction, the m expanded production, reaching a daily capacity 200 barrels by 1869. That same year, after selling mo of his interest in the enterprise, he constructed a ne mill at South Vallejo.[40] Over the next two decade this modest mill of 150-barrel capacity grew into th largest flour factory in California. Through conti ued improvements, including the replacement of o millstones with a complete outfitting of roll machines, the plant reached a daily capacity of 2,20 barrels in 1885.[41]

Following the establishment of these early mill flour production increased in conjunction with th growth of the California wheat crop. According customs records, flour imports already exceede demand by 1856.[42] However, due to surplus stoc and easy credit terms from East Coast exporters, flo continued to be landed even as California wheat an flour surpluses mounted. Horace Davis recalled th during one year, "ships from New York laden wi breadstuffs, pass[ed] ships from California also lade with breadstuffs destined for the eastern states."[4

In 1862, one hundred thirty-four grist mills in Ca ifornia, including sixty-three powered by stear were producing more than 900,000 barrels of flour. This was more than twice the amount of flour neede for California's 1860 population.[45] Throughout th latter half of the decade, as new mills were estal lished and older ones refurbished, mounting su pluses became an increasingly serious concer California millers—like local wheat brokers'—bega searching for new markets for their overproductio Both discovered that the most promising markets la an ocean away: wheat across the Atlantic to Gre Britain, and flour across the Pacific to China—a untapped and potentially inexhaustible market f surplus flour.

One of the first to test the Asian export market w Isaac Friedlander, the shipping magnate behin California's expanding wheat export trade wit England. In 1853, Friedlander opened the Eurek flour mill at North Beach.[46] Processing bot imported and California wheat, the Eureka mi furnished much of the flour for the local market. I autumn of 1854, Friedlander—the consummat speculator—sold a trial shipment of flour to China. He was attracted to China over Europe as a poter tial export market for two major reasons: access bility and profitability. Clippers could negotiate th San Francisco-Hong Kong passage in roughly on month, compared with 100 days for the faste "down easters" to England.[48] Moreover, shipping t China avoided the treacherous Cape Horn route an its severe weather fluctuations, which often deva

The South Vallejo plant of Sperry Division, General Mills. Abraham Starr's political connections facilitated the building of the large Starr Mills in 1869 (originally located in the building at right) at this advantageous site in South Vallejo, the terminus of the California Pacific Railroad Company's newly completed line from Sacramento. The tracks, immediately adjacent to the deep water of the Carquinez Strait, allowed the region to eclipse San Francisco and Oakland as the major Bay Area wheat-exporting terminal by the early 1880s. *California Historical Society, FN-31093.*

tated flour stocks and raised maritime insurance and shipping costs. Most decisive of all, the Asian markets were essentially free of competition. China still relied entirely on human- or animal-powered grist mills to supply flour for its huge, expanding population. Both the quality and quantity of the flour produced by this premodern milling system, however, were less than satisfactory, especially to the growng European community in China and the more affluent Chinese classes.

Although Friedlander's continued speculation in California grain ultimately led to business failure in 1877 and to his withdrawal from the China flour market, Davis, Sperry, and Starr continued to develop he trade.[49] Complementing an expanding wheat rade with England, these mill owners sent an everncreasing amount of flour to China, which gradually emerged as the major market for Pacific Coast mills.[50] By the late 1870s, California flour was being shipped "chiefly to the Orient where there were then no mills to offer competition or to process American wheat. The [Far] East liked American flour and its reputation benefitted by the fact that it was carried in iron ships and so protected against the effects of sea change."[51]

Although most Americans considered China a rice-staple country, wheat had always formed an important part of the Chinese diet, particularly in the north. The amount of land sown in wheat in China had greatly expanded after the technological revolution in dry-farming during the Sui Dynasty (581-618 A.D.). By 1900, wheat had become a dietary staple of more than one-third of China's population —ranking second only to rice as the most important consumable grain—and comprised approximately one-fifth of the country's total foodgrain-sown area. At that time, most of this grain was still being processed in rudimentary "Chile" mills, consisting of a heavy stone wheel drawn in a continuous circuit over a large, flat bedstone.[53] A miller, his workers, or draught animals drove the stone wheel over the grain-covered bedstone, crushing the entire wheat kernel—shell, bran, starch, and germ—into a heavy powder. This coarse flour was brushed into a trough or basket, and sifted using simple hand- or foot-treadle sieves.[54] Even the best mills and most thorough sifting, however, produced only a gritty, inconsistent, low-quality flour.[55]

Flour consumption throughout most of the country, however, was highly price elastic, fluctuating according to its cost relative to rice; low wheat or high rice prices stimulated the sale of flour.[56] Chinese used flour primarily in preparing cakes (usually steamed or fried) and making noodles. In northern China, strings of noodles stretched on sticks, "suspended before the doors of the cottages even in the main streets," were a common sight.[57] In the south, equally common were sidewalk noodle vendors, and shops attended by "half-naked coolie[s]. . . cooking macaroni at the entrance."[58] During holidays, shops were stocked with special wheat flour cakes filled "with minced meat, molasses, or a kind of jam [bean paste]."[59] Everywhere in China, street corner peddlers sold inexpensive flour snacks—*youtiao* (fried oil-sticks), *dabing* (baked flat cakes), and *mantou* (steamed bread)—to the constant stream of passing workers, shoppers, students, and sightseers.

For these types of foods, strong flour with a high gluten content was much preferred—and commanded a higher price. The greater the percentage of gluten in the flour, the longer the dough could be stretched for noodles, and the thinner it could be rolled for steamed cakes and pastries. Consequently, new consignments of flour—domestic or imported, but particularly new brands—were tested prior to purchase. Like *sycee shroffs* (assayers) assessing silver purity, Chinese merchants would gather at the flour guilds to determine the gluten content of flour samples.[60] Weighing out a small amount of flour, the assayer added water to make a dough and washed out the starch in a basin. He then weighed the remaining wet residue, or gluten.[61] The ratio of wet residue to original sample represented the flour's gluten content. Typically, California flour tested out relatively high—between 25 and 30 percent.[62] Due to its excellent strength and consistently high product purity and quality, California flour was much valued over Chinese flour and enjoyed steadily increasing sales among native brokers and dealers.

From the beginning of the Pacific trade, Hong Kong served as the depot for American flour exports to China.[63] The city's geographic, economic, and political benefits far outweighed the port's disadvantages: flour-damaging humidity and high incidence of worms and weevils. A duty-free hub situated at the portals of China, Hong Kong attracted exporters as the finest transshipment port in the Far East.[64] The city also offered inexpensive warehous charges and attractive labor costs. Flour was store at a monthly rate of only $2.50 per 1,000 sacks an was reloaded by dock hands hired at a mere 8 to 1 cents in gold per day. To tailor packaging to particular markets, flour was re-sacked in Hong Kong fo "a trifle over three cents gold per bbl."[65] British control in Hong Kong also provided exporters acces to international financial and legal institutions which facilitated and protected the transport o goods.

As early as 1863, California shipped more tha 40,000 barrels of flour to this entrepôt. The significance of this trade becomes apparent when it i compared to the approximately 31,000 barrel shipped on the coastal trade up to Vancouver Islan and the 12,000 barrels sent around the Horn to England.[66] As Table 2 illustrates, California exports t China remained strong and steady throughout muc of the 1870s, but showed a marked improvemen during the last three years of the decade:

TABLE 2
California Flour Exports to Asia, 1870-1880[67]

Year	Barrels
1870	94,249
1871	173,225
1872	142,944
1873	107,189
1874	177,177
1875	161,714
1876	161,576
1877	194,776
1878	257,020
1879	233,897

Source: Davis, Appendix Table III, 604.

In typical understatement, British Consul Willia Booker in San Francisco reported in 1876 that th flour industry "has been profitable to all concerned [T]he improved machinery introduced into [California] mills enables [local millers] to make an extr with but little additional cost, which is better receive abroad, and is more economical in its manufacture."[68] The "extra" to which Booker referred was a lower-grade, cheaper flour produced from refine middlings, which the introduction of purifiers bolters, and rollers on the coast had made possible Due to their lower price—a major concern for sale

Pacheco flour mill in Contra Costa County. Pacheco was once a deep water port, capable of docking the large ships that carried grain overseas. *Russi Collection, Contra Costa County Historical Society.*

in the China market—"extras" became the mainstay of American exports to Hong Kong.[69]

The increase in flour exports to China directly related to improvements in shipping routes to the Orient. Although American shippers had conducted sporadic trade in furs, silks, and tea between Asia and the Pacific Northwest since the late eighteenth century, more consistent contact began with the arrival of the tea clippers in the 1840s and 1850s.[70] Setting out from New York and Boston, these fleet ships sailed the Horn to California on their way to China. In San Francisco, they put ashore eastern American-manufactured goods and loaded quicksilver, hides, and ever-increasing amounts of flour — a most welcomed cargo. Longshoremen in America and coolies in China could easily handle the fifty- or one-hundred-pound sacks, and once placed in the hold, flour provided a stable ballast that rarely shifted during transit. As the tea trade expanded, the number of ships bound for China from the Pacific Coast increased, as did the amount of flour exported.

The addition of steamships to the Pacific route furher stimulated the China flour trade. In 1854, Commodore Matthew Perry's steamship, the *Mississippi*, crossed the Pacific after "opening" Japan. In 1860, the Japanese war steamer *Kanrin Maru* made San Francisco in thirty-seven days under full sail and steam. Two years later, the *Cortes* and the *Columbia* became the first merchant steamers to cross the Pacific. Then, in 1866, Congress appropriated $500,000 to inaugurate monthly mail service from San Francisco to Yokohama and Hong Kong. Pacific Mail, a steamship company with twenty years' experience on the Pacific Coast, accepted the contract and subsidy. On January 1, 1867, the company's steamer *Colorado* set out from San Francisco, initiating regular transpacific steamship service to Asia. On board that first crossing was a full complement of mail, missionaries, businessmen, and returning Chinese—and 1,000 barrels of flour in the hold.[71]

Initially, Cantonese merchants living in San Francisco carried on much of the early flour trade with China.[72] However, around 1880 the leading California mills opened a joint office in Hong Kong to control their exports directly.[73] Managed by two businessmen, W. W. Whiley and Tsui Hang On, the branch office promoted not only acceptance of California flour in Hong Kong, but also the re-export of flour to Canton and other ports in China—an endeavor in which the company proved highly successful.

Due to the strength, purity, and consistency of Whiley and Tsui's products, Chinese brokers, merchants, and "noodle-men" soon became regular purchasers of California flour—and exceptionally loyal customers. Established brands such as Sperry's "XXX" acquired a faithful following.[74] Once convinced of the superior qualities of a particular company's flour, Chinese were reluctant to change, even if offered a higher quality brand at a lower price.[75] From their advantageous position in Hong Kong, Whiley and Tsui gradually cultivated a solid trade with dependable agents and steadily extended the market for their California brands.[76] Other companies, however, exporting new brands on consignment through stateside brokers, found it nearly impossible to break into the China market. Horace Davis recalled one miller who spent $60,000 trying to establish his flour in China. "Yet today," noted Davis, "the brand is unknown."[77]

The success of a trade commodity in China almost invariably produced a rash of inferior imitations that not only cut into sales, but also damaged the reputation of the original product.[78] Consequently, foreign businessmen in China frequently complained among themselves and to their consuls about copyright infringements. As West Coast dependence on the China trade expanded, trademark infringement became an increasingly serious problem, and continued to be a point of contention throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even after the turn of the century, American Consul General John Goodnow in Shanghai complained to Washington that "the Chinese are imitating many of our manufactures. As our Trade grows larger this situation is more serious." Goodnow argued that a treaty protecting patents, copyrights, and trademarks "should be insisted upon."[79]

The State Department agreed. In 1903, China and the United States concluded a new commercial treaty that included the stipulation "forbidding all subjects of China from infringing on, imitating, colorably imitating, or knowingly passing off an imitation of trademarks belonging to citizens of the United States."[80] Although this treaty guaranteed American companies legal protection against trademark infringement, compliance and enforcement remained a problem. Three years after concluding the treaty, the Chinese government had yet to begin registering trademarks—and American products were still being imitated.[81]

Brand recognition could have other negative consequences for American manufacturers, who were sometimes selectively targeted for economic retribution. One of the earliest such incidents in China
took place in 1880, during the national debate in th
United States on Chinese exclusion. Horace Davi
a California representative in Congress, strident
lobbied for federal legislation to control Chine
immigration, a major concern of his constituency.
a congressional speech supporting limitation on th
number of Chinese passengers allowed on vesse
entering the United States, he characterized the Ch
nese as an unassimilable threat to the American wa
of life—a threat that had to be mitigated.

> As we claim the right to exclude paupers, convicts, and persons with infectious diseases as burdensome and dangerous to our people, so we would bar the doors of the State to any class of strangers whose spirit is hostile to our institutions; who . . . make no permanent settlement here, take no interest in the State, cannot be controlled by our laws, and who. . .[are] a dangerous element in society; who degrade labor and revive the spirit if not the forms of slavery. This is the indictment presented by the people of California against the Chinese.[82]

In retaliation, Chinese brokers and merchants–
reportedly at the urging of their consul in San Fra
cisco—initiated a boycott against the purchase
Davis's popular "Eldorado" brand of flour in Chin
This selective blacklisting seriously curtailed sale
Eventually, it forced Davis to completely remove h
"Eldorado" brand— "which had previously enjoye
a good sale to Hong Kong"—from the China trade.
Although he substituted other brands for those bo
cotted, recovery of his market share was slow.

In 1880, the greatest wheat harvest ever recorde
in California pushed the San Francisco price of whe
well below one dollar per bushel.[84] Surpluses an
lower domestic prices stimulated increased expor
of both wheat and flour. California wheat expor
peaked in 1881 at nearly 22 million centals. Mea
while, total flour shipments from San Francis
nearly doubled between 1880 and 1882, and pass
the million-barrel mark for the first time in 1883.
During this same period, flour exports to Chin
increased 20 percent and, by 1885, reached near
450,000 barrels.[86] From the California milling com
pany offices in Hong Kong, Chinese junks an
coastal steamers shipped American flour as far a
Singapore and the Straits Settlements in the sout
and to the Siberian port of Vladivostok in the north.
The continued absence of native Chinese or forei
export competition assured strong and unimpede
markets for these goods.

Several factors were at work, however, that woul
alter the profile of California flour and wheat export
One of the most important of these changes wa
global overproduction of wheat. By the turn of the ce
tury, American and foreign expansion of wheat pr

Isaac Friedlander, right, and a man identified only as "Mr. Hirsch."
California Historical Society, de Young Collection, FN-27897.

duction created a surfeit of exportable grain, which weighed heavily on the international market. In particular, increasing wheat exports from Argentina, Canada, Australia, India, and East Europe, as well as from Washington and Oregon, severely depressed grain prices in the crucial British market. California wheat, which in 1880 had profitably sold in Liverpool for $1.47 per cental, brought only $1.25 in 1890, and a paltry 90 cents in 1894.[88]

With the glut of wheat on the international market, many California farmers turned from wheat to more profitable specialty crops, accelerating an already established trend. Wheat yields had been steadily declining due to decades of cultivation without crop rotation or fertilizer application. As early as 1861, a British consular report had raised concern about California farmers' inattention to soil replenishment. "At present," wrote Consul Booker, "comparatively little attention is paid to the rotation of crops; wheat', barley, or oats frequently being sown for several years consecutively on the same soil. Of course, in time this must tend to destroy the fertility of the soil."[89] As depleted, over-planted wheat fields returned increasingly poorer harvests, farmers shifted to new and more profitable crops. By 1910, much of California's wheat acreage had been converted to irrigated, small-tract citrus, deciduous fruit, and vegetable farms.[90]

Decreasing wheat production heightened rivalries within California's milling industry, which were compounded by the emergence of the Pacific Northwest as a competing wheat and milling center. Since the 1840s, overland immigrants had been settling the valleys of Oregon, clearing land, and planting wheat —the American pioneer subsistence crop. By 1848, nine grist mills operated in the territory, and much of the flour processed in these mills was shipped to California, particularly after the early gold-rush years.[91] As San Francisco grew into the export depot of the West Coast, Oregon flour shipments to the city increased, reaching 20,000 tons of wheat equivalent in 1870.[92]

At the same time, however, direct foreign trade from northwestern ports had been slowly developing. Completion of the Willamette Valley railroad, linking Oregon's rich wheat-growing region to the coastal cities and their regional and international markets, bolstered the state's export trade in breadstuffs. In 1872, Consul Booker reported that wheat exports from Oregon to Great Britain were expanding annually. "Last year," he noted, "the State had for export nearly 30,000 tons, and this year it is expected to exceed that."[93] Wheat and flour production also was increasing in the Palouse wheat region of Washington, and by 1897, the output there eclipsed that of Oregon.[94] Consequently, between 1891 and 1900, while California wheat exports decreased 54.1 percent (from 23.4 to 10.7 million bushels), wheat exports from Oregon and Washington ports increased 47.4 percent (from 8.5 to 12.5 million bushels).[95]

With the emergence of new transpacific steamship lines, Oregon and Washington millers also began competing with their counterparts in California for the lucrative China flour market. In 1887, the Canadian Pacific Railway founded the Empress line in

Vancouver. In 1889, the Union Pacific established a transpacific steamer company in Portland. The following year, the Northern Pacific opened Asian steamer service from Tacoma, and in 1896 the Great Northern Steamship Company linked the Orient with Seattle. From 1895 to 1900, five additional shipping lines began operations on the West Coast, bringing to eight the total number then serving Asia.[96] By 1905, the carrying capacity of the transpacific steamer fleet exceeded 300,000 tons, a ten-fold increase in less than two decades.[97] As shipping capacity improved, Pacific Northwest mills exported more flour directly to Hong Kong and China. "The deadweight base of nearly all of these [transpacific] cargoes," noted a leading Portland miller, "has been flour, made from wheat grown on the Pacific Coast."[98]

The emergence of Portland and Seattle as rival ports for West Coast trade forced California millers to reassess the future of their industry. They realized that to "cure the ills of sharp competition in the flour market there must be fewer mills, better mills, more strategically situated mills, and ones that could be operated more economically."[99] To survive, the industry had to pare and consolidate, and the leading mill owners took radical steps in that direction. In 1892, they agreed to Horace Davis's proposal for a major consolidation of six central California mills, including the Golden Gate and Sperry mills.[100] The new corporation retained the Sperry name, and board members elected Davis as president, a position he held until his death in 1916.[101] Under its new form, the Sperry Company improved efficiency through economy of scale in both its wheat purchases and its sales of flour. This profitable structure enabled the company to expand and compete with northwestern mills for a share of the China trade into the twentieth century.[102]

EPILOGUE

In 1903, the American consul general in Hong Kong, Edward Bragg, praised the Sperry Company's efforts in developing the China trade. In a report on American trade in Hong Kong, Bragg claimed that "the Sperry Flour Company, of San Francisco, is here evidently to stay. The importation of flour has proven a successful venture." He also credited Sperry "with being the nearest to an American firm, if not exclusively so, engaged in this increasing and profitable business."[103]

Bragg's proclamation, however, proved less a prophecy than an epitaph. The tide had already turned against California millers. With declining yields due to over-planting and the general shift from wheat to fruit and specialty crops, California surrendered its leading role as supplier of the China flour market. Pacific Northwest millers and brokers rose to dominate the trade, exploiting bountiful and expanding wheat harvests from the Willamette and Palouse to build the coastal flour industry into one of the leading exporters of American goods to China.[104] By 1900, American flour exports to Hong Kong exceeded 1.4 million barrels and comprised nearly 50 percent of the total value of all United States exports to that port.[105] "Flour at the present time is our largest export from the Pacific Coast to China and the Far East," wrote John Barrett in 1901. "If it develops in the future as it has in the past it will be impossible to measure its value to the export interests of the United States."[106]

The trade, however, did not continue to expand after the turn of the century. In fact, it regressed sharply. The advent of a new—and improbable—competitor drastically reduced Pacific Coast flour exports to China and shattered expectations for future trade. The competition emerged not from an industrialized European nation but from China itself, the presumed bastion of conservative and traditional conventions.[107] In 1900, a Chinese entrepreneur imported the most advanced roller milling machinery available from the United States, hired an American miller to supervise production, and opened China's first modern mechanized flour mill at Shanghai. Employing Chinese labor and processing native wheat, this modest-sized mill began manufacturing a low-priced flour equal in quality to American imports.[108] Within three years, retail outlets in Shanghai were purchasing more than 10,000 sacks of the company's flour daily, and even "running day and night . . . [the plant could] not begin to supply the demand for flour."[109] The success of the enterprise quickly attracted other Chinese investors to the trade. By 1910, thirty-one native-owned modern flour mills were operating in China with an annual production capacity of 3.2 million barrels.[110]

The emergence of this new mechanized flour milling industry demoralized the West Coast-China flour trade. American flour exports to Hong Kong and China fell below 850,000 barrels in 1909, more than a 40 percent decline since the turn of the century.[111] The *Weekly Northwestern Miller*, which in 1897 had so enthusiastically championed the profitability of the China flour trade, now glumly acknowledged that "in 1910 only enough [flour] will be brought [into China] to satisfy the foreigners in the cities." The failure of the trade, the journal conceded, "has been brought about by the competition of the native-made flour."[112] China's modern flour industry had broken the hold of West Coast flour on

A tugboat tows a wheat ship from Port Costa to the Golden Gate, 1910. This ship is sailing for England long after the "boom" period of California flour exportation. Though revitalized in 1892 by the consolidation of six mills under the well-known Sperry name, the California grain industry suffered inevitable decline at the hands of Pacific Northwest competitors in the 1890s, and new, modern Chinese mills that sprouted during the first decade of the twentieth century. *L. L. Stein Collection, Contra Costa County Historical Society.*

China's major markets, and permanently displaced American millers as the primary supplier of flour to coastal cities and treaty ports.

Although China's development of a native flour milling industry dashed West Coast aspirations of exploiting this lucrative overseas market, the legacy of California flour endured. The commercial bridge it opened to China remained a thriving conduit of trade in lumber, kerosene, wheat, and other West Coast commodities until the connection was interrupted by war with Japan in the 1930s and 1940s and hen finally severed by the Communists after 1949.Today, however, with revival of international rade under China's economic reform program of the early 1980s, new West Coast commodities— includng high-tech aerospace parts and computer chips— are tracing the route forged by Sperry, Davis, Starr, and Friedlander. Following in the footsteps of these flour pioneers, contemporary businessmen ship an ever-increasing number of products westward to Chinese markets. Thus modern entrepreneurs continue the process begun nearly 150 years ago of strengthening and streamlining the transpacific bridge of trade. ◻

See notes beginning on page 148.

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An Immigrant Path to Social Mobility:

Portuguese Atlantic Islanders in the California Sheep Industry

by Donald Warrin

> *There was a time in California, after the days when Spanish cattle roamed over the unfenced valleys, and before the wheat farmer had yet broken up the leagues of wild oats, when the greatest industry, aside from mining, was the raising of sheep.*
>
> —Charles Howard Shinn, 1891[1]

Portuguese immigration to the United States has traditionally concentrated in three geographic regions: New England, California, and Hawaii. Initial immigration by Portuguese to each of these areas was the result of their participation in the American whaling industry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During this period the Portuguese Atlantic islands—the western Azores in particular—were a favorite stopping point for American whalers to replenish supplies and fill out their crews.

Portuguese from continental Europe at this time immigrated almost exclusively to Brazil or to overseas Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia. In this way the pattern of nineteenth-century Portuguese immigration to the United States was established, originating from the relatively small population of the Portuguese Atlantic islands (the archipelagos of the Azores, Cape Verde, and Madeira). These islanders were able to move early to California, especially after 1848, as whaling crews headed for the Gold Rush.

Portuguese participated heavily in the early placer mining in the Sierra Nevada and Siskiyou ranges; and later many continued north and east inland in search of precious metals. Industrious and parsimonious in the extreme, they were often able to leave the mines with nest eggs, which they then invested in other enterprises, such as stores, farms, or livestock. Others, arriving after the surface minerals had been substantially worked out, had to find another source for capital accumulation—for if there is one trait that distinguished these immigrants it was their desire to be economically independent.

Those familiar with the history of the Portuguese in California recognize the various occupations i which the island immigrants participated after mid-century: lumbering along the north coast, fishing shore whaling, and general farming. As the centur closed, more and more Portuguese—mostly Azoreans, who made up some 90 percent of the Californi Portuguese population—entered the dairy industr It is this business, of which they at one time controlled more than 50 percent, and the tuna fishin industry based in San Diego, that are most identified with the Portuguese in California in the twentieth century.

There was, however, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, another industry of major importanc to the economy of California and to the island immigrants from Portugal—the production of sheep Sheep were brought to California by the Spanish i the late eighteenth century and by 1819 numbere almost 200,000.[2] Most were centered around th missions and roamed the coastal ranges. After th secularization of the Alta California missions in th 1830s and the expansion of private cattle ranchin and the export of cattle hides and tallow, the number of sheep dropped dramatically. With the Gol Rush of 1849 and a rapid increase in population however, there was an urgent need for expansion o the food supply. Soon afterward, sheep began to b driven from New Mexico to California to help mee the demand. During the 1850s, sheep also came across the continent from the Midwest. Many of thes latter were of the superior, fine-wooled Merino type which were used to cross with the predominan Mexican stock already in California.

In 1860, sheep raising was concentrated along th

Shearing time on a Portuguese sheep ranch near Pendleton, Oregon, date unknown. *Courtesy of Frank and Leah Pedro.*

coastal range, as it had been in the mission days. The dominance of the sheep industry in California was due principally to the drought years of 1862 through 1864, which affected cattle to a much greater extent than sheep. Many former cattle owners then turned to grain production on their land. The decade of the 1870s has been referred to as California's era of wool.[3] It was during this time that the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys and the Sierra foothills became important centers of sheep production in the state. At the high point of this period in 1875, there were 6,750,000 sheep in California, the largest sheep population in the country.[4] From that point, their mportance slowly declined because of foreign competition and the progressive fencing off of land in the state for agricultural purpose. In the northern, more sparsely settled counties, the industry flourished well nto the twentieth century.

THE PORTUGUESE INVOLVEMENT

By the 1860s, placer miners were leaving the mountains of California either to try a new and more rewarding occupation or to seek new opportunity in the silver mines of Nevada or the gold fields of eastern Oregon, Idaho, or Montana. Several factors drew Azoreans to the sheep industry at this time: their agricultural background, their comfort with rural isolation, and their familiarity with the care of sheep, an important industry in the nineteenth-century Azores. Joseph M. Souza recalled his trip alone across the American continent as a fifteen-year-old in 1892. The only thing that cheered him up, he said, was the occasional sight of a flock of sheep, because he had been raised around sheep and their presence here made him feel at home in a strange land.[5] For a group such as the Portuguese, often lacking in formal education, the sheep industry represented one of the principal avenues of socio-economic mobility—a possibility hardly available to the Portuguese factory workers of New England.

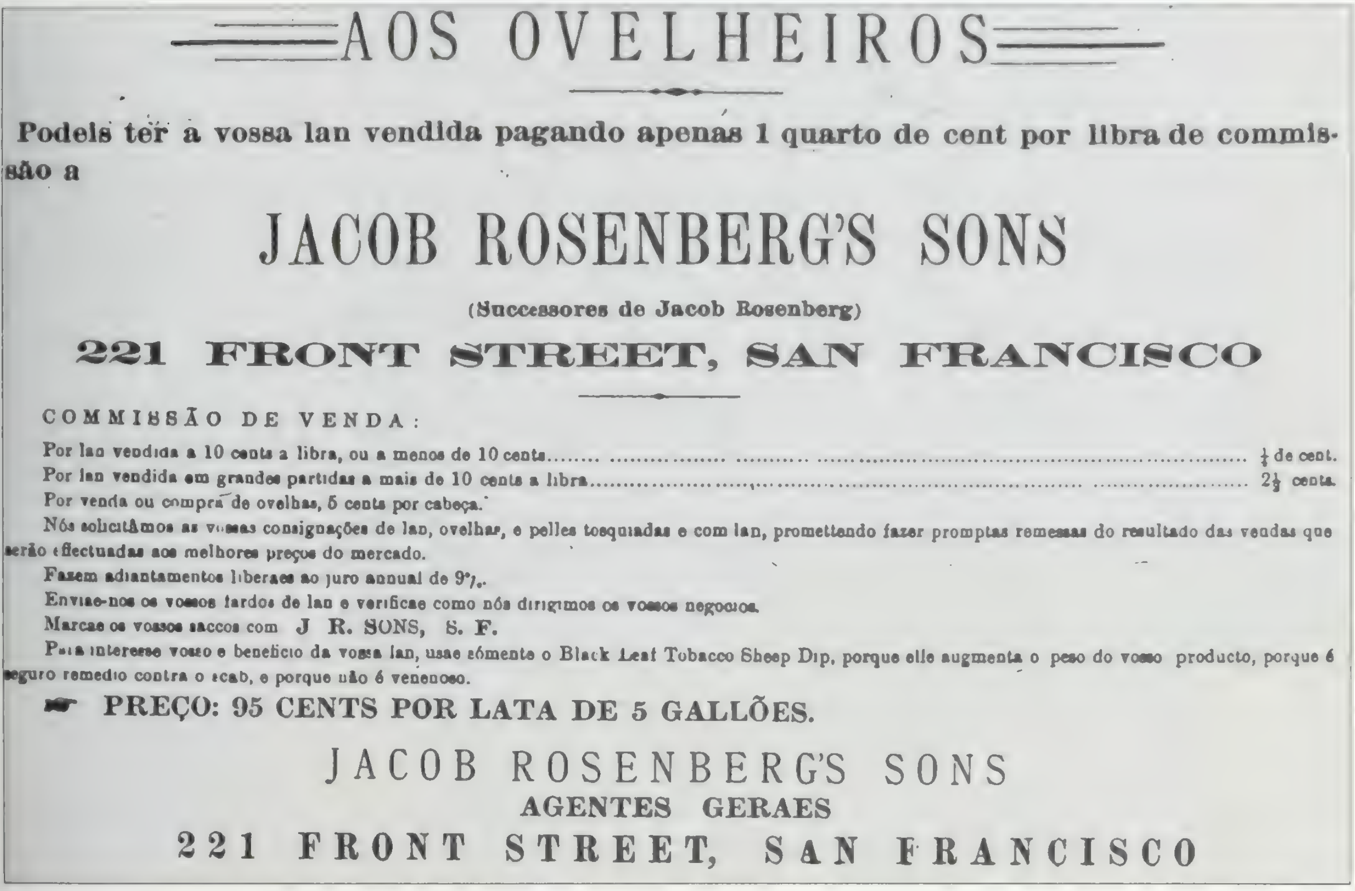
Today the Portuguese role in the western sheep industry has been largely forgotten; but Jack London was aware of it, as well as of the Portuguese penchant for saving and investing—especially in land—when he put these words in the mouth of an Alameda County native:

> Forty years ago old Silva came from the Azores. Went sheepherdin' in the mountains for a couple of years, then blew into San Leandro. These five acres was the first land he leased. That was the beginnin'. Then he began leasin' by the hundreds of acres, an' by the hundred-an-sixties. . . .
>
> An' old Silva wound up by buyin' these five acres from grandfather. Pretty soon—an' father by that time was in the hole to the neck—he was buyin' father's land by the hundred-an'-sixties. An' all the rest of his relations was doin' the same thing. Father was always gettin' rich quick, an' he wound up by dyin' in debt. But old Silva never overlooked a bet, no matter how dinky. An' all the rest are just like him.[6]

The Portuguese, like the Basques, tended to ent sheepherding as a business, rather than simply as a occupation. As Major William Shepherd, an Englishman who spent several years in the West as sheepman, explained, "In choosing sheepherders th best will be found among the Mexicans, Basques, c Portuguese. These two latter do not, as a rule, tak service except with their own people; their aim is ult mately to possess a share in the herds, and to rise t the position of owners."[7] A Portuguese or Basqu herder, working for another of his nationality, migh take his pay in sheep and eventually accumula enough to form his own band.[8]

Even if the sheep owner was not a countryma the Portuguese sheepherder often managed to accumulate the capital necessary for future investmen Such was the case of José de Sousa Brazil, who bega

Sheep roundup prior to shearing, Flores Island, Azores, 1936. Near the turn of the century, some 90 percent of Portuguese Califo nians were of Azorean origin. *Collection of the author.*



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AGENTES GERAES

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Notice in Portuguese "To the Sheep Raisers" advertising a ¼-cent commission per pound of wool sold through Jacob Rosenberg's Sons. The ad also touts the advantages of the company's "Black Leaf Tobacco Sheep Dip" product, which "increases the weight of your product." *União Portuguesa* (San Francisco), 1899. *Courtesy of the J.A. Freitas Library, San Leandro.*

work in 1884 herding sheep at the Tierra Redonda Ranch in San Luis Obispo County for $25 a month. During the more than two years he worked at the ranch he deferred all his pay. When he finally received the lump sum salary, minus $12 for the new clothing (mostly boots) he had required during that ime (significantly fewer expenses than the non-Por-uguese herders), he gave it back to his boss, James Lynch, to invest for several more months before inally withdrawing it.[9] Another Portuguese, Francisco Soares, worked for several years without drawng his salary, only to find that his employer had gone broke. But Soares persisted, went to work for another sheepman, and slowly accumulated the capital necssary to start his own band. He ultimately became he owner of 10,000 sheep.[10]

The Sheepherding Experience

An American historian of the sheep industry, Edward Wentworth, wrote of the qualities necessary to be a successful sheepman, and he also provided an observation on the life of these guardians of the flocks: "Sheep driving called for none of the spectacular action required of the cowboy. The qualities that won were mental—planning, perseverance, patience—and such traits attract no box-office receipts at theaters nor stimulate scenarios for 'western thrillers.' The drama of the West belongs to the trapper, soldier, miner, and cowboy."[11]

Wentworth was referring to a specific aspect of the sheep industry—the long drives across the West that were similar to the much romanticized cattle dri-

Sheepmen Enos and John Gomes were natives of Fajã dos Vimes, São Jorge Island, Azores. The brothers are shown here outside Lemoore, a town in the central San Joaquin Valley, ca. 1906. Following the practices of the Iberian Peninsula, sheepherders in the West wintered their flocks in the warm inland valleys, then drove them into the mountains for the hot summers. *Courtesy of Sophia Teixeira Silveira.*

ves of the same era, but which have never captured the public's imagination in the same way. But there was more drama in the life of a sheepman than Wentworth intimates; and it is precisely in the sheep industry that Portuguese immigrants found some of their greatest adventures. One notes, moreover, that the three psychological traits to which Wentworth refers are particularly applicable to Portuguese immigrants, as can be seen in the cases, described above, of Souza Brazil and Francisco Soares, as well as that of Manuel Cardoso.

Manuel Cardoso immigrated from the Azorean island of Pico at the end of the nineteenth century. While in California he wrote an extensive poem in Portuguese that recounts his experiences sheepherding in the Sierra. The following translation of part of the poem gives a sense of the solitary life in the mountains, with all its demands:

I began as a herder
With great pain in my heart.
I want my father to know
It's a sad life for a Christian.

I became a shepherd
And knew nothing of herding.
They were twenty-three hundred
That seemed like an ocean. . . .

And with no one to speak to
Either by day nor by night.
On top of high mountains
I live all alone. . . .

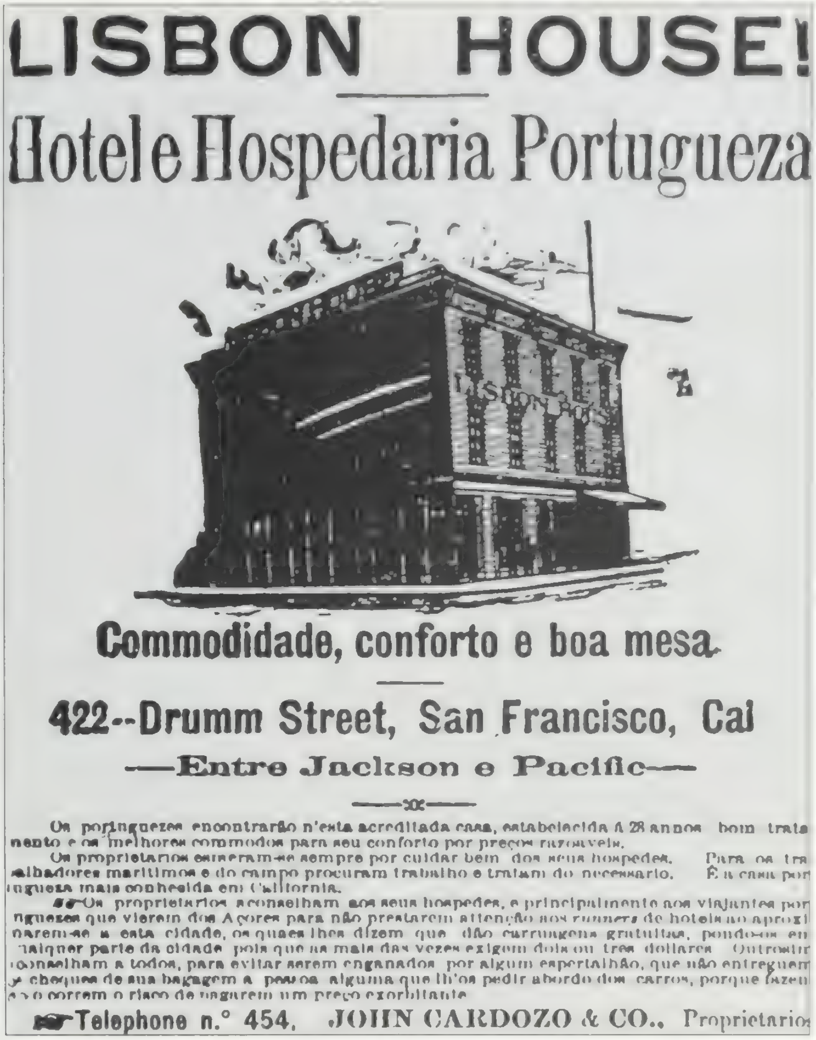
The life of a shepherd
Is a life full of sadness.
Many lose their minds
And others their lives.

We move with our covers on our backs
Just like a soldier;
Wherever it gets dark we sleep
Together with the flock. . . .

Farewell home of my father,
Farewell bed in which I slept.
Farewell dearest mother,
My sweet companion.

My heart is torn
In this long absence.
To be in these great forests
God in Heaven give me patience.

At night the sheep flee;
In the darkness I seek them.
In fear I go on,
With pounding in my heart.


LISBON HOUSE

LISBON HOUSE!

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—Entre Jackson e Pacific—

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Os proprietarios esmeram-se sempre por cuidar bem dos seus hospedes. Para os trabalhadores maritimos e do campo procuram trabalho e tratam do necessario. É a casa portugueza mais conhecida em California.

☞Os proprietarios aconselham aos seus hospedes, e principalmente aos viajantes portuguezes que vierem dos Açores para não prestarem attenção aos *runners* de hoteis ao aproximarem-se a esta cidade, os quaes lhes dizem que dão carruagens gratuitas, pondo-os em qualquer parte da cidade pois que na mais das vezes exigem dois ou tres dollares. Outrosim aconselham a todos, para evitar serem enganados por algum espertalhão, que não entreguem os cheques de sua bagagem a pessoa alguma que lh'os pedir abordo dos carros, porque fazem e so correm o risco de pagarem um preço exorbitante.

☞Telephone n.° 454, JOHN CARDOZO & CO., Proprietarios

This advertisement for the Lisbon House "Portuguese Hotel and Boarding House" in San Francisco promises "coziness, comfort, and good food." *União Portuguesa* (San Francisco), 1898. *Courtesy of the J. A. Freitas Library, San Leandro.*

When I was at home
I was never alone.
Now a little dog
Is my only companion. . . .

We pass through these hills,
Covered with dust and soil.
Often I wake
Buried in snow.

In winter the cold torments,
And in summer the heat.
People will counsel patience,
But pity on those who suffer.

This life of a shepherd
I am resolved to leave.
I am going to be patient
Just until the owner arrives.[12]

ne can understand why, for most, sheepherding as a transitory occupation.

As we can see in the laments of Cardoso, one of the most serious problems of the sheepherder was the loneliness. Nothing could adequately prepare him for the weeks of solitude if he had no partner to share the travails of sheepherding. If he were literate and educated, as many sheepherders were, it was a wonderful time for reading.[13] Basques often wiled away their time carving on trees.[14] But for an illiterate man without company, life must have been especially lonely; and due to the limited availability of formal education at that time in the Azores, illiteracy was common among these immigrants. Cardoso's poem suggests a danger of insanity resulting from this solitary travail. There is considerable anecdotal evidence of this. Mary Austin, early chronicler of the western landscape, noted in *The Flock* that "Once there was a Portuguese herder misled by false monuments in the Coso country [Inyo County], without water for three days, discovered witless and happy, bathing nakedly in the waters of [a] mirage." However, she added that personally, "With all my seeking into desert places there are three things that of my knowledge I have not seen,— a man who has rediscovered a lost mine, the heirs of one who died of the bite of a sidewinder, and a shepherd who is insane."[15]

Nevertheless, suicides were not infrequent among sheepherders. The tale of the suicide of Frank Gomas (Gomes) in 1906 is a scenario that occurred more than once in the West.[16] A resident of the city of Shoshone, Idaho, and twenty-three years of age, he came into town one day from the mountains, settled all his debts, wrote out a will, and sliced his throat with a razor. His funeral, stated the local paper, "was attended by all the local Portuguese boys."[17]

At times, writers looked back with humor on episodes that at the time represented a degree of danger. In *My First Summer in the Sierra,* John Muir, himself a sheepherder at the time, related a story of his encounter with two Portuguese herders in 1869 and their somewhat humorous struggle with bear predation.[18] In an account of his early years in California, William Stockton wrote of a flood on Los Banos Creek that he had seen approaching one morning in 1876. The water was rising so rapidly that he realized at once that it would quickly inundate the marsh land where grazed a large band of sheep belonging to a Portuguese by the name of Manuel Mattos. Reaching there, Stockton noticed that Mattos was gone, leaving only his sheepherder, who spoke no English. Stockton shouted and waved to no avail as the man, bemused perhaps by the strange gesticulations of the American, continued to prepare his breakfast. Finally, Stockton explained:

> I motioned and hollered and pointed up and down the stream. I did everything I could think of to make him understand that a flood was coming. Finally I took some water from the creek in my hand and held it over the top of his head. Suddenly he seemed to understand. He jumped up from his fire. He turned his dogs furiously on to his sheep and soon had the whole band on the run towards the foothills. Without stopping to pick up a thing from his camp he disappeared with his sheep as fast as he could make them go. The Los Banos Creek came down four miles wide.[19]

THE WANDERING FLOCKS

Sheepmen in the West came to practice what is known as "transhumance," a system, popular on the Iberian Peninsula, in which the sheep are driven into the mountains in the summer and returned to the warmer valleys with the approach of winter. Thus, sheep were almost always migratory, spending little time in one locale (no more than two days wa rule of thumb), unless they were being fed at t home ranch. As California became more settled a fences began to go up in the late nineteenth centu the life of the sheepman became more compl Although California was spared the sheep and c tle wars that plagued central and eastern Oregon a Wyoming in particular, California cattlemen did n make life easy for the sheepmen. As Major Sheph observed, "The land is, however, owned, and if n fenced is constantly ridden over by the [cow]bo who drive off outside cattle, and carry on a perp ual warfare with the Basque and Portuguese ow ers of bands of sheep which have to traverse t ranges on the way to the mountains or to the ra road."[20] Mounted on horseback and armed wi Winchesters, they almost always predominate both by number and by force, over the solitary she herds (although one should add that many shee herders operated with one or two companio carried arms, and also often had horses).

It was in California that the term "sheepherde came to be used to refer to the hireling "shepherd." Shepherds occupied a decidedly low position on t social scale. Shepherds "are the riffraff of t world. . . ," stated a newspaper in 1871. "And wh a man gets so low down as to be a 'sheep-herder' California, he would better go and dig a hole in t ground, insert his head therein, and ask some pit ing friend to cover it up."[22] No figure was mo despised in the countryside than the itinerant, "tramp," sheepman, who had no land of his ow but who constantly moved his stock across both pu lic and private lands. By the 1880s much antagonis had developed between farmers and the wanderi sheepmen. John P. Triguiro (Trigueiro) paid a hi price for such antipathy. A resident of Modesto, and two fellow sheepherders passed one day ne Bridgeport, Mono County, on the east side of t Sierra. Following the custom of the time, Trigu reached an agreement with a rancher named Wes wood to put his sheep up for the night in a lot. the *San Francisco Morning Call* reported:

> After awhile they got out and entered a garden and damaged some vegetables. The two men then had a dispute over the amount of damages. The man Westwood claimed that the damage would amount to about $20. The young man did not want to pay over $5. At this Westwood got mad and went for his gun. On his return, he demanded $20. The young man offered him ten; with that Westwood drew up his gun, which was loaded with buckshot, and shot, killing Triguiro instantly.[23]

Triguiro's two companions, José Jacinto and Jo

Albino Fernandes and wife, Conceição Deniz Fernandes, Buffalo, Johnson County, Wyoming, ca. 1910. *Courtesy of Angelina Deniz Ingraham.*

nos, fled; and the body lay where it had fallen for nother day, as unsympathetic authorities delayed n indictment. When the case finally reached trial, s if to show its scorn for itinerant sheepmen, the cal jury absolved the ranch owner, John West- ood, of any blame.[24]

The pervasive sense of territoriality apparently ffected the sheepmen themselves. The Portuguese ave a long-standing reputation as being especially w-abiding and nonviolent, and yet at times sheep- erding seemed to make their nature more volatile. the San Joaquin Valley in 1889, Portuguese sheep- an John R. Mendoza (Mendonça) attacked a neigh- oring sheepherder and fellow countryman, Manuel ereira Cardozo, accusing him of having invaded his rritory.[25] Mendoza ended up being killed by the maller Cardozo in the struggle. "I should have illed him before," declared Cardozo as he was ken into custody. And the jury apparently agreed, nding him not guilty.[26]

Portuguese sheepherders tended to be contracted rough a network system similar to that of the asques, many being placed through connections ith the Lisbon House Hotel in San Francisco. It was through such a connection at the turn of the century that Joseph Fernandes, and soon afterward brothers Albino, Domingo, and Sirino, were contracted to drive sheep to Wyoming for one of the important sheepmen of the West, Patrick Healy.[27] The brothers settled in Buffalo, Wyoming; and soon a small and prosperous Azorean community developed there, dedicated to the raising of sheep.

As many biographies suggest, the experiences of Portuguese sheepherders were diverse, extending even beyond California into the larger American West. Mariano Mendonça was born in the town of Lomba, Flores Island, Azores, in 1850. Settling in the Estancia Valley of New Mexico, he is reputed to have owned as many as 40,000 sheep at one time. Also from the island of Flores, Joseph F. Valadon, who had gone to sea as a young man with his father, later mined and worked as a ranch hand until he had accumulated enough funds to travel in 1894 to northern Montana, where he homesteaded and became a successful sheepman.[28] Many a Portuguese sheepherder remained in Nevada and prospered raising sheep. In southern Idaho, Antone Silva of Shoshone was one of several successful Portuguese sheepmen. A sheep-

Tom De Freitas

Top left: Thomé Luiz de Freitas (1873–1951), Idaho's first playwright, ca. 19 *Courtesy of Dennis de Freitas.*

Lower left: San Joaquin Valley sheepman Manuel Lewis (formerly Luiz) a his wife, Mary (Maria Florinda) Lewis, ca. 1887. An immigrant from Azores, Lewis built a 32,000-sheep business, at one time the largest flock the southern Central Valley, from a borrowed herd of 2,000 sheep. *Court of Reginald Lewis.*

herder from Flores was honored recently at the de ication of the Idaho Center for the Book, at Boise Sta University. Thomé Luís de Freitas appeared one d in 1903 at the Gem State (later the Caxton) Printers Caldwell, Idaho, and paid for three plays he had wr ten in English to be published. These were the fi plays to be published in the state of Idaho.[29]

Women also at times were active in the she industry. In northeastern Oregon, Mary Vey, daug ter of an Azorean sheepman, took over her fath Joseph's 50,000-acre sheep ranch in 1919 and ope ated it successfully until the early 1930s. During th period she became known as the "Sheep Queen" Oregon.[30] Her Azorean-born aunt, also named Ma was also well known for her mastery of the livesto business. Upon the latter's death in 1939 the *East O gonian* stated:

> Mrs. Antone [Mary] Vey, 83, prominent pioneer of eastern Oregon died in her home Sunday afternoon. . . . After her marriage [in 1893] she and Mr. Vey settled at Butler Creek . . . where, through shrewd and careful management, they developed one of the most complete and extensive livestock holdings in the state. . . . Mrs. Vey was known as one of the few women who knew the livestock business and who had a complete and thorough knowledge of that industry.[31]

A Path to Success

The experience of most Portuguese sheepherde and sheepmen, however, was centered in Californ where this ethnic group has been historically the mo rural of all nationalities. And it is here that we can fo low the story of a few of them as they adapted changing economic conditions to succeed in agricu ture. Portuguese were particularly active in the shee industry in the San Joaquin Valley. In Fresno Coun in 1880, for example, forty-eight of eighty-one adu

A Portuguese sheepherder in central Nevada, ca. 1900, photographed by Manuel Azevedo. *Courtesy of John M. Gomes.*

male Portuguese were either sheepherders or sheep raisers.[32] As a local historian stated, "it is extremely difficult to find a Portuguese family whose ancestors settled in Tulare County before 1900 without ever herding sheep."[33] Typical was F. A. Brindeiro, who was born in the Azores in 1843. After going to sea as a teenager, he arrived in California in 1862 and began to herd sheep in the San Joaquin Valley. Brindeiro saved his money and purchased a band of sheep in Monterey County. In the drought of 1877 he was forced to sell his animals. Soon afterward, he purchased fifty acres of land, growing grain for a while before turning to dairy farming.[34]

Following the stereotypical Portuguese path to economic success in California was Joseph F. Fernandes. He was born on Flores Island in the Azores in 1846 and at the age of sixteen went to sea. Arriving on the East Coast in 1871, he set out on an early transcontinental train to California. Fernandes mined in Placer and Sacramento counties, spent eighteen years as a sheep raiser in the San Joaquin Valley, and then began dairy farming in the Fruitvale section of Oakland.[35]

Like Fernandes, Manuel Fontes was born in the Azores, in 1844, and spent several years at sea before coming to California in 1866. Familiar with the animals from the time of his youth in the islands, he herded sheep near Salinas for three years and then purchased 3,500 of his own. In 1872 he began to buy land and after ten years left the sheep business. By 1910 he was the owner of 600 acres of farm land and

Facing the loss of grazing land to farms, national forests, and parks, some enterprising Portuguese sheepmen grazed their flocks on weeds along public roads. *From Forrest Crissey,* Where Opportunity Knocks Twice *(1914).*

had become a director of the Salinas Bank. His son Frank was by that time a Salinas attorney.[36]

The following story of Manuel Lewis, who was based in the Central Valley, tells us much about the life of a Portuguese sheepman in nineteenth-century California:

> Manuel Lewis (1852–1936—formerly Luiz, a native of the Azores) came to Huron [Tulare County] in 1876. He worked a few months on a farm and then acquired ownership of 2,000 sheep entirely on credit. Within a few years he had the biggest flocks in the southern valley, and was selling flocks to other men on credit. His own flocks eventually increased to a peak of 32,000 sheep. Needless to say, it required much ingenuity and a wide territory to graze these flocks.
>
> Manuel's schedule was to move half the flocks out of Huron in the fall by barge from Kettleman City to south of Bakersfield, across Tehachapi and up the Owens Valley, eventually reaching the area around Winnemucca, Nevada, where he had grazing rights. This long trek to Winnemucca and back lasted till spring and was marked by hostility and violence between cattlemen and sheepmen. The remainder of the flocks were grazed in the hills west and south of Coalinga until spring.
>
> In the spring Manuel moved his flocks slowly up the Yokohl Valley in the direction of the little Kern. [Here follows a detailed description of his route through the Sierra.] .... The sheep were then moved out of the Kings Canyon, back into the Kaweah watershed, and down to Visalia in the fall.
>
> The task of taking large flocks into such rugged country, with its fallen timber, rock ledges, swift river, and sharp ridges above timberline would seem overwhelming. To this were added clashes with cattlemen, attacks by predators and, after 1890, a vendetta with army troops in the newly created Sequoia National Park.[37]

"HOOFED LOCUSTS"

Sequoia had been created in 1890 along with two other national parks, General Grant and Yosemite. The three parks soon were placed under the protection of the U.S. Army. After 1890, the federal government also established numerous, large forest reserves in the Sierra and elsewhere in the West. The voracious grazing of sheep—which John Muir condemned as "hoofed locusts"—was prohibited in the parks, but difficult to control. Comments in the records of Sequoia National Park give an idea of the government's concern about the damage done to meadows and forests caused by the grazing and rampling of the sheep and the wildland fires accidentally and intentionally set by the sheepherders: 'Entire season spent in trying to keep the sheep from 'ark. Sheep most troublesome. . . . the commanding fficer was unable to ride out on an inspection tour s there was not a mouthful of feed left in the Park" 1892); "Found that sheep had been moved into the 'ark when the troops left in the fall" (1895).[38] Sheepnen tried many subterfuges to maintain what preiously had been their mountain grazing lands. They would drive their sheep deep into the parks arly in the season before the troops began patrolling he boundaries and take them out after the soldiers ad left. The sheep raisers are even said to have had pies in Yosemite using signal fires at night to report he movements of the troops.[39]

In 1897, concerned with the continuing damage lone by grazing in the forest reserves, the secretary f the interior prohibited the pasturing of sheep in ll reserves except those in Washington and Oregon. he ban, however, was little respected by the Caliornia sheepmen, whose livelihood depended on ummer grazing in the High Sierra. Mary Austin ited a ranger who warned a Portuguese herder to eave the reserve and later found him heading farher in. Pulling his six-shooter, the ranger

> drove the Portuguese down the trail before him. I am told there are places on that grade where a man in a hurry may cover as much as twenty feet without hitting the ground. The flock was all of that year's increase, lately weaned and not yet flock-wise, they began to drop behind on the steep, in the pitfalls of the strewn boulders, in the stiff wattles of the chaparral. The ranger and his man came out of the Reserve at a flying jump, where the ranger breathed his horse and the Portuguese lay on the ground, bellowed with anger, and tore up handfuls of the scant grass. . . . I should say that the fellow lost the half of the year's increase by that venture.[40]

In the summer of 1899, an ex-deputy sheriff by the name of Boze Eley brought two large bands of sheep to the edge of the Sierra Forest Reserve and kept them there for the ranger to see. One night he ordered his two Portuguese sheepherders, Antone F. Miller and Manuel Coelho Berbereia, to drive one of the bands into the reservation. With bells removed, the 3,000 sheep passed next to the house of the sleeping ranger and deep into the reserve, where they remained undetected for two months. Meanwhile, Eley divided the other band, and in the morning the ranger saw the customary two bands outside the reserve. (The *Fresno Morning Republican* intimated the possibility of a degree of disingenuousness on the part of the ranger.)[41] Unfortunately the government was little amused when it discovered the ruse and decided to make examples of the sheepmen. All three were

Fred Mendonsa (1878–1924), often called the "Sheep King" of the Sacramento Valley, ca 1915. *Courtesy of Robert Bisho* bound over to a federal grand jury in Los Angeles, subject to a fine of $500 and two years in prison.[42] At this time, however, the federal government found it virtually impossible to prosecute under an 1897 anti-trespassing statute; and it was not until 1911 that the Supreme Court upheld the statute's constitutionality.[43] The case of *United States* vs. *M. Eley, Antone F. Miller, and Manuel Coelho Berbereia* represented a token victory, demonstrating in its own way the difficulty of punishing these trespassers in the national forests. On January 29, 1900, the defendants pleaded guilty and were fined the sum of $5 each.[44]

Some Portuguese sheepmen met the challenge of limited valley land and exclusion from the national forests and parks by following the strategy of grazing their sheep along the public roads. An early practitioner was the herder for Portuguese sheep raiser S.F. Pimental (Pimentel), who—upon being ejected from the Minarets Wilderness east of Yosemite in 1898—began to graze his 2,000 sheep on the grasses "along the roadsides and on the ditch banks."[45] As Forrest Crissey observed at the beginning of the century:

> The visitor who travels the superb highways of Merced County, California, is practically sure to encounter a little caravan that tells an interesting story of Portuguese thrift and resourcefulness. Incidentally, too, it reveals the fact that these men from the Azores are always ready to meet the demands of changing conditions without resisting the march of progress for fear their own toes are going to be stepped on in the process of readjustment. . . .
>
> "There," exclaimed a Merced County man with whom I was riding, "is an example of Portuguese methods that is worth the attention of any American in almost any part of the country. This district through here is rapidly changing from a range country to a farming country. . . . When the hour struck to change this section from a range to an irrigated country, however, many Americans felt that the Portuguese settlers [sheep raisers] would oppose the change so far as they could; that they would naturally be against it, and that it would work considerable hardship to some if not all of them, on account of pinching out the range.
>
> "Right there is where we made a mistake in our figuring. Almost to a man the Portuguese were for the irrigation project that covered their particular locality. They welcomed it and said that they'd raise alfalfa and keep dairies of blooded stock. And when we wanted to know what about their flocks, they smiled and said: 'Keep flocks, too.' And they did! As soon as fences and irrigating canals invaded a Portuguese settlement, these small flocks of sheep began to appear on the public highways."[46]

The practice of grazing along the public highways was continued by Portuguese sheepmen for som time. Fred Mendonsa (Mendonça), known as th "Sheep King" of the Sacramento Valley, and h brother-in-law, Manuel Bisho (Bicho), with the herders, drove as many as nine bands annually fro Colusa to the Mount Lassen area in the yea between 1910 and 1920. In the late 1930s, Manuel son Robert recalls, father and son would drive a ban the shorter distance from Colusa along Highway to the Black Butte area. Drives of this sort were ne their end, however. As Robert Bisho remember property fences had helped keep the sheep near th roadway. The farmers' removal of fencing in ord to maximize tillable land was a factor in the declin of these drives, as were increased road traffic and th growing viability of transporting sheep by truck.

THE HERITAGE

One heritage of Portuguese activities—principall in sheep raising and mining—in California is the sub stantial number of place-names carrying the nam "Portuguese." They include seven canyons, fou creeks, three bars, three ridges, two flats, two peak two points, two gulches, a meadow, a pass, on sheep camp, and one spring. Additionally, man place-names reflect the early presence of individu Portuguese in the mountain regions of California.

During the last decades of the nineteenth centur and the first years of the twentieth century, the shee industry offered one of the principal means for th Atlantic islanders to begin their integration int American society. The pragmatism of these Por tuguese immigrants demonstrated itself time an again in their ability to adapt to changing econom conditions through innovation or radical changes i occupation. That they recognized that theirs ha been a unique opportunity, not to be repeated f their children, is demonstrated by their declare interest in the educational system of their adopte land. Phrases in early biographical histories of thes sheepmen emphasize their interest in educatio "the parents' greatest ambition for their childre has been to give them educations" (M. F. and Kati Martan); "has been a staunch advocate of goo schools" (F. A. Brindeiro); "served on school board (Frank P. Gomes).[49] Personal anecdotes reinfor this. Leland "Buck" Alameda (Almeida) recalle that his father, sheep raiser Joe Alameda, who coul not read, "was a stickler for education," insisting tha his children make their way each day through th Wyoming winter to their country school and at time boarding the teacher at his ranch.[50] Sheepma Antone Silva of Buffalo, Wyoming—also illiterate—

THE NEW CHUTES

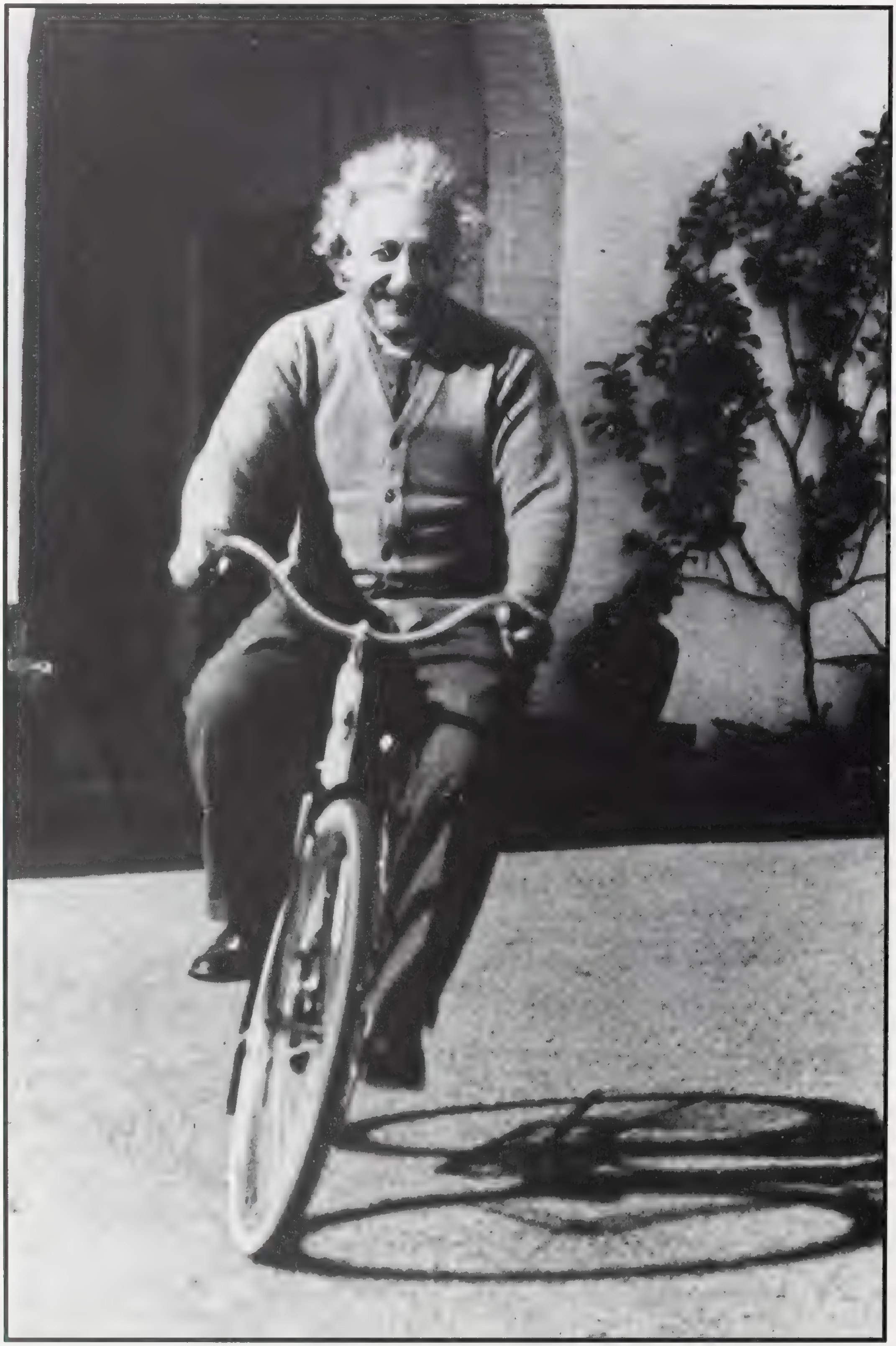
Portuguese sheep foreman Joe C. Mello (at wheel) with companions at the Pan-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, 1915. *Courtesy of John M. Gomes.*

converted a bunkhouse into a school and contracted a teacher to live on the ranch and teach his children.[31]

Interest in sheep among the Portuguese diminished along with the industry and with the growth of other rural economic opportunities in which they preferred to participate, such as dairying and fruit cultivation. But in its era, the sheep industry provided a popular path to social mobility for the Portuguese of the Atlantic islands.

See notes beginning on page 151.

Donald Warrin, professor emeritus, department of modern languages and literatures, California State University, Hayward, researches the history of Portuguese immigration to the western United States. He also has collected and written about the literature of Portuguese immigrants in the region. His collections of historical photographs related to Portuguese in the West have been exhibited both in the United States and Portugal.



Albert Einstein enjoyed tremendous popularity in America, undoubtedly because his exclusive genius was balanced by great humility, spunk, and *joie de vivre.* Friends in Santa Barbara took this photograph of the scientist on a bicycle ride on February 6, 1933. *Courtesy of the Archives, California Institute of Technology.*

Albert Einstein at Caltech

by Abraham Hoffman

In the summer of 1930 Albert Einstein at long last accepted an invitation from Dr. Robert A. Millikan, president of the California Institute of Technology, to come to his Pasadena university as a visiting professor.[1] Millikan's success marked the culmination of six years of effort to bring Einstein to the United States. Prior commitments, health problems, and a busy schedule had kept Einstein at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics in Berlin, but Millikan's persistence finally persuaded Einstein to make the trip.

Einstein had first met Millikan in 1921, not long after Einstein was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics. The German scientist was already well known among physicists for the publication in 1905 of his Special Theory of Relativity and his theories on the nature of light. In 1919 a British expedition headed by Sir Arthur Eddington provided evidence that light rays shift near the sun, validating Einstein's theory. The Nobel Prize made Einstein an international celebrity, the public at large taking the scientific community's word for it that Einstein's theories revolutionized the conception of the universe in the greatest demonstration of human scientific thought since Sir Isaac Newton figured out why the apple had fallen on him.

Millikan had asked Einstein to come to Caltech in 1925. The relatively new school had much to offer Einstein. Above Pasadena, at the summit of Mount Wilson, the 100-inch Hooker telescope, installed in 1917, was being used to great advantage by astronomer Edwin Hubble. Hubble's recent work revealed the immensity of the universe, the Milky Way galaxy being just one among thousands, perhaps millions, of galaxies. George Ellery Hale, the scientist who helped create the Mount Wilson Observatory, had been corresponding with Einstein since 1913 on ways to test the general relativity theory. In addition to these luminaries, Paul Epstein, Theodore von Karman, and Richard Tolman could all be found at Caltech, working in such fields as aerodynamics, cosmology, and theoretical physics.

Millikan made his offer as irresistible as possible. "What we should want you to do would not be to give any courses at all, unless you wished to do so," he wrote Einstein in 1924, "but merely to be one of the half a hundred men, all intensely interested in the latest developments in physics and astronomy . . . attending our seminar as [Paul] Ehrenfest did, three times a week, talking with the men when their own problems interest you, visiting the Mount Wilson observatory, and seeing the sort of problems upon which they are engaged, and, finally, getting into contact with the very large amount of magnetic results which have been accumulated by the Carnegie Institution in Baur's laboratory in Washington, and to some extent in our own laboratory where Dr. Barnett is working, all for the sake of stimulating us and incidentally yourself, toward new generalizations and interpretations of experimental results."[2]

Millikan himself was a prominent figure in the field of physics, having won a Nobel Prize in 1923. Lured west from the University of Chicago in 1921, Millikan quickly built a faculty that included some of the finest thinkers in the world. He also instituted a National Research Fellows program to attract physicists from other countries. Millikan frequently visited Europe to invite likely candidates for the Caltech faculty or as fellows. Einstein's coming to Caltech would represent a crowning achievement for Millikan's decade-long effort to make Caltech one of the most important centers for the study of physics.[3]

Einstein tentatively agreed to visit Caltech in 1925, but a prior commitment to visit South America exhausted him. Millikan continued his efforts to have Einstein accept a Caltech invitation, sweetening his offer by saying the trip would likely be at no expense to Einstein. In 1928 Einstein suffered a heart attack, ending for a time any question of his traveling to the United States. Millikan renewed the offer the next year, but Einstein's wife, Elsa, expressed concern that a visit to Pasadena would also mean invitations from New York, Chicago, and other cities that would be hard to ignore. "His state of health is very good," she wrote Millikan, "but he must take good care of himself at all times, as he was very ill last year."[4]

By 1930 the opportunity to work at Caltech and make use of the Mount Wilson telescope, to share ideas with some of the foremost physicists in the world, overcame other considerations. Arthur Fleming, chairman of the Caltech Board of Trustees, visited Einstein in Berlin. The bait on Fleming's hook was Richard C. Tolman, a theoretical physicist working at the Mount Wilson Observatory on the question of the nature and size of the universe. Einstein wanted to know if Tolman was a visiting professor or a member of the Caltech faculty. "I informed him that he was one of ours," Fleming recalled. Einstein, eager to discuss theory with Tolman and his colleagues, finally accepted the invitation without his previous reservations.[5]

On December 2, 1930, the Einsteins boarded the Belgian liner *Belgenland*, which arrived at New York two weeks later. The Einsteins found themselves the center of attention, the target of endless questions from pesky reporters. "Will you please define your theory of relativity in one sentence?" one reporter demanded. Einstein replied that even a short definition would take three days. Another reporter asked why Einstein had left his violin in Germany. "We are going to California by way of the Panama Canal," said Einstein. "I was afraid the damp, tropical climate might injure it." Another reporter, ignoring the fact that the *Belgenland* had barely docked in New York, asked, "Are you happy in America?" Einstein answered: "I will be very happy if I ever get to see it. Ever since you gentlemen have been crowding around me, I have been trying to catch a glimpse of the sky line through your shoulders." After fifteen minutes minutes Mrs. Einstein ended the interview. Einstein pleaded, "Even a cow can give only so much milk and you [reporters] have milked me dry." As Einstein escaped to his stateroom, two men, one a reporter begging for a comment from Einstein on pain of losing his job, managed to get into the room with him. The other man, an artist, began sketching Einstein's portrait. Einstein borrowed the reporter's fountain pen and signed the sketch, also writing a brief verse in German which in translation read "This fat, well-sated pig you see/Professor Einstein purports to be." After the men left, Einstein told his wife, "And I said I would give no interviews. I am afraid I shall not have a quiet vacation in New York."[6]

America was soon to find that in welcoming Einstein, the country was getting more than a Nobel prize-winning physicist. Einstein's persona included some decidedly nonscientific features. Politically he was a pacifist, and he lost no time in making the United States aware of his views on war and his hope that the nation would lead the way toward abandoning warfare. While still aboard the *Belgenland*, he broadcast a message in which he declared that America's "political and economic condition today is such that you will be able to destroy entirely the dreadful tradition of military violence."[7] Einstein also seemed to mix religion and politics in anomalous parts: he was a non-observant Jew who firmly supported Zionism, and he hated Germany, the land of his birth, so much that as a teenager he had renounced his German citizenship and was technically a citizen of Switzerland, a detail the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute had found convenient to ignore when hiring him. Millikan was aware of Einstein's unorthodox views but hoped to exercise control over any public statements Einstein would be asked to make.

Invitations to meet important public officials in New York were impossible to avoid. Einstein was welcomed by Mayor Jimmy Walker, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University. Visits to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Metropolitan Opera were ruined by the crowds of people who followed him. Unsolicited gifts poured in. A salmon canning company flew in a freshly caught salmon from Alaska. Armour and Company gave him a prize ham. Another meat packer, learning Einstein had left his violin in Germany, offered to lend him a Stradivarius.[8]

On December 16 the Einsteins continued on their trip, crossing to the Pacific through the Panama Canal. Committed to raising funds for the poor people in Berlin, Einstein tried to ward off annoying passengers by charging up to three dollars for his

A timely intercollegiate pageant, the 1931 Rose Parade virtually launched the Einsteins' social calendar in California. They spent their first New Year's Day in Pasadena with John and Lora Baer, and Arthur Fleming, above, privately watching the parade and then permitting members of the press to shoot this and other photos. *Los Angeles Examiner Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

ignature. They paid eagerly. Intrusive as it had een, the media attention in New York gave little varning of what awaited them in California. "From he moment his boat docked in San Diego on Decem- er 31, 1930, the reception accorded him by Califor- ians was one part show business, one part hero vorship, and one part genuine affection," science vriter Judith Goodstein has observed.[illegible]

The whirlwind of activities began immediately. Mr. and Mrs. Einstein had hardly arrived when they were invited to see the Tournament of Roses Parade on New Year's Day. Dr. John Willis Baer, vice-president of Security First National Bank, offered the Einsteins a view of the Rose Parade from the window of his private office at Colorado Boulevard and Marengo Avenue. Police motorcycles escorted them to the rear entrance of the bank building. Mrs. Einstein, Mrs. Baer, and Einstein settled in before a large window. Einstein lit up his pipe and watched the procession of floats. He took particular interest in the American Legion Drum and Bugle Corps and the Inglewood Boys' Band, and when the San Fernando High School Boys' Band passed under the window, Einstein rose from his seat for a better look. The Einsteins also enjoyed the float of the El Monte Boy Scouts, showing a scout taking moving pictures of a lion. Dr. Baer served orange juice and tea biscuits to his guests. Near the end of the parade, Einstein invited newspaper photographers into the room and agreed to let them photograph him as he watched the parade. This gesture helped disprove the image of Einstein as a remote figure afraid of the press. After the parade they returned to the Fleming home for lunch. Einstein did not attend the football game at the Rose Bowl. "This was one of the most delightful days I have experienced," he later said. Washington State lost to Alabama, 24-0.[10]

Millikan and his fellow physicists put Einstein on a frantic round of visits and meetings. One testimonial dinner or luncheon followed another, usually at Caltech's new Athenaeum building. At one dinner, Einstein paid tribute to Albert Michelson, a Caltech research associate who, said Einstein, had begun physics research when Einstein "was only a little youngster." The Einsteins had first met Michelson in 1921, when Michelson was at the Ryerson Laboratory conducting experiments on the size of the universe. At the time, Edna Michelson had given a luncheon for Elsa Einstein. Mrs. Einstein told the guests how she had suffered in New Jersey because of the "flying snakes" that had bitten her. The guests were puzzled about this but did not question Einstein's wife. "In some ways it was no less strange than the theory of relativity," said Michelson's daughter, "and that had to be accepted whether they liked it or not." When Edna at last asked Elsa, in German, if she really had been attacked by flying snakes, Elsa explained, *"Ach nein! Ich spreche von schnaken!* [I'm talking about mosquitoes!]" This and other memories were shared in a last visit by the Einsteins with Michelson in April. Michelson died on May 9, shortly after the Einsteins returned to Germany.[11]

At other meetings Einstein was guest of honor, and other people usually did the speaking. On January 19, Dr. Charles P. St. John, an astrophysicist at the Mount Wilson Observatory, declared that he supported Einstein's theory without qualification, rejec ing the view of Dutch physicist Willem de Sitter an expanding universe. The *Los Angeles Times* mad much of this statement, proclaiming "EINSTEI ACCLAIMED OVER RIVAL IN STARRY REALMS Actually, de Sitter and Einstein were hardly "rivals, and Einstein's main purpose in coming to Pasaden was to reconcile mathematical theory with observation. The story is told that when Elsa was informe that the Hooker telescope was needed to establis the structure of the universe, she answered, "Wel well, my husband does that on the back of an ol envelope." By February, after consultations wit Hubble, Einstein announced he had abandoned th idea of a closed spherical universe.[12]

From the time Einstein had been awarded th Nobel Prize he was an international celebrity, a status he always regarded with detached amusemen Then as now, it was possible to be famous just fo being famous. People who had absolutely no understanding of theoretical physics basked in Einstein' aura. Soon after arriving in Pasadena, Albert an Elsa, along with Helen Dukas, Einstein's secretar were invited to see a motion picture. Suddenly, in th middle of the film, the theater lights went on. woman came down the aisle and said to Einstei "My name is Mary Pickford. I am sorry to distur you but I wanted so much to shake your hand." Einstein, ever polite, shook Pickford's hand. Pickfor then returned to her seat, the lights went off, and th picture resumed. Helen Dukas heard Einstein ask hi wife, "Who is Mary Pickford?"[13]

Although Einstein's view of the universe did no include stars of Mary Pickford's magnitude, he di admire the films of Charlie Chaplin. Learning of this Chaplin telephoned Einstein and invited him and hi wife to dinner. He even sent a car to pick them up Albert and Elsa joined Chaplin and his latest girlfriend, Paulette Goddard, along with William Randolph Hearst and his mistress, Marion Davies. In th course of what must have been a most fascinatin evening, Chaplin invited the Einsteins to attend th world premiere of his newest film, *City Lights,* on January 30.

Chaplin personally picked up the Einsteins an took them to the Los Angeles Theater in downtow Los Angeles. It was Einstein's first and only experience at a motion picture premiere, complete with searchlights poking streams of light into the night sky and hundreds of screaming fans who shrieked at the arrival of each Hollywood luminary. Amazed at the sight, Einstein asked Chaplin what it all meant. Long used to the adulation, Chaplin answered "Nothing."[14]

Einstein, however, found the event rather disturbing. The crowd of movie fans became entirely too boisterous and had to be kept under control by police officers. This was not what Einstein had in mind when he accepted Millikan's invitation to come to Pasadena. Humorist Will Rogers exaggerated perhaps only slightly when he described Einstein's visit:

> The radios, the banquet tables and the weeklies will never be the same. He came here for a rest and seclusion. He ate with everybody, talked with everybody, posed for everybody that had any film left, attended every luncheon, every dinner, every movie opening, every marriage and two-thirds of the divorces. In fact, he made himself such a good fellow that nobody had the nerve to ask him what his theory was.[15]

Newspaper reporters assigned to cover Einstein were indeed challenged by the problem of simplifying Einstein's theories of the universe. If the main event seemed too formidable, however, they could always report on the side shows. Many of the articles they published included cartoons and drawings presenting Einstein as a "character" or a scientific magician. They could also interview Elsa Einstein, whose command of English was much better than her husband's. Elsa found herself answering such questions as what was it like being married to "the smartest man in the world." "FEW UNDERSTAND EINSTEIN BUT HE CAPTIVATES PUBLIC," ran one headline. "FRAU EINSTEIN INSPECTS THE DESERT," went another, as Elsa took a brief trip to he Mojave Desert. "EINSTEIN TO SEE STARS, HEAVEN AND HOLLYWOOD—Will View One Set with Telescope, Other at Close Range, May Compare Em," marked one reporter's effort to combine physics and Hollywood. The press covered Einstein's radio speeches, testimonial dinners, field trips, and his health (he caught a cold around January 16). When Einstein's home in Germany was burglarized, the headline "BURGLARS IN RAID ON EINSTEIN'S HOME" gave the impression that the crime had occurred in Pasadena.[16]

Despite the sometimes blunt questions that pressed him to provide answers to the meaning of life or whether science and religion were compatible, Einstein usually retained his sense of humor and humility. Shortly after arriving in Pasadena, the Einsteins saw a play presented by the Yale Puppeteers. *Mr. Noah* placed Einstein in the role of Noah, and instead of landing on Mount Ararat, the ark landed atop Mount Wilson. After the play, Einstein examined the marionette version of himself. He said it was "good, but not fat enough." He then wadded up a letter and stuffed it under the marionette's smock to fatten up the figure.[17]

Einstein's sense of humor notwithstanding, his views on pacifism and his opposition to war worried the politically conservative Millikan. While in New York, Einstein had given a speech in which he said that "Even if only two percent of those assigned to perform military service should announce their refusal to fight, governments would be powerless, they would not dare to send such a large number of people to jail." The statement provoked a storm of protest and even the making of buttons with "two percent" on them. On February 16 Einstein spoke to several hundred students at Caltech on the failure of mankind to make "sensible use" of applied science.[18]

Millikan wanted Einstein to refrain from making such statements lest potential donors to Caltech be offended. Einstein accepted Millikan's constraints without complaint. As the term ended, both men could agree that Einstein's first Caltech visit was an unqualified success.[19]

The Einsteins left Pasadena loaded down with such parting gifts as crates of oranges and grapefruit, Arizona Petrified Forest stones, Indian baskets and dresses, and rare cactus plants. Several violins were given as gifts, including one that Einstein refused because it was valued at $33,000. An admirer in England sent him a side of mutton. "Why should strangers do such things for me?" he marveled. They went by train to Chicago and New York. The War Resisters League hoped that Einstein might make a speech on its behalf, but Einstein's time was taken up by another of his nonscientific concerns—Zionism. Chaim Weizmann had asked him for help in raising funds for the American Palestine Campaign. Einstein spoke at a dinner at the Hotel Astor. Two weeks later he was back in Berlin.[20]

Einstein's two subsequent visits to Caltech

If journalists couldn't make "news" of Einstein's complex theory of the universe, they readily captured him in activities springing from the lighter side of his international fame. Here Einstein critiques a theatrical image of himself after a 1931 performance presented by the Yale Puppeteers. *Courtesy of the Archives, California Institute of Technology.*

received much less publicity than his first trip. On brief flap occurred when Einstein agreed to ask Governor Clement C. Young to reduce the life sentenc of Thomas Mooney, convicted for the 1916 San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing. Millikan wrote t Einstein, urging the scientist not to make any public comments on affairs about which his knowledg was inadequate. "Your service to the cause of scienc while you were in California was so great, and th respect and esteem in which you are rightly held b the thinking people of the country is so large, that want very much to see you protected from influence which tend to undermine that respect and weake that influence," said Millikan. Einstein replied tha his letter to Young had been a private one and tha it had not been his intention to see it published i the newspapers. "I understand that it can not be m affair to insist in a matter which only concerns th citizens of your country," he said. This did not prevent Mooney from sending another appeal to Einstein when the scientist returned to Pasadena.[21]

Millikan wanted Einstein to return to Pasadena fo the winter 1932 term, but a problem developed tha might have become extremely embarrassing ha they not handled it as delicately as they did. Caltec trustee Arthur Fleming seemed unaware, or refuse to accept, that the 1929 stock market crash had seriously depleted his fortune. Acting on his own, h promised Einstein $25,000 and a permanent appointment at Caltech. Einstein, who was always vagu about money anyway, considered the sum excessiv and proposed that it be reduced to $20,000. Whe these negotiations came to the attention of the Boar of Trustees, its members decided that it would be ver awkward to go back on the amount offered. Fleming insisted he could guarantee it, but other trustees aware of Fleming's financial condition, doubted it Professor A. A. Noyes reported to George Ellery Hal that Fleming had been making some odd decision without consulting the other trustees. He had, fo example, ordered a rare species of tree for $675 (Noyes persuaded Fleming to postpone its delivery). More serious was Fleming's promise to industrial chemist Alexander Classen of a large sum of money to build a plant that would convert sawdust into glucose. Noyes argued that such ideas made no sense and that in any event Fleming lacked the funds to build the plant. The only reason Noyes found out about these actions was that Fleming was also invitng Classen, who was 87 years old, to be a research ssociate at Caltech—an idea that Noyes objected to o strenuously that Fleming withdrew it.[22]

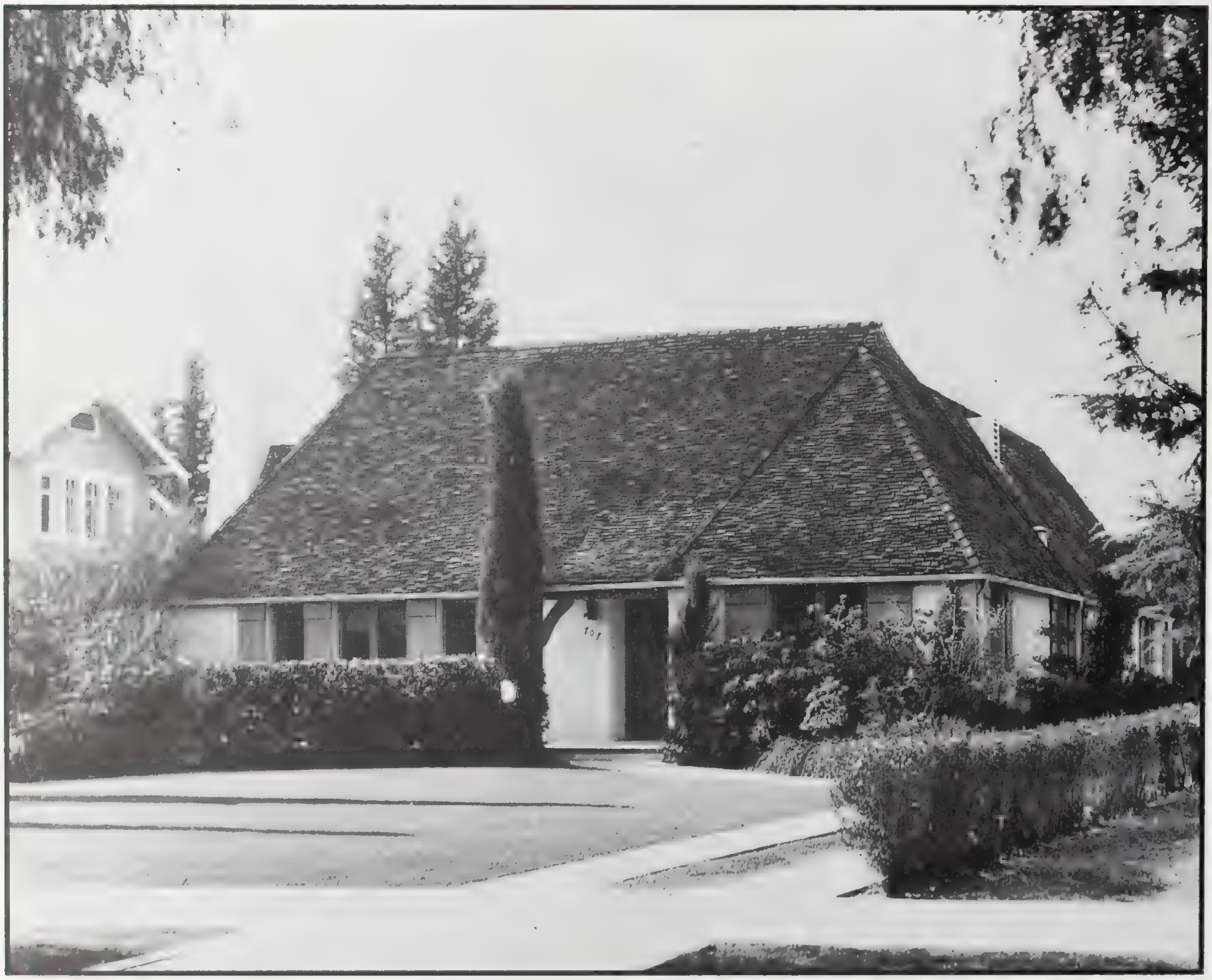
It was left to Millikan to do the fence-mending vith Einstein. He visited Einstein in Germany and s diplomatically as possible reminded him that in n earlier discussion the figure of $7,000 for his nnual visit to Pasadena had been proposed "as a dignified and suitable one for such a service as Professor Einstein would there render," and a larger sum vould be negotiable. Einstein replied by suggesting hat he might remain in Europe after all. Millikan sent a contract anyway, and by mid-November 1931 Einstein committed to another winter session at Caltech.[23]

The Einsteins arrived at the end of December 1931 to considerably less media attention than the first visit, much to Einstein's relief. "Those who fraternized with him last year were charmed by the simplicity of his genius when transferred from the head to the heart," said the *Los Angeles Times* in an editorial greeting. "Like all truly big thinkers he shunned ostentation and parade and delighted in the unaffected good fellowship that makes the whole world kin."[24]

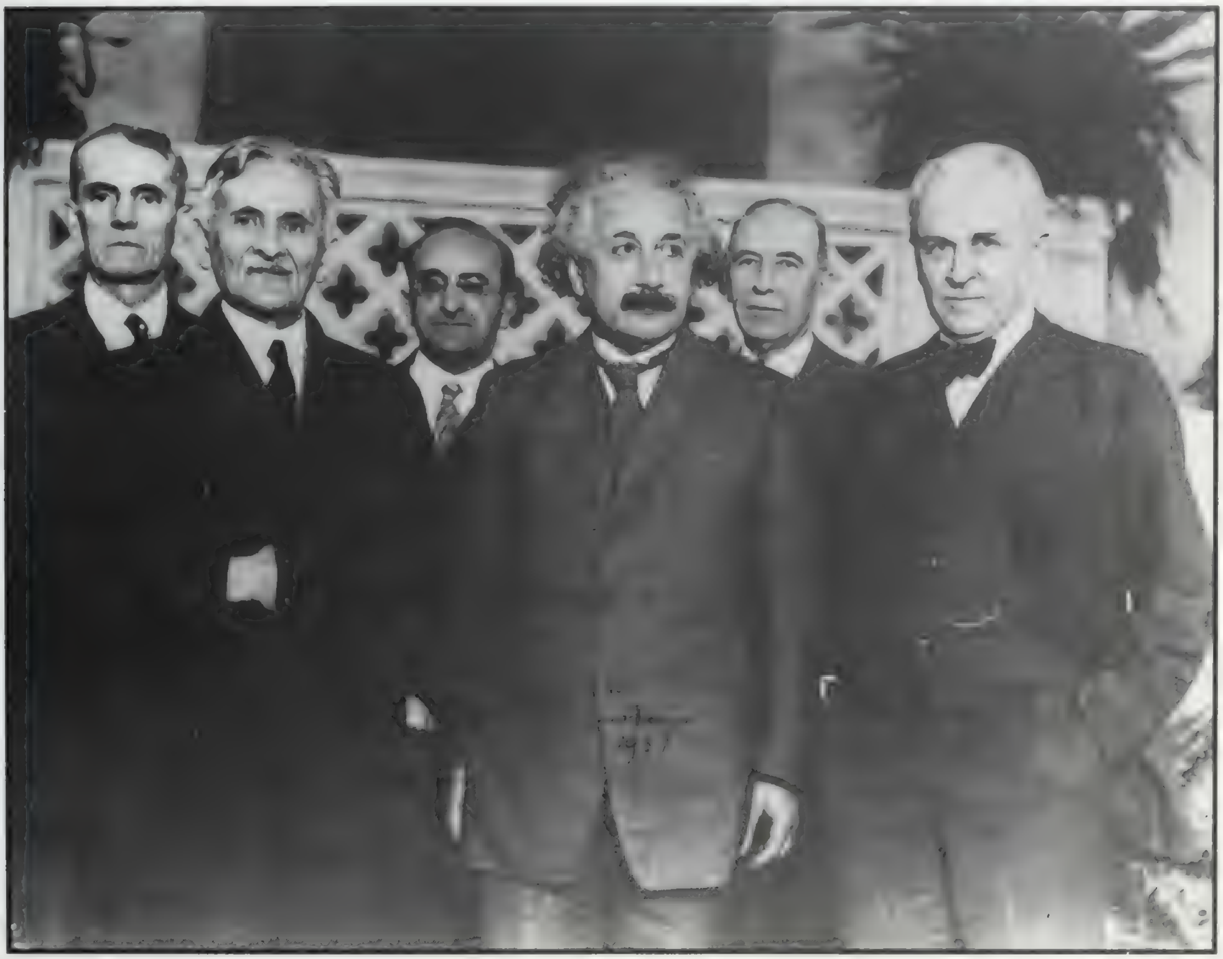
Einstein at the Mount Wilson Observatory in January 1931. From the far left are Walther Mayer, mathematics assistant to Einstein, and astrophysicist Charles E. St. John. *Courtesy of the [illegible] California Institute of Technology*

Albert and Elsa did not exactly shun the 1932 Rose Parade; they were enchanted by Glendale's float, which recreated Germany's black forest: a hut made of roses, snow from chrysanthemum petals. Asked about the real Black Forest, Einstein modestly commented that "One should be a poet to describe it adequately, and I am no poet!"[25]

Elsa had intended to return to the residence at 707 South Oakland, where they had lived on the first visit, but Caltech made a much nicer offer: rent-fre at the Athenaeun in a guest suite. The Athenaeun a private faculty club and residence, provided be ter protection against unwanted callers. Field trip again sparked public attention. On a visit to Pal Springs, Einstein asked to join the hotel's string tri as it played for hotel guests. They played the mus of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and Handel at th impromptu jam session. On February 23 Albert an



While at Caltech in 1931, the Einsteins lived in this house on south Oakland Street. *Los Angeles Examiner Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*



Influenced by the investigations of Caltech professors Richard Tolman and Edwin Hubble, Einstein's theory of the universe was profoundly changed during his visit to Caltech. The implication secured Caltech's reputation as a world-class scientific institute, one that would stand at the forefront of aero- and outer-space exploration and research in future decades. In this 1931 photograph, taken in front of the Athenaeum, Einstein and Robert Millikan (right) pose with colleagues. *Courtesy of the Archives, California Institute of Technology.*

lsa visited the 22nd National Orange Show and tole the spotlight from the entertainers and Los ngeles Olympic stars. The orchestra struck up The Drinking Song" from the operetta *The Student rince,* by Franz Lehar, which Einstein acknowl-dged with a smile and a wave of his hand. Einstein marked on the wonder of California producing such golden fruit in the middle of winter." Before aving his hotel, he was given a box of prize-wining oranges.[26]

Einstein also appeared at the usual scientific meetings. He spoke on "The Geometric Interpretation of the Gravitational and Electric Field" at UCLA on February 16, speaking in German with his colleague Professor Tolman translating afterward. He also appeared as the honored guest at the Hebrew Sheltering Home for the Aged in Boyle Heights on February 28, marking the planting of the Einstein tree grove in Palestine. Millikan once again urged Einstein not to make public statements that might be

Elsa Einstein, here with Albert in Palm Springs, 1931, made it her duty to protect not only her husband's health but his privacy as well, restricting others' access to him. This seeming possessiveness freed him from distractions that might otherwise have prevented him from doing research. *Los Angeles Examiner Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

politically embarrassing, and for the most part Einstein abided by his wishes.[27]

Einstein's appearance at Whittier High School, however, provoked renewed controversy over his pacifist views. Although sponsored by the Whittier Council of Churches, Whittier College, the local Rotary Club, and other organizations, Einstein' speech, arguing for world disarmament throug economic agreements and surrender of national sovereignty, left him and, by extension, Caltech, vulnerable to critical attack. Amos A. Fries, a civi engineer and retired army general, angrily assaile

Einstein as a stooge for communism, "just as much an enemy of this country as Benedict Arnold." Millikan found himself awkwardly pleading that Einstein might have been misquoted. Einstein was "an exceedingly straightforward, honest, and child-like sort," too trusting of those who would use his name for their own advantage.[28]

On March 3 the Einsteins departed for Germany with the understanding that they would return for the winter 1933 term. During that spring and summer, they engaged in correspondence with Millikan to explore the financial arrangement for their return the following year. They also continued communicating with Abraham Flexner of Princeton University. By far the best proposal for a secure future for Einstein came from Flexner. He had been named director of the new Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. It was funded in the main by philanthropists Lewis Bamberger and his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld, who had donated $5 million for the creation of an institute that would provide a haven for outstanding scholars who would have no formal duties.

Flexner met with Millikan in the spring of 1932 to discuss implementation of the institute. While in Pasadena he also met with Einstein and discussed the institute in general terms. Eager to bring Einstein to the new institute, Flexner next met the physicist at Oxford, where Einstein had gone as a visiting professor. Concerned over the deteriorating political situation in Germany, Einstein asked Flexner if a position could be found at Princeton for his assistant, Walther Mayer.

Millikan, of course, also hoped Einstein would consider accepting a longer appointment at Caltech, beginning in 1933. But as of June 7, the best he could come up with was the offer for the Einsteins to return to Caltech in January 1933 for the winter term. Einstein asked Millikan too about creating a place for Mayer, should he and Elsa return to Caltech. However, financial setbacks in the Fleming Trust Fund meant that Caltech was in no position to offer a regular appointment to Mayer, and in fact Millikan said nothing about Mayer in his June 7 letter.

Financial support for Einstein's third Caltech visit would come from an outside source, the Oberlaender Trust of Philadelphia, an organization created to promote positive relations between the United States and Germany.[29] The trust voted to pay $1,000 for Einstein's expenses on the condition that he make a radio broadcast promoting German-American relations. As much a conservative as Einstein was a pacifist, Millikan had no desire to let Einstein make controversial announcements or speeches before suspicious organizations. Since the trust was an above-board organization, however, Millikan had no problem accepting the funding and asking Einstein to make a speech.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1932, Abraham Flexner met Einstein a third time at his home in Germany. Now Einstein was enthusiastic about going to Princeton, the more so since Flexner could offer a position for Mayer. Demonstrating his commitment to the appointment, Einstein even suggested a salary for himself of only $3,000. Flexner assured him that someone of his stature would receive more than that—and Einstein, or rather Mrs. Einstein, who handled the bookkeeping, accepted $15,000.

With their plans for the next year coming together as they hoped, Elsa Einstein wrote Millikan on June 22 announcing what in effect was a *fait accompli,* although at that time the Princeton offer was not quite a permanent position. She explained that Albert's decision to affiliate with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton was based on his need for Mayer's assistance and Flexner's assent in getting a post for Mayer. "I know how many beautiful and enjoyable things were ours in Pasadena. We shall never forget it," said Elsa. "But Albert has felt it as a burden that he did not see any possibility to take care of Mayer. And he was so relieved when this care was taken from him." Elsa noted that she hoped that her husband's decision would not result in Caltech's canceling the 1933 winter visit.

A few days later Einstein himself wrote a letter to Millikan explaining his decision. "It was not easy for me to make the decision," he said, "for the connection with you and both institutes in Pasadena has become very meaningful." But Mayer's assistance was "so important to me that I believe I must suppress all of my other considerations."[30]

At this point Millikan must have realized that he had lost Einstein to Princeton. In July he wrote to Flexner, asking plaintively, "But isn't there the possibility of doing what you have in mind without pulling Dr. Einstein entirely away from his association with the California Institute?" Perhaps Einstein could divide his year between Princeton and

Pasadena, even if only for a six-week visit to the California campus.[32]

Flexner quickly answered Millikan's letter with a detailed explanation of his meetings with Einstein in obtaining Einstein's views on the creation of the Institute for Advanced Study. From these meetings had grown the possibility that Einstein would consider a permanent appointment at Princeton. Flexner noted that it was unfortunate "that a man of Professor Einstein's eminence was still at his time of life in an uncertain position from year to year" and that even now Caltech could not finance Einstein's needs, especially in the question of employment for Walther Mayer. "Looking at the entire matter from Professor Einstein's point of view," said Flexner, I believe that you and all his friends will rejoice that it has been possible to create for him a permanent post."[33]

In August Millikan assured the Einsteins that despite whatever decision Albert would make about the future, they would be welcome at the winter 1933 session. Thus the following year the Einsteins returned for their last season at Pasadena, funded by the Oberlaender Trust.[34] Einstein honored the agreement he had discussed with Millikan the previous summer: he would make the radio broadcast about German-American relations. The Athenaeum put on a full-dress dinner before a group of distinguished guests; following the dinner Einstein spoke on "On German-American Agreement."[35]

That visit to Pasadena, Einstein's last, literally ended with an earthshaking event, and, somewhat typically, an Einsteinian story emerged from it. On March 10, 1933, Einstein attended a physics seminar. Later in the day he walked across the campus with Beno Gutenberg, professor of seismology. They discussed Gutenberg's earthquake studies and became so engrossed in their conversation they never felt the great Long Beach earthquake when it struck at 5:54 P.M.![36]

Albert and Elsa Einstein came to realize during this idyll in Pasadena that they could not return to Germany. Adolf Hitler had become chancellor at the end of January, and repressions against Germany's Jews had already begun. The Nazis attacked Einstein's theories as "Jewish physics," and the scientist knew, as his biographer Ronald Clark put it, that he was on "a short list of Germany's leading intellectuals, academics, and artists." Before leaving Pasadena, Einstein announced that "As long as I have any choice in the matter, I shall live only in a countr where civil liberty, tolerance, and equality of all cit izens before the law prevail. Civil liberty implies free dom to express one's political convictions, in speec and in writing; tolerance implies respect for the con victions of others whatever they may be. These con ditions do not exist in Germany at the presen time."[37]

The Einsteins left Pasadena on March 11, Alber taking time to attend pacifist meetings in Chicag and New York. They knew they would not be returning to Germany. Instead, they went to Belgium where, because the arrangement with Princeton ha not yet been finally settled, they spent several month continuing to weigh their options.

Einstein's biographers have debated the degre of manipulation by which Flexner recruite Einstein for Princeton. Ronald Clark notes tha had Einstein been aware of Flexner's undercuttin of Caltech, he would have been as dissatisfied as h may have been when Caltech backed away fron Fleming's overgenerous offer. But Clark also concedes that Einstein was fully capable of measurin which was the better offer, and in that regard ther was no contest.[38]

Einstein, of course, was not a passive player i determining his own future. He may have cultivate the image of detachment from worldly affairs, bu he saw more clearly than most people in the Germa Jewish community which way the Nazis wer headed. Technically he was not a refugee in th summer of 1933. He had offers from a number of universities, as well as naturalized citizenship fron Great Britain. He had taught or done research in th United States, Great Britain, Belgium, and Switzerland, and spent time in France, Japan, Argentina Brazil, and Uruguay. But in 1933, at age 54, the lif of an academic gypsy no longer had much appeal and Germany offered him no future. Albert and Elsa—especially Elsa in the financial area—decided to accept what developed into a full-time, permanent position at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, along with the employment of his valued assistant, Walther Mayer. This was far better than the year-by-year offer from a California school that had fallen on hard financial times. Einstein remained associated with Princeton until his death in 1955.

The Einsteins never returned to Germany, and they

At the conclusion of their first trip to California, in late February 1931, the Einsteins left Pasadena by train for the East Coast. From there they would sail for Germany. *Los Angeles Examiner Collection, Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

ever returned to Pasadena. Yet Einstein's farewell) Millikan in the spring of 1933 was characteristi- ally humble. "You were indescribably good to us ı spite of the fact that you endured several annoy- ng situations and many inconveniences because of s," said Einstein. "You spoke so kindly about me . . that just ten percent of what you said would be neaningful recognition of my life's work. Is it really vorthy of recognition if one continually does what ne loves and simultaneously has good fortune?"

See notes beginning on page [illegible]

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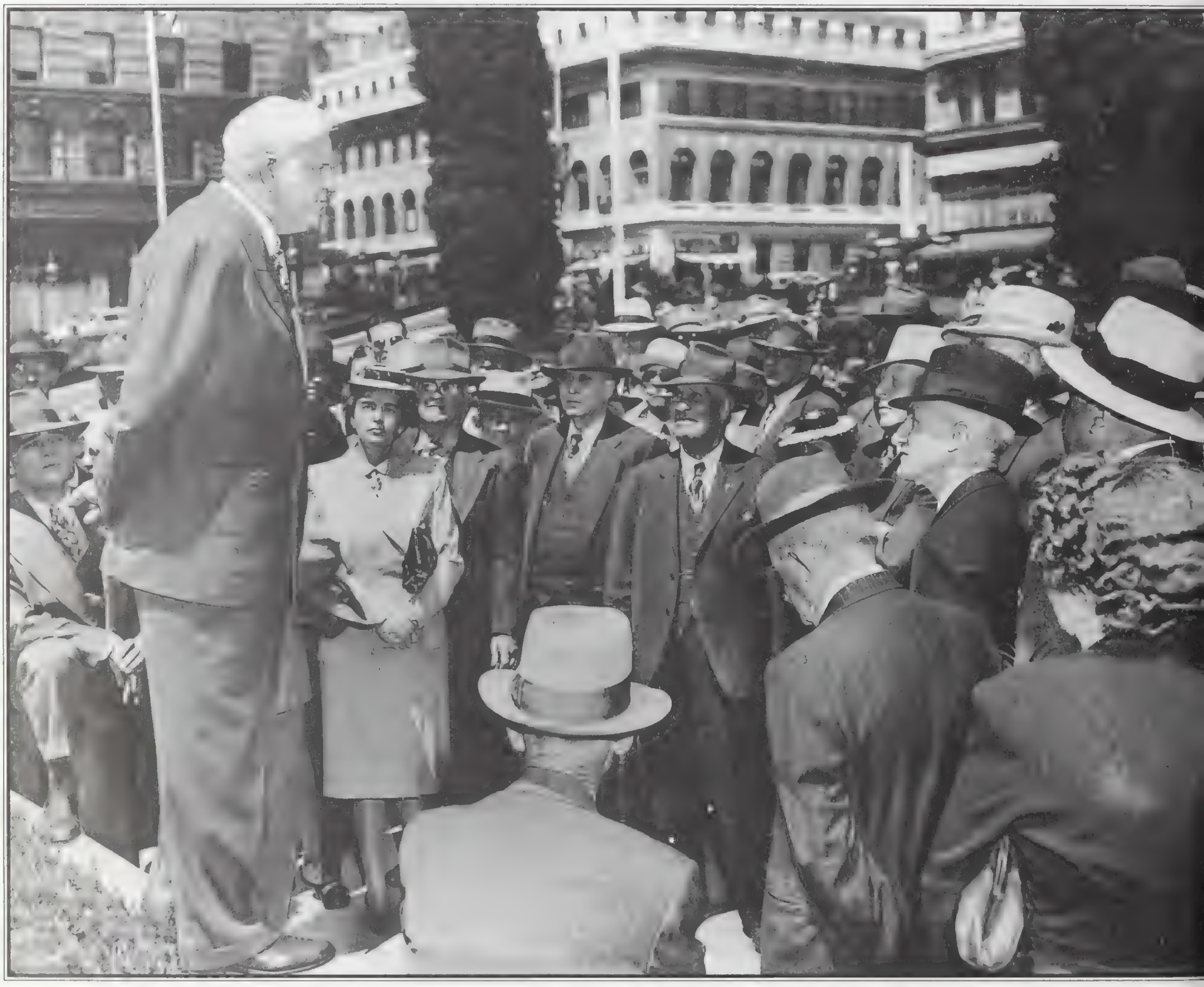


Mayor Roger D. Lapham, at San Francisco's Union Square. Lapham's energetic campaign for the proposition to purchase the Market Street Railway is illustrated by this impromptu speech in May of 1944. *Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

Mayor Roger D. Lapham, the Recall Election of 1946, and Neighborhood Voting in San Francisco, 1938–1952

by Dennis P. Kelly

In November 1943, a prominent member of San Francisco's commercial and professional elite, Roger D. Lapham, was elected mayor when he attracted 42 percent of the vote in a four-man race. Lapham's victory was especially impressive considering that all three of his opponents were politically formidable. One, Angelo J. Rossi, had been the incumbent mayor for the previous twelve years; another, George R. Reilly, was a prominent Irish Catholic politician in a city with numerous Irish Catholic voters; and the third, Chester MacPhee, was a young city supervisor who was to enjoy a quarter-century of political prominence in San Francisco before a scandal in 1959 ended that career. Yet in July 1946, only two and a half years into his term of four years, Lapham was the target of a recall movement that jeopardized his mayoralty.[1]

Few circumstances in the summer of 1946 indicated that a respectable, much less a successful, vote to recall Lapham was possible. First, none of the recall leaders justified the effort by accusing Lapham of overseeing a corrupt administration. No charges of financial or criminal wrongdoing of any ype were ever leveled at him or members of his administration.[2] Second, his term was more than half over by July of 1946 and he had given no sign of abandoning his 1943 campaign promise to serve only one term. Third, voters in the special recall election had no knowledge of who his successor would be, and, finally, the recall movement lacked politically credible leadership and had not gathered any endorsements from established downtown or neighborhood-based associations; indeed, several such associations and virtually every political and civic notable in San Francisco condemned the effort as an abuse of the recall mechanism.[3] As the election urned out, Lapham was indeed retained in office when 59 percent of the voters rejected recall. Nevertheless, 41 percent of the electorate, rather a sizable minority, voted to dismiss him from the mayoralty forthwith.

Why, under the circumstances, was the opposition to Lapham even that strong? What, moreover, accounts for the considerable geographical variation in the support for recall? Why were some neighborhoods adamant in retaining Lapham in office while others were equally determined to force his ouster? Was the recall vote caused by the unique policies of just one mayor, or was it yet another instance of a pattern of electoral alignment visible in other elections as well? And, if the latter, how did the social circumstances of the electorate with regard to the distribution of wealth, educational accomplishments, and access to political power relate to the results of the recall and other elections? In pursuing answers to these questions, Lapham's business career and his performance as mayor are reviewed before presenting the recall vote within the context of previous San Francisco electoral history.

PATRICIAN BUSINESSMAN

Roger D. Lapham came from a privileged background. He graduated from Harvard College in 1905, and his emergence in the 1930s as chairman of the Board of Directors and major stockholder in the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, one of the three major cargo-shipping businesses on the Pacific Coast, was facilitated by his father's ownership of the company.[4] As his career evolved, however, it is clear from the perspective of a half-century that he was a very capable businessman whose accomplishments were not attributable merely to an advantageous early start.

Lapham first became publicly prominent in San Francisco as a spokesman for shipping management during the maritime strikes of the 1930s. He was by then president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, which had been the major institutional catalyst to the formation of the Waterfront Employers' Association during the 1920s. Hostile to the efforts of longshoremen and sailors to reform waterfront working conditions, Lapham himself devised the provocative suspension strategy of 1935. Under this scheme, waterfront employers "suspended" relations with the newly recognized International Longshoremen's Association leaders if they refused to repudiate unauthorized job actions. The plan was designed to drive a wedge between union leaders and a restive rank and file.[5] Also indulging in "red-baiting," Lapham labeled the leaders of the spring 1934 longshoremen's walkout "out and out Communists," and he characterized Harry Bridges's efforts to form a west coast association of maritime unions as the fulfillment of a prediction made at the "Internationale Communist meeting in Moscow" in 1935. Further, Lapham exploited Bridges's Australian nationality to urge deportation proceedings and thus to rid the San Francisco waterfront of a resourceful labor leader.[6]

Lapham's activities on behalf of employers then reached beyond the San Francisco waterfront. In the late 1930s he was instrumental in the formation of various employer associations in other industries, culminating in the foundation of a citywide San Francisco Employers' Council. The council aimed to act as a federated employer agency in collective bargaining with unions in a chimerical pursuit of labor-management "peace." By 1941, Lapham's management perspective was appreciated even in Washington when President Roosevelt appointed him as an industry member of the National Defense Mediation and the War Labor boards, as well as the Businessmen's Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce.[7]

Lapham's remarkably successful business career, then, was conducted at the highest levels of the political and economic structures of San Francisco and the United States. His management of an international shipping company, his appointments to federal boards, and his efforts to organize an industry-wide response to industry-wide labor unions evidence his cosmopolitan perspective. Although he had resided in San Francisco since the 1920s, his entire career took place within regional, national, and international institutions and networks that ranged across any number of local communities. His social life likewise revealed his cosmopolitan associations: he entertained national political and business figures at his home in San Francisco, his passion for golf le him to involvement in the national United States Gol Association concerned with the technical standard of golfing, and his social life and business connections intersected at the exclusive Pacific Union Club frequented by several other presidents and director of prestigious California and San Francisco institutions.[8]

The crucial circumstance of his election campaig is that by 1943, when he ran for mayor of San Francisco, Lapham had no history of involvement wit local or neighborhood institutions. He had no presided over any neighborhood improvement association, had not been active in any neighborhood-based social club, and had no known regula religious involvement with a local church. Furthermore, he had not previously held elective office no had he served even a brief political apprenticeshi as a party committeeman or member of any blue-ribbon or standing city commission. In short, Lapham' business and social life was rooted in regional, state and national institutions and not in local institution unique to San Francisco.[9] Later, as mayor, several o Lapham's early appointments reflected his preference for men with similar citywide and state affiliations. For examples, Charles R. Page, president o Firemen's Fund, one of the city's largest insuranc companies, was appointed a fire commissioner. Jer Sullivan, an officer of the Crocker Bank, one of th city's largest, and later a member of the business-oriented San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewa Association, which instigated the BART railway system, was appointed to the Police Commission Adrian J. Falk, president of the city's Chamber o Commerce, was appointed to chair Lapham's postwar planning committee—designed to bypass th more neighborhood-oriented Board of Supervisors—as well as to the Board of Education.

Hence, Lapham's mayoral campaign preferred t portray his lack of involvement in the city's socia and political life as proof that he was not beholde to any special interest or faction. He ran as a "non-political" candidate committed to "business-lik government" in the interests of the entire populatio of the city. The anti-political thrust of Lapham' mayoral campaign aimed to blur the difference between San Franciscans that had been the mainstay of municipal politics. "It is my idea to have al groups, all sections, all ranks . . . working togethe for San Francisco," he claimed. Accordingly, he too pride in his "non-partisan" campaign because i included "Republicans and Democrats, management and labor, both sides of Market Street [and] me and women of all faiths."[10]

As the recall vote in July of 1946 was to show, however, support for Lapham's policies fell considerably short of unanimity. Further, his campaign language harkened back to anti-party Progressive rhetoric and was an updated expression of his longstanding disdain of professional politicians.[11] By pledging to serve but one term, Lapham intended thereby to purge "politics" from his mayoralty. No one would be able to accuse him of making policy in order to perpetuate an everlasting mayoralty or to bolster a political machine.

Although Lapham presented himself as strictly civic-minded and without ambition for higher office in 1943, his previous activity on behalf of shipping management had imbued him with a quite different public persona. Forthright and outspoken, he had been indelibly identified with dockside management in the 1930s; he thus brought a familiar reputation to the mayoralty campaign despite his lack of previous political experience. In the campaign itself, moreover, by reiterating the need for "employer unity" in a "community where organized labor is strong," he may have led voters sympathetic to the longshoremen and teamsters to regard his pledge to govern for the benefit of "all" San Franciscans with skepticism.[12] The San Francisco CIO Council certainly had no doubts; it reminded the electorate of his labor record and characterized Lapham as "the leader of the Industrial Association, the proponent of bitter strike-breaking methods . . . the instigator of the persecution of Harry Bridges, [and] the leader of anti-union elements up and down the [Pacific] coast."[13]

Yet Lapham's anti-political and pro-management orientation may have rather appealed to other voters who were weary of the twelve-year tenure of Rossi and who were troubled by the political and economic power of organized labor.[14] The general strike of 1934 that had shut down the entire city for four days had occurred only nine years earlier and was likely on the minds of many voters. Despite the lack of traditional, locally oriented political credentials, Lapham nevertheless won the mayoralty with a plurality in a four-man race on the basis of his notoriety developed in the 1930s.

The Patrician as Technocrat

Two major political themes recurrent throughout he Lapham administration of 1944 to 1948 were evident by July 1946, when the recall election occurred. The first originated in Lapham's conception of San Francisco as a major node in a national and internaional political and economic network. San Francisco city government, he believed, should function as an active catalyst of post-war economic growth and downtown revitalization so as to position the city "as a great metropolitan center [and] the gateway to all lands and peoples of the great Pacific basin."[15]

The centerpiece of Lapham's modernization proposals was his plan for intra-city transportation. Although he recommended construction of a subway system in late 1944, the focus of his early attention as mayor was on the city's surface trolley-car systems. San Francisco's economic growth was stifled, Lapham maintained, by the traffic congestion generated by the competition of the private Market Street Railway with the city-owned municipal railway. In essence, Lapham's argument for consolidation of these railways rested on the grounds of technical efficiency: different fares charged by the two railways produced different traffic loads on the same major thoroughfare. This differential was an inherently inefficient use of scarce roadway space required to link the downtown business district offices with the outlying western and southern residential districts.

Congenial James "Sunny Jim" Rolph, Jr., San Francisco mayor from 1911 to 1930 (right), poses with three-term Mayor Angelo J. Rossi, who lost his reelection bid to Lapham in 1943. Rolph had tried—as Lapham would, too—to gain city ownership of the street railway system. *Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

State
ACADEMY AWARDS
9

Mayor Lapham envisioned po war San Francisco as an intern tional hub, with a transportati infrastructure to match. One o goals was to purchase the privately-owned Market Stree Railway and incorporate it int larger Municipal Railway syst The competitive trolley lines o Market Street, shown here in a photograph, created confusion congestion in the heart of the c In 1945, the two systems merg *Courtesy History Room, San Fra Public Library.*

Consolidation of the two systems through the municipal purchase of the private railway was Lapham's proposed solution.[16] Liability for the purchase price of the railway, however, was not to be borne by real-estate taxpayers; instead, profits of the new system were to be dedicated to the purpose. Shifting the financial burden away from the general fund annually replenished by taxpayers, primarily owners of real estate, was a crucial cornerstone of the campaign to gather sufficient electoral support for the purchase. Certainly Lapham stressed this point in his energetic campaign in the spring of 1944 for the requisite city charter amendment to buy the private railway. Lapham's larger message was that popular city services had to be self-sustaining. Costs of railway modernization were to be generated by the users of the facility, not by taxation of the real-estate property-owning population of the city.

The mayor's insistence that the municipal railway be self-financing was to underlie a major complaint of the recall leaders two years later. By early 1946, when the decayed rolling stock of the formerly private Market Street Railway required replacement, Lapham and the city's Public Utilities Commission urged a 21- to 42-percent increase in carfare on the grounds that the service had to be self-sustaining The raise was vigorously opposed by the local Office of Price Administration and the CIO Council, and i directly fueled the recall movement in the spring o 1946.

Consolidation of the surface railways and construction of a subway system were not the only components of Lapham's plan to modernize San Francisco, generate full post-war employment, and revitalize its downtown. Lapham also promoted the city as the premier west-coast air cargo shipping point and embarked on yet another tireless electoral campaign in the fall of 1945, this time in support o public bond financing for the expansion of the San Francisco airport. Again, though, no frivolous expenditure of taxpayer funds was contemplated. The bond issue was, he maintained, "a plain business proposition to spend money to make money. If San Francisco is to be the world center we expect her to be we must provide facilities to keep pace with the development of the airplane."[17] Airports, railways, and subways were only the largest and most visible components of San Francisco's modernization. Mas-ive public works projects to repair deteriorated hysical facilities ranging from sewers through ibraries to courthouses were also needed.[18]

Throughout his mayoralty, Lapham continuously verred that all citizens of San Francisco had a vital nterest in the post-war revitalization of the city, an nterest that surely superseded mere neighborhood-riented matters that only generated parochial political squabbling. Even in July 1946, when he was onfronted with the recall effort, Lapham continued o inveigh against the "rampant politics by and for oliticians" who wanted him to "trade patronage for olitical favor."[19]

Lapham did not often focus on neighborhood priorities or the distribution of local patronage and nunicipal services to balance social and geographial interests in the city. Instead, he downplayed parisan, class, neighborhood, and even religious oncerns to advance a quite different, but no less olitical, agenda centering around the physical and conomic revitalization of the entire city. Toward that nd, he bypassed the traditional role of the Board of upervisors in determining exactly which projects vould be scheduled and instead favored a mayorppointed committee headed, not surprisingly, by the resident of the city's Chamber of Commerce. Postvar planning and urban revitalization, then, could ccur without the direct participation of the neighorhood-oriented supervisors who were "subject to o much political pressure."[20] Potential opponents the program were threatened when they could not e cajoled. For example, in 1945, when the newly-conolidated railway carmen's union was unable to gree on the priority of seniority rights among the nembers of formerly separate unions, the impasse ompromised the benefits of Lapham's railway plan nd thus led Lapham to issue a veiled threat to evoke the carmen's civil service privileges.[21]

The Mayor Versus the Unions

The second major theme of the Lapham mayralty originated in his management background in ne private sector. Lapham in the late 1930s had rged that unless the employers in a particular ndustry united to combat union organization, they ould constantly be vulnerable to union "bullying," hereby "one employer has been played off against nother in collective bargaining negotiations." The Vagner Act of 1935 certainly was of no help to mployers; it involved the government on the side f labor and hampered the efforts of employers to chieve "stabilized labor relations." By stabilization, apham meant a flow of production work uninterrupted by strikes.[22] Lapham brought to city government an aversion to strikes, wherever they occurred under whatever rationales, as disruptive to the economy or the war effort or the city's modernization. While he never overtly opposed unions in principle, he routinely objected to their use of the strike, that is, their most effective weapon.

Adrian J. Falk, right, confers with Mayor Roger Lapham, 1945. Falk, a notable business figure, had been president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. The mayor appointed him to the board of education and to the post-war urban planning committee, which Falk chaired. *Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

Several of Lapham's political stances illustrate his antipathy toward organized labor. Although he urged a "no" vote on state Proposition 12 of 1944, a "right-to-work" measure aimed at weakening the union shop, he carefully declined comment on the "merits of the measure per se." If passed, the proposition might stir unions to abandon the "no strike, no lockout" agreement in force during World War II; Lapham feared the proposition's potentially disruptive effect on the war effort.[23]

A clearer indication of Lapham's anti-labor orientation was his February 1945 veto of the Board of Supervisors' resolution urging President Roosevelt to invalidate the order to deport Harry Bridges to Australia. Lapham deemed the resolution in opposition as inappropriately "interfering with govern-

Because Roger Lapham had been notably pro-management during the 1934 longshoremen's strike, his continued aversion to work stoppages as mayor may have won him the anti-recall votes of those who feared a repeat of the citywide strike of 1934. This 1934 strike photo shows ferry commuters on Market Street hiking to their jobs because streetcars had been halted. Anticipating that ferry workers might strike next, leaving them stranded in the city, some commuters carried small suitcases with them. *Courtesy Hearst Newspaper Collection, Special Collections, USC Library.*

ment agency action."[24] Still another pro-labor supervisors' resolution met with a mayoral veto in 1945, this one in support of merchant seamen's efforts to raise their minimum hourly wage. Lapham maintained that the Board of Supervisors "was wasting its time and efforts on [federal War Labor Board] matters in which they have no concern and which in no case can be fairly judged by hearing only one party in the dispute."[25]

Lapham's coolness to labor went beyond political postures; as mayor he acted several times to limit salary increases for municipal workers despite wartime inflation. In March 1944, he threatened to veto selected salary increases proposed by the Board of Supervisors, including a 7.5-cents-an-hour raise (up from 92.5 cents) for Municipal Railway carmen. Lapham argued that the raise undermined the wage "stability" the War Labor Board had achieved b authorizing parity for the private railway carme with the wages received by municipal carmen. compromise raise of 5 cents an hour, however, wa passed over Lapham's veto.[26]

Lapham again opposed wage increases for carme in the spring of 1946. The Board of Supervisors i March had passed a salary standardization ordi nance over yet another Lapham veto, setting the ca men's maximum hourly wage at $1.10 and the bu drivers' at $1.15. In June, however, the Municipa Railway Union declared these raises inadequate an called on the city to raise hourly wages to $1.25 an $1.30. Lapham refused to bargain directly, citing th city charter: salary schedules for the upcoming fis cal year of 1946-47 were already legally established No change was possible before July 1947, and th nion, said Lapham, was simply "out of luck." More- ver, since this demand did not reflect a valid emer- gency, but, rather, a "man-made" emergency in his iew, Lapham could not legally release any contin- gency funds for higher wages. Predictably, Lapham agged the strike that ensued as "against law and rder." Nevertheless, he was not entirely intransi- gent; he encouraged negotiations with the goal of ubmitting charter revisions that would allow greater lexibility in adjusting municipal salaries to the vot- rs in November 1946.[27]

The Improbable Recall Campaign

By the spring of 1946, however, sufficient opposi- on to sustain an organized effort to recall Mayor apham appeared. The president of the movement, lenry F. Budde, was the publisher of the *San Fran- isco Progress,* a neighborhood-oriented newspaper unded in the 1920s. No national or international ews was printed in the *Progress,* only news perti- ent to its primarily suburban-like readership in the uthern and western parts of the city. Budde had ng been active in San Francisco politics, but only s a peripheral participant: he had frequently ndorsed candidates for local office by acting as a gal sponsor throughout the 1920s and 1930s. A con- ervative Republican who had endorsed Frank F. lerriam for governor in 1938, Budde was by 1946 n the Park Commission, having been appointed by rmer Mayor Rossi.

Apart from Budde, the initial chairman of the recall ovement was Russell A. Powell, president of a fed- ration of neighborhood associations, the Central ouncil of Civic Clubs. Powell in 1940 had been an nsuccessful Republican primary candidate for the alifornia Assembly from the Sunset District in the ewer, western part of the city. He, too, was a pub- sher of a neighborhood newspaper. The neighbor- od-based rationale of the recall petitions filed in pril 1946 and the local perspective of the move- ent's leaders suggests some degree of neighborhood pposition to Lapham's pro-downtown policies. deed, the petitions referred in part to his political yle, namely his "arrogant and contemptuous" con- uct, his "dictatorial manner," and his "discrimina- on against the neighborhoods in favor of owntown," charges alluding perhaps to Lapham's sposition to oppose or to bypass the Board of Super- sors, a body sensitive to neighborhood concerns.[28]

A second source of support for recall was apham's sponsorship of the increase in municipal ilway carfare in 1946 noted earlier. Overt resistance the relatively heavy fare raise underlay three of the petitioners' grounds for recall. Because they tar- geted the new railway system, the arguments may be interpreted as a direct thrust at a major symbol of Lapham's urban modernization schemes. In addition, some fragmentary evidence of wider class-based opposition to Lapham has survived. The political editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle,* Earl Behrens, decried the movement's leaders as instigators of "class hatred." Also, although Paul Schnur, the secretary of the San Francisco CIO Council, announced the official opposition of the CIO to the recall movement, he also cautioned that the CIO's position should not be "construed as friendliness to Lapham." Schnur went on to remind the electorate that Lapham was a "shipowner" who "represents downtown business interests which continually oppose the worker and small taxpayer."[29]

Although the leadership of the recall effort had a distinct neighborhood flavor, several neighborhood associations, including the Russian Hill Improvement Association, the Marina Merchants Association, the North Beach Property Owners Association, the Greater Mission Improvement Association, the Upper Noe Valley Improvement Association, and the Glen Park Community Club, went on record as opposed to the recall.[30] These associations were mechanisms by which neighborhoods exerted pressure on city government for services. Their opposition to the recall may have reflected their assessment of its chances for success, rather than their support for Lapham. Presumably, no neighborhood association that had publicly supported a failed recall effort could expect favorable reaction to its requests for city services from a triumphant mayor's office.

The attorney for the recall movement was Walter I. Carpeneti, later appointed superior court justice by Governor Earl Warren. Judge Carpeneti, long since retired from the bench, was still practicing law in downtown San Francisco in 1994. In an interview with the author, he stressed the perception among the supporters of recall that Lapham "was a rich man who didn't give a damn about the concerns of ordinary people." Apart from the populist rhetoric of the recall advocates, however, Judge Carpeneti commented several times on Lapham's indifference to the mundane, day-to-day concerns of neighborhoods for "street widening, stop signs, or Police Department services." Judge Carpeneti also believed that fear of retaliation prevented several associations from supporting the recall, but declined to name them.[31]

As to public debate over recall, editorials and news articles in the city's major newspapers, those with citywide and regional circulations routinely dismissed any and all political objections to the Lapham regime as inadequate justification for recall. Since Lapham's rectitude was unquestioned and he stood accused of no malfeasance, no valid grounds for recall could possibly exist and no defense of the regime's policies was necessary. These newspapers instead impugned the motives of the leaders of the recall movement by characterizing them as merely disappointed office-seekers or as a "small, embittered political claque."[32]

Indeed, had one predicted the outcome of the vote on the basis of coverage by the city's major newspapers, one would have expected a near-unanimous vote in favor of Lapham. The recall results themselves, however, did not merely reflect the impact of Lapham's personality or stature, or even the labor or transportation issues debated during the summer of 1946. Instead, as we will see, they reflected long-standing political divisions evident in the city throughout the 1940s. Historic neighborhood patterns of voting behavior were reflected in the response to the recall proposal much as they appeared in the electoral returns for state and national offices. As these political choices were roote in the different social circumstances in which vote lived, we turn, then, to a description of the politic geography of San Francisco in the 1940s.

Neighborhood Voting Patterns

Like residents of all cities, San Franciscans live in a sharply stratified society, where inequalities income, education, and access to political powe induced distinct political preferences. These inequa ities were also evident in space, as residents with sim ilar incomes, educational achievements, and level occupational skills typically congregated in the sam neighborhoods, yielding a citywide landscape socially differentiated neighborhoods. In turn, all these different neighborhoods may be classified int one of four strata: gentry, upper burgher, lowe burgher, or working class. The neighborhoods withi each of these groups, then, shared similar ranking in 1940 along the three traditional dimensions social class: wealth, education, and occupation.[33]

Roger D. Lapham (left) with the lawyers defending him from a suit challenging his residency in San Francisco, thus his eligibility for mayor. In order from Lapham's left, Bartley Crum was a specialist in labor mediation and a prominent Republican partisan; Maurice E. Harrison was a former chairman of the California State Democratic Central Committee; and John Francis Neylan was an ardent anti-New Deal Republican and chief editorialist for the Hearst newspaper chain. Arguably, the suit, which called attention to the Lapham family's second home in nearby Atherton, was a frivolous attempt to spotlight his affluence. *Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

Gentry Neighborhoods

The most exclusive of these four strata were the entry districts, and they included the most famous eighborhoods of the city. Nob Hill, the Marina Disrict, and Pacific Heights, for example, were in the orthern and eastern parts of the city and had been opulated since the nineteenth century.[34] Other outving gentry districts—Seacliff, Forest Hills, St. Franis Wood, and Parkside—were in development by e 1920s and, although of little interest to tourists, vere no less exclusive. Apart from age and reputaon, the gentry enclaves contained the city's most aluable residential property. On the average, twoirds of the houses in gentry neighborhoods were alued in the highest categories of residential proprty reported by the Census of 1940. The houses emselves were huge and often custom-designed y marquee architects. Residents of gentry districts ere also well-educated by contemporary standards: ore than half of the adults in these neighborhoods ad completed high school or attended some years f college. Accordingly, gentry neighborhoods conined the largest proportion of professionals of the ur groups of neighborhoods.

As usual, extraordinary political influence accomanied social privilege. Gentry neighborhoods were ver-represented in the active electorate, albeit lightly: throughout the 1940s, their share of the ctual electorate was invariably larger than their are of the eligible electorate.[35] But the greater ccess to political power of gentry neighborhoods is ore vividly illustrated by their occupancy of the olitical offices of San Francisco during this decade. ven though gentry neighborhoods altogether ccounted for only one-fifth of the city's electorate, sidents of these neighborhoods occupied nearly ree-fifths of the city's available offices.[36] Governance of San Francisco, then, was firmly in the hands f its wealthy elite.

The partisan preferences of gentry neighborhoods roughout the 1930s and 1940s were consistent: votrs were steadfast Republican party loyalists, often y a two-to-one margin.[37] Earl Warren, for example, ttracted landslide levels of support in gentry recincts in all three of his gubernatorial candidaes in 1942, 1946, and 1950. Other state Republican ndidates, such as U.S. Senate aspirants Frederick owser in 1944 and Richard Nixon in 1950, received omfortable majorities as well. And, of course, at the residential level, Willkie, Dewey, and Eisenhower ach carried the gentry neighborhoods easily etween 1940 and 1952.

Upper Burgher Neighborhoods

The second stratum of neighborhoods, the upper burgher enclaves, ranked just below the privileged gentry areas, but were socially and economically more mixed. Several of these upper burgher neighborhoods were adjacent to the downtown core in the northeast quadrant of the city; more peripheral districts were in the oldest settlements outside the northeastern core. Very nearly all of the upper burgher neighborhoods were north and east of Golden Gate Park and had been densely settled by 1920. For example, the Haight Ashbury, the future mecca of a flamboyant counterculture community, was then a bastion of upper middle-class decorum. The prosperous Inner and Middle Richmond districts toward the west of the city hosted a small community of pro-Tsarist Russian emigres. The North of Market and Russian Hill neighborhoods contained many of the city's comfortable apartment houses, in one of which Dashiell Hammett had created his stories featuring detective Sam Spade.

Residences in upper burgher neighborhoods were less expensive than those in gentry neighborhoods; fewer than a third fell in the highest census valuation categories. Upper burgher residents also tended to be less well educated than residents of the gentry areas: just over 40 percent of adults in these neighborhoods had completed high school and attended some college, and fewer of the working population were professionals. Though over a quarter of the city's electorate lived in upper burgher neighborhoods, only a fifth of the city's office-holders resided there over the period examined.

Political preferences in the upper burgher neighborhoods were usually, if not strongly, Republican. Only the Polk Gulch and Haight Ashbury neighborhoods were regularly Democratic. Ticket-splitting was common, and especially evident in 1942 and 1950. Inner Sunset, for example, embraced Republican Earl Warren in 1942 with 58 percent of its vote against the incumbent Democratic governor, yet it preferred Democrat Robert W. Kenny for attorney general by a two-to-one margin over a Republican in the same year. Eight years later, Inner Richmond gave nearly three-quarters of its vote to Republican Governor Earl Warren, while Democrat "Pat" Brown attracted two thirds of the vote in his campaign for attorney general.

Lower Burgher Neighborhoods

Lower burgher neighborhoods were as socially mixed as upper burgher neighborhoods. The North

Beach area, the future site of a thriving tourist industry, still contained a vibrant Italian community. The Fillmore sustained a flourishing Jewish community about to spread north and west into the newer Richmond districts, as well as a growing black ghetto. The Upper Market neighborhood, currently preferred by a gay community, was then an aging enclave of lower middle-class respectability. There were even suburb-like communities among the lower burgher neighborhoods: the Outer Mission and Outer Sunset zones of newer, single-family homes attracted substantial numbers of Irish migrants from the Mission District throughout the decade.

Housing values were not high in lower burgher neighborhoods: only a fifth of the residences typically were in the highest census categories. Educational achievements were meager, as only a third of the adults had completed high school and attended at least a year of college. Not many professionals resided in these neighborhoods either. Lower burgher citizens accounted for about a quarter of the electorate, but occupied less than a tenth of the city's offices.

The Democratic party typically, but not invariably, received a majority of the lower burgher vote. Even comparatively weak Democratic candidates, such as President Truman in 1948 and Governor Olson in 1942, usually received the approval of lower burgher voters. Still, the majority vote of scattered lower burgher neighborhoods was available for the occasional Republican: Mt. Davidson preferred Dewey in 1948 and Nixon in 1950, while Upper Market and the Outer Sunset also rejected the "Pink Lady" senatorial candidate of the Democratic party, Helen Gahagan Douglas, in favor of Nixon.

WORKING-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS

The working-class neighborhoods were at the lowest end of the social continuum. Nearly all of them were concentrated in the eastern and southern portions of the city adjacent to the waterfront docks that employed large numbers of their residents, most notably in the nearby South-of-Market, Potrero Hill, Bayview, and Hunters Point neighborhoods. These working-class neighborhoods also included the solidly Irish-Catholic Mission District, and farther north, the Chinatown ghetto. The South-of-Market neighborhood housed mostly unskilled and transient laborers, but also contained a small Greek community that produced a future mayor and prominent statewide Republican, George Christopher.

Most of the other working-class neighborhoods were obscure: newer suburb-like areas of Crock Amazon and Visitacion Valley on the souther periphery of the city joined the older South-of-Ma ket and Bernal Heights areas. These neighborhoo contained the least valuable real estate in the cit fewer than a tenth of the homes there, on the ave age, were in the highest Census categories of res dential property. Tract housing with minimal squa footage was the rule in Crocker Amazon and Vi itacion Valley, newer working-class suburbs on th southern edge of the city. Dilapidated houses of od shapes and sizes were more frequent in the olde working-class areas of Potrero Hill and the South of-Market area farther north.

Most adults in these neighborhoods had little fo mal education: on the average only one-fifth those twenty-five years or older had finished hig school and attended a year of or more of college. N surprisingly, the proportion of professionals reside in the working-class neighborhoods was meage Working-class neighborhoods contributed fewe voters to the actual electorate than were eligible t vote. Also, the number of political offices held by res idents of the working-class neighborhoods was mi imal: working-class precincts contributed well ove one-quarter of San Francisco's voters, yet resident of these precincts occupied less than a tenth of th city's offices.

Working-class San Francisco was routinely Demo cratic throughout the decade: two of every thre votes typically went to the candidates of the Demo racy. Franklin Roosevelt, of course, was the favorit gathering 73 percent and 71 percent of their votes i 1940 and 1944. Lesser candidates such as John F. She ley and "Pat" Brown, San Francisco natives, attracte quite high margins in races for state senator, lieu tenant governor, and state attorney general. Com fortable Democratic majorities were also provide to out-of-town nominees for state office. The Holly wood glamour candidacies of Will Rogers, Jr., an Helen Gahagan Douglas for the U. S. Senate in 194 and 1950, for example, were amply supported i working-class San Francisco. Even the hopeless weak son of the former president, James Roosevel Democratic candidate for governor in 1950, receive a slim majority in the bulk of working-class San Fran cisco precincts while being swamped elsewhere b the immensely popular Earl Warren.

The electoral history of San Francisco in the lat 1930s and the 1940s, then, indicates that the highe the social class of a neighborhood, the greater th likelihood of its voting Republican (see Table 1). Elit neighborhoods of wealthy and privileged resident very rarely supplied a majority to a Democratic can

One of three opponents Roger Lapham had defeated in the 1943 San Francisco mayoral race was the prominent, popular Irish Catholic, George R. Reilly (left), shown here with his wife, Kathryn, and his campaign manager, Louis R. Lurie. Lurie, a downtown real estate entrepreneur, was vocal in support of Lapham during the recall campaign. *Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

idate. The two middling burgher neighborhood roups were, as we have seen, socially and politically iore mixed. Working-class San Francisco, however, as staunchly Democratic.

The same alignment between neighborhoods that haracterized the partisan distribution of the vote nerged in local, nonpartisan elections involving oger Lapham.[38] In 1943, gentry neighborhoods, e strongest Republican precincts, greeted his canidacy for mayor enthusiastically, giving him nearly vo-thirds of their votes in a four-man field; support r each of his three opponents increased dramatilly as one moves down the social hierarchy. The most staunchly Democratic precincts of working-class San Francisco, presumably recalling his anti-labor record in the 1930s, were especially antagonistic to Lapham in 1943, when his candidacy appealed to just over one-quarter of their voters. On the question of financing the purchase of the Market Street Railway in the spring of 1944, the centerpiece of Lapham's modernization plan, the now-familiar pattern emerged, but in muted form; the contrast between the neighborhoods was not as sharp since a limited number of working-class districts in the oldest portion of the city strongly supported the purchase.[39] In the special recall election, gentry and upper burgher neighborhoods overwhelmingly favored retaining Lapham as mayor: only a quarter to a third of these voters preferred to oust him. Lower burgher and working-class neighborhoods, however, were much more inclined to depose him. A majority of the voters in working-class precincts voted to recall Lapham, and they supplied a disproportionately large portion of the vote to recall.

Though the 1946 recall election was another referendum on the person of Roger Lapham, voters reacted to the question in accordance with their social circumstances and partisan dispositions. Voters whose memories of the 1934 general strike

TABLE 1: MEAN DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGES, SAN FRANCISCO, 1938–1952

	1938	1940	1942	1944	1946	1948	1950	1952
Gentry	35.9	37.8	36.1	40.7	37.7	36.3	35.8	33.2
Upper Burgher	50.0	50.1	47.5	53.9	49.8	50.4	48.0	44.8
Lower Burgher	64.6	61.8	62.3	64.0	62.1	60.0	54.8	56.0
Working Class	71.0	69.5	67.9	68.7	67.4	67.1	63.8	61.5
San Francisco	55.2	54.3	53.8	56.4	54.3	52.3	50.5	45.8

[Source: San Francisco Register of Voters.]

induced them to favor or oppose Lapham in 1943 had fresh reminders of the economic and political strength of organized labor: the confrontation between Lapham and the municipal railway union in the spring of 1944 and again in 1946. The Labor Day parade of 1945, too, provided voters a vivid demonstration of the social and political militancy of the city's CIO unions, when some 30,000 CIO members, led by Harry Bridges, carried placards recommending increased unemployment insurance, the retention of wartime rent and price controls, and continued post-war solidarity between the United States and Russia.[40] More conservative voters, then, may well have equated the recall of Lapham with support of these policies.

Lapham himself never publicly speculated on these patterns or possibilities either before or after the election. Indeed, he disdained an explicit response to the recall petitions, referring to them as "bum beefs" brought by unnamed "disgruntled office-seekers" motivated to conduct a "political lynching." Instead of a formal rebuttal, he merely reprised his 1943 campaign themes with still another presentation of himself as a non-political mayor unwilling to act as anyone's "political puppet," accompanied by a reminder to the voters of his one-term pledge. The election results, of course, imply that this high-road response was effective.[41]

THE RECALL ELECTION

Even though the electorate divided along traditional partisan lines on the recall question, other facets of the recall election suggest a complicated relationship between the formal spokesmen for segments of the electorate and the voters themselves. First, the CIO Council, governing body of the mo leftist unions in the city, played no role in the orga nization of the recall and, as we have seen, eve declined to endorse the movement. Furthermore, n leaders of the many A.F. of L. unions in the cit endorsed the recall either. Indeed, Lapham attracte some important members of this latter group to th committee formed to oppose the recall.[42] Union lead ership, then, did not support the recall, but Lapham' recurrent anti-labor stances and his consolidation c the Market Street Railway, which seemingly pro duced only a hefty increase in carfare, induced evi dently large numbers of working-class voters t abort his term of office.

Second, the rationales offered in the recall petition published in April 1946 appealed to voters on th grounds that the Lapham regime pursued a polic oriented toward "downtown" interests at th expense of the neighborhoods. As noted earlier, th editorial leadership and advertising finances of th recall drive came from the pages of the San Francisc *Progress,* a publication oriented toward the city' neighborhoods, especially those on the souther and western fringes of the city populated by home owning families. And the relatively anonymou leadership of the recall movement had no connec tions with the city's labor unions. In short, the recal election illustrates a divergence between the leader and the led (see Table 2). A grassroots solidarit among working-class voters was evident eve though its union leadership remained aloof from o hostile toward sponsoring the effort. As well, th leaders of the movement were neighborhood-ori ented in that their businesses depended on th patronage of suburban residents in the souther and western sections of the city, yet they were unabl

TABLE 2: MEAN "YES" VOTE IN LAPHAM ELECTIONS, SAN FRANCISCO, 1943–1946

	1943 Lapham for Mayor	1944 Mkt St RRy Purchase	1946 Recall Mayor Lapham
Gentry	61.0	63.7	23.5
Upper Burgher	48.0	58.8	35.0
Lower Burgher	32.1	50.5	49.6
Working Class	26.6	52.4	55.0
San Francisco	42.3	56.2	40.8

[Source: San Francisco Register of Voters.]

This photograph of San Francisco's 1945 Labor Day parade captures members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union marching in their signature white caps. A substantial presence in city labor issues, the Longshoremen turned out in large numbers for the annual parade. The principal speaker at the parade was Harry R. Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's Union and a long-standing nemesis of Mayor Roger D. Lapham. *Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

o mobilize a solidly united group of voters from hese districts in favor of recall. Lapham's indiffer- nce to the seemingly mundane matters of street videnings, branch libraries, or the placement of top signs aroused the ire only of selected neigh- orhood leaders.

The returns in the non-partisan mayoralty, recall, nd railway ballots, then, indicate more than struggles over the identity of the mayor, the structure of ailway service, or the length of a term of office. Rather, in conjunction with the results for partisan ffices, they occurred in the context of an unequal listribution of wealth, education, and political ower. Political choices were conditioned, but not letermined, by the circumstances of social class and historic partisan preferences, and these choices were made without noticeable regard for the recommendations of formal leadership. ■

See notes beginning on page 153

Dennis P. Kelly received his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Pittsburgh in 1977 and is the author of "Linking Nineteenth-Century Manuscript Census Records: A Computer Strategy," Historical Methods 7 *(March 1974). He currently works in San Francisco as a computer programmer.*

Albert and Elsa Einstein posed for reporters upon their arrival in Los Angeles Harbor on December 31, 1930. The celebrated professor had accepted a two-month fellowship at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, the first of Einstein's three winter research stints in sunny southern California. *Courtesy Hearst Newspaper Collection, Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s.

By Kevin Starr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 997, xii, 480 pp., $35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Roger W. Lotchin, *professor of history, Univer ity of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and author of* Fortress alifornia, 1910–1961.

The Dream Endures is the fifth volume in Kevin Starr's growng history of California culture. Like the other works, this one s full of sophistication and intellectual breadth. The book is not general history but rather one of the high culture of Califoria—anthropology, astronomy, art photography, literature, pper-class life styles, painting, architecture, and so forth. It is ot exactly a narrative history either, although the title indicates temporal periodization. The author, like the good Hollywood irectors he so much admires, ranges all over the space and time f California, from the nineteenth century to the 1940s.

The Dream Endures has more of a movie format, a fascinating eries of closeups, fadeouts, flashbacks, wide angle, low angle, ich and warm *Chinatown* technicolor, followed by barren *Thin Man* black and white. Among the more compelling community loseups are those of Malibu Beach, Big Sur, Carmel, Berkeley, nd Seacliff. And among his more interesting individual closeps are those of Fremont Older, Ansel Adams, Edward Weston, aymond Chandler, Edwin Hubble, and Albert Einstein. The cene shifts often—up the coast to North Bay and then back own to the French, German, Jewish, and English communities f Hollywood. Then one is carried successively to the Rose Bowl, he "Big Game," and the "Little Big Game." The reader is the eneficiary because we get much more than is implied in the arrow promise of the title. Thus the discussion of astronomy not confined to the late thirties, but flashes back over the whole istory of California astronomy, from the Lick to the Palomar bservatories that made the state a leader in that field.

The book is also full of unusual insights. That Hollywood saw he United States through the Great Depression, or that the ream Factory led the country into World War II, or that white rotestants made Los Angeles into a murder capital, are not the ast of them.

Perhaps the most persistent idea in this volume is the contiuity and breadth of California's history. Just the extent of the alifornia minimalist novel is mind boggling. How anyone ould have thought that this dynamic cauldron of human exisence was shallow is beyond understanding. And Kevin Starr nds a central purpose to the entire culture, creating a new civization on the Pacific shore. The anthropologists, historians, novlists, architects, painters, sculptors, philosophers, photogaphers, professors, reformers, and refugees all were moving oward a similar goal, whether they knew it or not. We often think f California as the place where the latest innovations begin, and he author notes many, from the car hop to vacuum packing. Yet he continuities in this book are also staggering. By the time World War II brought thousands of refugees to enrich the cultural life and billions of dollars to enhance its economic standing, California culture was already well established, extensive, rich, deep, and diverse. The war came to a civilization that already had a character all its own.

A Terrible Anger: The 1934 Waterfront and General Strikes in San Francisco.

By David F. Selvin. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996, 272 pp., $26.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Harvey Schwartz, *author of* The March Inland: Origins of the ILWU Warehouse Division, 1934–1938, *and recently a twenty-article oral history series in* The Dispatcher, *the newspaper of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union.*

"I was there, that angry, discordant summer," recalls David Selvin, who was working for the federal National Longshoremen's Board in San Francisco when, in July 1934, the great eighty-two-day Pacific Coast maritime strike reached its climax. Selvin went on from that early job to a distinguished career as a labor journalist. He wrote several well-received books on workers and their leaders, including a classic introduction to California labor history, and edited the union newspaper *Northern California Labor* for more than thirty years.

Selvin has now drawn upon his experience as a participant-observer, professional writer, and accomplished researcher to produce an impressive scholarly account of the big strike. He describes the unfair hiring system, uneven and sometimes horribly long hours, and deplorable working conditions that drove waterfront workers to strike in 1934. He also shows how changes in federal policy under the New Deal helped labor militants like Harry Bridges, the legendary longshore leader, revive maritime unionism in 1933 after fifteen open-shop years.

Selvin takes us through the important day-to-day strike developments, sketches the key personalities, and deftly traces the interplay of government officials, union factions, and employer groups. He convincingly argues that the employers decided to force the San Francisco port open with police complicity, knowing full well that violence would result—violence

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

that left two workers dead and countless wounded on the San Francisco waterfront on July 5, still remembered by West Coast unionists as "Bloody Thursday."

The violence backfired on the employers, who appeared ruthless and culpable. The city's labor movement responded by staging a peaceful four-day general strike in protest during July 16–19. Public sympathy shifted to the maritime workers despite biased mainstream newspaper coverage that parroted the employers in depicting militant waterfront strike leaders as incendiaries. An arbitration handed down in October granted the longshoremen their chief goals: a union-controlled hiring system eliminating the employment abuses of the past and establishing union security, and coastwide bargaining preventing the employers from pitting one port against another. The coast's dry-cargo seamen, who struck with the longshoremen, received a less favorable award the next year.

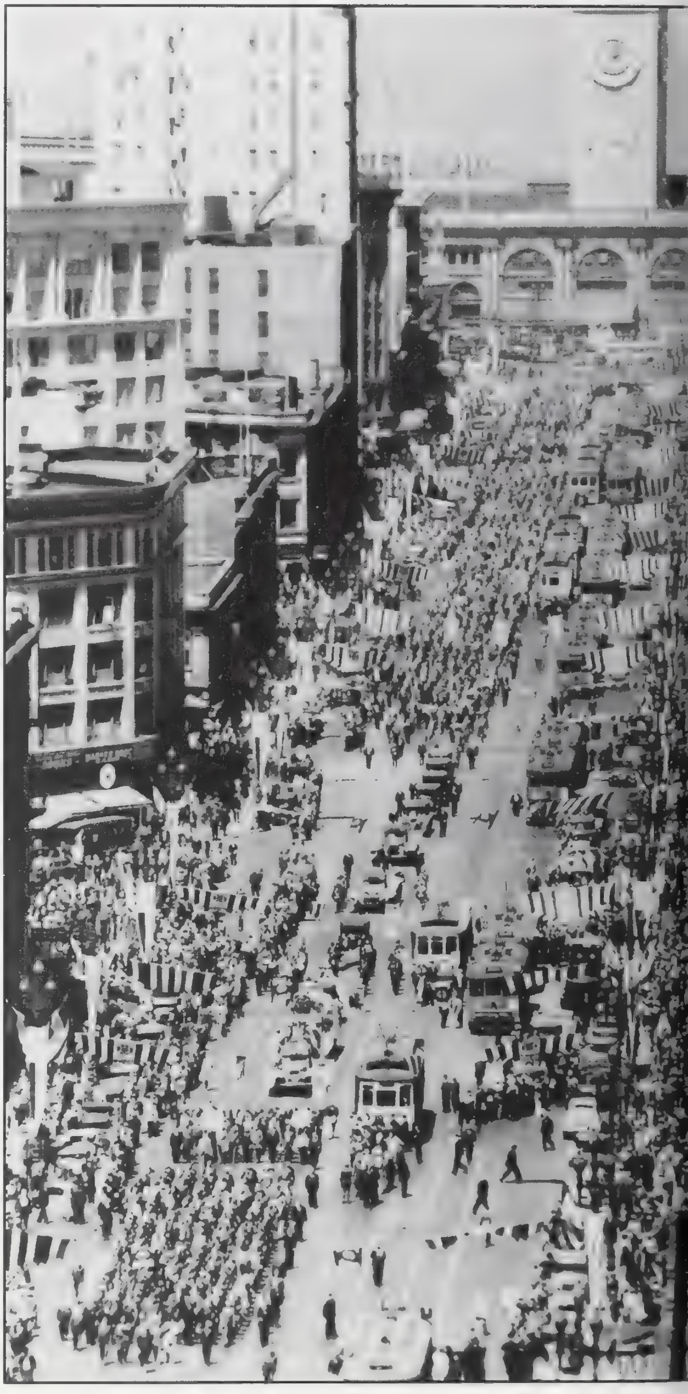
In Selvin's view, the 1934 strikers sought well-defined, traditional trade union objectives, accepting help from Communist party activists largely as an expedient of battle when no one else offered aid. Selvin differs explicitly from Bruce Nelson, whose prize-winning *Workers on the Waterfront* emphasizes the role of ideology in the strike and its aftermath.

Selvin does explore the Left and assess its contribution. He is also quick to review and condemn the vicious employer- and police-instigated vigilante raids on radical headquarters staged during the four-day general strike.

Selvin's volume is impressively researched. It is based on a careful reading of the records of the National Longshoremen's Board, which arbitrated the dispute; the *Waterfront Worker*, the militant longshoremen's newsletter of 1932–35; source material in employer representative Paul Eliel's book, published just after the strike; contemporary news coverage; archival documents and federal reports from the 1930s; the outstanding oral history collection at the University of California, Berkeley; and the extensive secondary literature on the subject.

"Extensive" the literature on the big strike is, too, but Selvin's book constitutes a welcome addition to the list. It recounts the events of 1934 in a tight but thorough volume that should prove accessible to students, workers, labor specialists, and California history enthusiasts alike. The work has all the scholarly trimmings, including footnotes, an up-to-date bibliography, and a useful index; yet Selvin, a skilled journalist, writes fluidly and has a sure instinct for the telling detail or quote.

One might wish for a little more on one important post-strike development with roots in '34: the breakdown of the big strike solidarity between the longshore and sailors' unions by 1937. Still, Selvin's book provides a valuable overview of the strike itself. I would especially recommend it to teachers of labor studies or California history courses who want to assign a book on the '34 strike but find Mike Quin's leftist classic too strident or Bruce Nelson's provocative analysis too complex for undergraduates.



More than 12,000 striking dock workers and sympathizers stag a mass funeral procession through downtown San Francisco af the July 5, 1934, murder of two workers by police. "Bloody Thu day" and its aftermath strengthened public sympathy toward t laborers and helped end the 82-day strike. *Courtesy Hearst Newsp per Collection, Special Collections, University of Southern Califor Library.*

Highway 99: The Literature of California's Great Central Valley.

Edited by Stan Yogi. (Berkeley: Heyday Books and California Council for the Humanities, 1996, xvii, 428 pp., $16.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Gary Scharnhorst, *professor of English at the University of New Mexico, co-editor of* American Literary Realism, *and editor of* Selected Letters of Bret Harte.

Taking its title from the highway that runs stiff and straight as a backbone from Bakersfield to Sacramento, this anthology charts the literary landscape of central California with a startlingly diverse selection of multiethnic texts in a variety of genre, including poetry by William Everson and Sherley Anne Williams, fiction by Carlos Bulosan and Maxine Hong Kingston, essays by Joan Didion and Richard Rodriguez, and drama by Cherrie Moraga and Philip Kan Gotanda. It is organized both chronologically (opening with native myth and early travel accounts by Jedediah S. Smith, Thomas Jefferson Mayfield, and William Henry Brewer) and thematically (e.g., grouping together texts about migrant farm workers such as an excerpt from John Steinbeck's *The Harvest Gypsies* with Wilma Elizabeth McDaniel's "Picking Grapes 1937" and Gerald Haslam's "The Doll," or stories about the oil district such as James D. Houston's "In Search of Oildorado," William Rintoul's "The Gangpusher," and Haslam's "Oildale"). The collection is suitable, indeed seems to have been tailored, for classroom adoption in courses on western American and California literature.

To the extent that an anthology is an exercise in canon formation, moreover, *Highway 99* serves to rescue some neglected historical figures (e.g., John Muir and Mary Austin) from the critical margins and to elevate a number of other contemporary writers (e.g., Art Coelho and Clark Brown) from critical obscurity. Of course, the collection also includes writings by such traditionally canonical figures as Steinbeck, Frank Norris, and William Saroyan. The selections are judicious, with only two exceptions in my opinion: Luis Valdez's play "Quinta Temporada," which seems to me little better than crude agitprop, and Thiphavanh Louangrath's "Old Maid," perhaps the weakest piece in the entire anthology. Still, Stan Yogi has edited the volume to appeal broadly to teachers, students, and casual readers, and he has done his work wonderfully well.

HIGHWAY 99
a literary journey through
CALIFORNIA'S GREAT CENTRAL VALLEY
TO
99

Courtesy Heyday Books

Big Dams and Other Dreams: The Six Companies Story.

By Donald E. Wolf. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996, xi, $27.95 cloth, 336 pp., illustrations, notes, index.)

Reviewed by Eric John Abrahamson, *principal historian for The Prologue Group and a doctoral candidate in American economic history at The Johns Hopkins University.*

Among the many companies that laid track, poured cement, bored tunnels, and built dams in the American West, none were as prolific as those that came together in 1931 to build Boulder Dam (later renamed Hoover Dam). It was a gargantuan project that demanded capital, talent, and temerity beyond the reach of any single builder. But together, the partners who formed Six Companies, Inc., finished the job ahead of schedule and under budget.

The Six Companies partners went on to play a vital role in the industrial development of the West. Their joint venture on Hoover Dam served as a template for future projects. Over the next half-century, they not only erected a significant portion of the region's economic infrastructure, but also served as a conduit for capital flowing from the federal government into the western economy.

This new book by Donald E. Wolf weaves the stories of the men and companies that built Hoover Dam: Morrison Knudsen of Boise, Utah Construction of Salt Lake City, J. F. Shea of Portland, Henry J. Kaiser of Oakland, and MacDonald and Kahn and W. A. Bechtel of San Francisco. In rich and colorful detail, the author describes how these companies came together to build the dam, collaborated and competed for subsequent projects, and went their separate ways after World War II.

Wolf is at his best describing the "heroic" era of construction from the great public works projects of the 1930s through the shipyard years of the war. A retired civil engineer, he captures the contractors' world from the high stakes of the bid opening to the late nights of poker. Extensive personal interviews with men who worked for Henry Kaiser, Stephen D. Bechtel, Sr., and other key Six Companies figures provide intimate perspectives on the character of these entrepreneurs.

Unfortunately, Wolf fails to go much beyond individuals to trace the roots of either the success or the failure of the Six Companies' ventures in terms of organizational capabilities or historical context. After the war, for example, the former partners followed different paths. Kaiser expanded his investments in steel and cement and plunged into making aluminum, automobiles, and other products. Bechtel moved from competitive bid contracting to high value engineering and built the world's largest engineering firm. Morrison Knudsen became a leading defense contractor, constructing bases in Vietnam, Africa, and the Middle East. We learn little about why these organizations were successful in these endeavors.

Moreover, the world was changing. The rise of the environmental movement made dam builders and nuclear plant engineers villains in the public eye and imposed a new regulatory regime on the industry. A generation opposed to the Vietnam War was also deeply suspicious of agents of the military/industrial complex. An increasingly litigious society no longer accepted the handshakes that were the glue of construction in the prewar era. By the 1980s, only Bechtel seemed to have adapted to this new world. Wolf pays only superficial attention to these profound changes in the business environment. Nevertheless, this book offers a good read and a valuable resource for researchers in this arena.

Policing the Elephant: Crime, Punishment and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail.

By John Phillip Reid. (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1997, ii, 316 pp., $15.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Gordon Morris Bakken, *professor of history at California State University, Fullerton, and author of* Practicing Law in Frontier California (1991).

John Phillip Reid's decades of meticulous, multi-archival research in primary documents has again produced a definitive and dispositive work on the overland trail experience. Cutting away the myths of crime and violence in the wild west, Reid makes clear that the average citizens crossing the plains in wagon trains carried with them their traditions, customs, and laws. On the trail, they lived by the rules, controls, and restraints of their recent past . . . law, order, and the morality of Christian civilization. Their lawmindedness was put to use in the rare cases of criminality on the trail rather than the personal violence portrayed by the purveyors of myth.

On the trail, people protected private property with violence if necessary. "Overland travelers had no tolerance for persons converting property owned or legally processed by another emigrant," Reid asserts (p. 33). Horse thieves were shot without trial and that was proper social behavior.

Violence from American Indians was rare. Fights among overlanders were more frequently witnessed. Most of the stabbings and shootings occurred between people who knew one another. Most frequently these affrays were between business partners. A few gangs of "white Indians" raided trains, but they got standard American justice. In 1862, overlanders ran a gang to ground, and the white man hollered "For God sake don't kill me," but told his captors that robbery was "the way I make my living." His captors "gave him a bullet and sent him to his long home " (p. 56).

A homicide, once discovered, led to a collective defense. Ordinary people were ready to assist in the tasks of law enforcement, to initiate action by investigations, to ask members of other trains to help in the investigations to increase fairness, and to demand probative evidence of criminality.

Trials often proceeded in accordance with written constitutions drafted by the members of the company. While not a guide to how trials were conducted, the constitution and bylaw evidence clearly indicted a lawmindedness and a respect for procedure. The accused did not have the advantage of technical evidence rules. Hearsay and opinion evidence found its way into trials. However, these overland trail courts demanded evidence of guilt and granted the accused the opportunity to be heard. A surprising number of the accused were exonerated at their trials on the ground of self defense, provocation, or insufficiency of evidence. Judge Lynch was an infrequent visitor on the overland trail.

Punishment along the trail included whipping, banishment, and death. Emigrants justified these traditional American penalties in terms of the waiver of jurisdiction when entering a company, the necessity of the trail environment, deterrence, and retribution. Emigrants held social harmony as a high value supported by their penal system.

The legal behavior of these emigrants avoided acts of violence, allocated resources in accordance with concepts of private property rather than force. When crime was discovered, they acted not with vengeance, but with the remembered trappings of a partly understood judicial process. Experience had written law on their hearts, and their heads prevailed when challenged by rime.

hancellor at Berkeley.

y Glenn T. Seaborg. (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California, erkeley, 1994, xx, 718 pp., $34.50 paper.)

hree Faces of Berkeley: Competing Ideologies in the Wheeler Era, 1899–1919.

y Henry F. May. (Berkeley: Center for Studies in igher Education and Institute of Governmental tudies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993, xv, 3 pp., $10.00 paper.)

alifornia's Practical Period: A Cultural ontext of the Emerging University, 850s–1870s.

y Gunther Barth. (Berkeley: Center for Studies in igher Education and Institute of Governmental tudies, University of California, Berkeley, 1994, iv, 50 pp., $10.00 paper.)

he Origins of the Chancellorship, The uried Report of 1948.

y Eugene C. Lee. (Berkeley: Center for the Studies n Higher Education and Institute of Governmental tudies, 1995, xxviii, 77 pp., $10.00 paper.)

eviewed by Irving G. Hendrick, *professor of education and ean of the School of Education, University of California, Riverside, and author of* California Education, A Brief History.

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California from 1899 to 1919. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

Taken together, the four books identified above augment significantly the published history of the University of California, especially of its oldest and most distinguished campus at Berkeley. The autobiographical book by Glenn Seaborg is markedly different in character from the other three. Most importantly, it covers in great detail a rather brief period in Berkeley's history, i. e., Chancellor Seaborg's administration from August 1958 to January [illegible]. The principal data for Seaborg's book was taken from his daily journal and from campus records. As one would expect, it is a highly personalized account of Berkeley's achievements and problems during the late 1950s. To understand his book, one must understand Glenn Seaborg, a man whom former university president Clark Kerr referred to as Berkeley's all-time "best-balanced distinguished" faculty member. Certainly no chancellor in the university's history has been able to match the astounding scholarly record of Glenn Seaborg, featuring as it does a Nobel Prize in Chemistry, epoch scientific discoveries, more than 400 research papers, and the mentoring of more than sixty-five Ph.D. candidates. Often the skills necessary to succeed as a chancellor are different from those necessary to succeed as a faculty member. To the pleasure of those who worked with him, Glenn Seaborg was also a positive and personable leader, one whose appreciation of life and university values extended well beyond the actinide concept in chemistry. Sadly for Berkeley, Seaborg's leaving to become director of the Atomic Energy Commission under President John Kennedy in 1961 left a void that arguably made its trials during the 1960s more painful than they otherwise might have been. Given the richly textured detail presented by Seaborg on a broad array of issues, from athletics to fraternities, from academic distinctions to administrative issues, from the fine arts to human interest stories about Berkeley's people, it is likely that this book will have its greatest appeal among persons who were there at the time and with historians who will be able to use it as a source for their own analyses.

The three other books are all short, containing "chapters" about the university, especially about its Berkeley campus. There is much to be learned in each of them. All are analytical and to an extent, interpretative. Two of the three were written by distinguished Berkeley historians, Gunther Barth and Henry May; the other by a similarly distinguished Berkeley political scientist, Eugene Lee. Here one can learn from Gunther Barth about land development plans and cultural norms that were shaped by practical men who sponsored the university's earliest development. Observers of the university who have wondered about the unique "faculty" culture of that institution will learn from Henry May's work how President Benjamin Ide Wheeler was forced to share power and authority with the faculty through the Academic Senate. Readers of Eugene Lee's work will come to understand much more clearly how the University of California became a multicampus system of higher education, as contrasted from a campus at Berkeley. In a word, the chancellorship—as the office of chief campus officials became known—was made necessary by the development of UCLA as a major campus by the 1940s.

These books serve to assist students of California life and institutions to appreciate how California came to host what is now generally perceived in the community of scholars to be the finest, quality-oriented university in the world. Amazingly, it is also a *public* university. One might ask: Why Berkeley? Why the University of California? Since the administrative history surrounding the university's development is not particularly exceptional in important respects, perhaps the secret lies in the quality of faculty recruited early in this century by President Wheeler, and in the institutional acculturalization of new fac ulty, generation after generation. Certainly, generous and rathe stable financial and political support from the people of Cali fornia was a major factor as well.

Ansel Adams: A Biography.

By Mary Street Alinder. (New York: Henry Holt, 199 xvi, 391 pp., $30.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Rodger C. Birt, *professor of interdisciplinar humanities at San Francisco State University and author o* James VanDerZee: A Life in American Photography.

Ansel Adams currently is an established presence in th canon of the history of American photography. This means tha along with about two dozen other photographers, his work i certain to be discussed in most college art departments' history of photography surveys and regularly exhibited in the presti gious museums and galleries. To determine how he manage to become part of such august company, we can turn to Mary Alinder's new biography of Adams. Alinder, more than any one else, had access to all the vital data one needs to assimilat before attempting a work like this. She first met Adams at a pho tography workshop he was leading in 1967 and became his executive assistant in 1979. She then went on to help him com plete and publish his autobiography in 1985, and she says i her preface that she "read the thousands of letters he had writ ten and received, studied proof prints of all forty thousand o his negatives (and) lived through the roller coaster of his las years."

Alinder begins the biography by recounting Adams's early boyhood years in San Francisco and the family's history in th city before and after the 1906 earthquake, which hurled the four teen-year-old Ansel into a wall and left him with a broken nose She then proceeds to take the reader through the years o Adams's first chosen career as a concert pianist and examine the emergence of his somewhat brash and what she calls "ambitious" character.

Yosemite is, of course, pivotal to understanding the photog rapher's story, and Alinder chronicles how his career in photography developed after he discovered the park's beauty during a family outing while he was still a teenager. It was i Yosemite that he began his first serious experimentation with a camera, met his first wife, bonded with male friends, seduce some of his many lovers, and arrived finally at his mature philosophy of photography. The dramatic moment occurred in 1927 in Yosemite, when exposing the negative for the image that h later entitled *Monolith.* It was the process of making this photograph that led him to the concept of visualization, "the notion hat the photographer should know how the finished print will ook before the negative (has been) exposed."

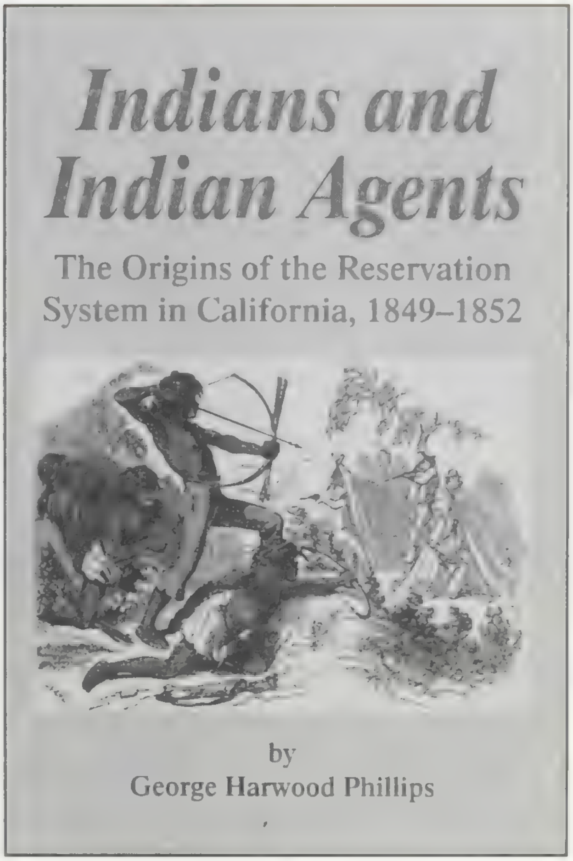
Above everything else Adams was a devoted technophile. He vas the acknowledged founder of the zone system, the method f exposing, developing, and printing a negative so as to assure he finished print reflected all gray tones between black and vhite in the subject matter's original chromatic scale. It was his irtuosity as a printer, too, rather than his vision as an artist, hat brought him to the attention of Alfred Stieglitz. Stieglitz ncouraged Adams to make fine prints and spend less energy earching out commercial assignments. But Adams continued o scurry from job to job. Dorothea Lange, a close friend and ssociate, noted that Adams around money was "like a homng pidgeon." During the last fifteen years of his life he was even nore successful than he had been in the previous fifty. Portfoios sold for tens of thousands of dollars, single prints for thouands, and one poster, marketed at twenty-five dollars, sold 08,000 copies. This latter fact alone might merit his inclusion n American photography history's canon.

Seemingly, there is no fact in Adams's life overlooked in this iography. Yet it is only partially satisfying. Adams's life story, s told here, seems amorphous and chaotic, a string of events that ie happened to be present at. The character of the man, the iniqueness that marked the person, is missing. After reading the ook, I did have a sense of gratitude for Alinder's workmanlike ompilation of data; the next time I teach the history of Amerian photography survey I certainly will draw on it. But I do wish he narrative had been written in a more spirited manner. The letails of the life are all here, but the man is missing. Happily, we till have the photographs to call upon. After finishing the final ages of Alinder's biography, I went into my study and looked t my copy (one of 208,000) of *Oak Tree, Snowstorm*. This and other dams photographs hint at something this book ultimately does ot unfold. Looking at them, we are in Adams's company for a vhile. However, until someone else has a go at it, Alinder's cometent if unexciting picture of Ansel Adams will have to do.

ndians and Indian Agents: The Origins of he Reservation System in California, 849-1852.

y George Harwood Phillips. (Norman: University f Oklahoma Press, 1997, xviii, 238 pp., $27.95 cloth.)

eviewed by Robert H. Jackson, *Spring, Texas, and author f* Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northvestern New Spain, 1687–1840, *and co-author with Edward astillo of* Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: he Impact of the Mission System on California Indians.



Indians and Indian Agents

The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849–1852

by
George Harwood Phillips

Courtesy University of Oklahoma Press.

This well-written narrative history is the second in a projected three-volume study of the responses of the Indians of the southern San Joaquin Valley to Spanish, Mexican, and American intrusion. This volume examines the critical period 1849-1852, and the efforts by federal Indian agents McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft to formulate and implement a policy to end conflicts between the Indian populations and the growing number of settlers in the region, particularly miners. The agents arrived in California at the height of the so-called Mariposa Indian War (1850) in the southern valley and Sierra Nevada.

The Indian agents abandoned the older policy of relocation beyond the frontier of Anglo-American settlement, which had been the policy practiced, for example, in the Southeast with nations such as the Creek and Cherokee. Rather, the agents argued that the California Indians should be settled on lands assigned to them in California, because the only places in which they could be resettled, such as Oregon and Nevada, would not be suitable. The agents negotiated eighteen separate treaties and established ten reservations that embraced approximately one-seventh of the land area of the state. In 1852, the California delegation in Congress successfully lobbied for Senate rejection of the Indian treaties. Prominent California politicians and settlers maintained that the treaties gave away too much valuable farm land and mineral deposits.

Phillips's narrative explores in depth the formulation and implementation of the California Indian policy, and the operation of several of the projected reservations. The treaties guaranteed deliveries of food supplies to the Indians, and Phillips outlines the efforts made by the agents to comply with the terms of the treaties. The author concludes with a cogent discussion of the politics that surrounded the rejection of the eighteen treaties. Phillips also concludes that Edward F. Beale, who usually is identified with having originated the reservation system, actually built upon the ideas of others, including the three California Indian agents. Throughout, Phillips makes good use of a variety of sources, including the reports of the Indian agents and contemporary newspapers.

There are several comments that I would like to make regarding sources that might have been used more effectively. For example, Phillips cites the 1850 federal census and the 1852 California census, but only in a limited fashion. A discussion of the distribution of the population over the region studied would have been very useful. In his narrative Phillips outlines expenditures made by the Indian agents on food for the Indians settled on the reservations. An appendix that quantified the data would have been very useful. Finally, there are several interesting questions left unresolved. Did the contractors who supplied the reservations, such as John C. Frémont, excessively profit from the contracts? Did the federal government honor the debts incurred by the agents in supplying the reservations, based on the treaties eventually rejected by the Senate?

These concerns aside, Phillips has produced an important contribution to the growing revisionist literature on California Indian history, a history that examines both Indians and non-Indians. What I find particularly distressing is that the flagship university press in California has not published most of these studies.

Bottled Poetry: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era.

By James T. Lapsley. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, xvi, 296 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Brian McGinty, *attorney, writer, and author of* Strong Wine: The Life and Legend of Agoston Haraszthy *(Stanford University Press, 1998.)*

In 1880, Robert Louis Stevenson honeymooned on the slope of Mt. St. Helena, overlooking the northern end of the wine-ric Napa Valley. Three years later, he published a graceful memoi of his visits to the vineyards and wineries of the area, in th course of which he coined a now-immortal phrase that serve as the title and touchstone for James Lapsley's book. "Wine i California is still in the experimental stage," Stevenson noted "One corner of land after another is tried with one kind of grap after another. . . . Those lodes and pockets of earth, more precious than the precious ores, that yield inimitable fragrance an soft fire; those virtuous Bonanzas, where the soil has sublimate under sun and stars to something finer, and the wine is bottle poetry: these still lie undiscovered. . . . But there they bide thei hour, awaiting their Columbus; and nature nurses and prepare them. The smack of Californian earth shall linger on the palat of your grandson."

Stevenson understood that winemaking is an art. Lapsley abl demonstrates that it is also a demanding science and a challenging business. He has a thorough background in the technical aspects of winemaking and some practical experience i running a small winery. *Bottled Poetry* had its beginnings as doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Davis. It provenance (and the extensive endnotes appended to eac chapter) are enough to assure readers that it is a thorough, balanced, and altogether reliable study.

Yet Lapsley has managed to communicate little of the art o winemaking that struck such a responsive cord in Stevenson *Bottled Poetry* is replete with an impressive array of statistics Of course, a true history of California wine cannot be writte without firm statistical underpinnings, for the history of the California wine industry is in large part a history of growth, an growth can best be measured in numbers. But numbers are no always adequate to describe the winemakers' achievements, o the regular (and sometimes chilling) setbacks that they suffered and they do little to convey the sense of mission, or the dram and excitement, that have always enveloped winemaking.

Although this history focuses on the Napa Valley from the en of Prohibition to the 1990s, it tells much about the history of winemaking throughout the state during the same period. During thi time, Napa's winemaking community grew from a small industry dominated by four old-line producers to a large and economically important industry embracing several hundre wineries. Lapsley is at his best in describing the forbidding technical challenges that faced winemakers of the period, and of th scientific breakthroughs that enabled them, by the 1970s, to produce wines that, in well-publicized blind tastings, rivaled the best European products. It is an inspiring story that, despite th sometimes bewildering proliferation of statistics, would pleas Stevenson were he alive today, confirming his more than century-old prediction that "the smack of Californian earth shall linge on the palate of your grandson." Indeed, in the 1990s, the "smack" of Napa Valley earth lingers on the palates, not only of Americans, but of wine lovers around the world.

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NOTES

Meissner, "California and the China Flour Trade," pp. 82-93.

1. *Weekly Northwestern Miller* (Minneapolis) [hereinafter cited as *WNWM*], August 13, 1897: 241.
2. *WNWM*, April 15, 1881, reported that Spaniards sowed the first wheat in the New World on the island of Isabella in 1494. This crop later formed the basis for Mexican wheat production and spread south to Argentina, Chile, and Peru. Presumably, Franciscan missionaries also brought this wheat to the California missions. See also H. H. Bancroft, *The History of the United States,* vol. 28 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), passim.
3. Horace Davis, "California Breadstuffs," *Journal of Political Economy* 2 (1893-94): 519-20. Bancroft, v. 19.2, ch. 4, relates the colorful details of a Russian expedition from Sitka's first trading encounter with the California missions at San Francisco in 1806. Bancroft, v. 19.2, ch. 14, mentions that the San Francisco mission also defied a Spanish ban on trade with the Russian settlement at Fort Ross (founded in 1812), carrying on a covert trade in grain and other foodstuffs. See also: Arrell Gibson and John Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 106-116, for details of early trade along the American West Coast.
4. Glenn S. Dumke, *From Wilderness to Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 64.
5. Missions relied on a relatively stable, resident Indian labor force to sustain wheat production. With secularization of the missions, the Indian labor force dispersed or shifted to the more lucrative raising of cattle, making impractical large-scale wheat farming until after the Gold Rush. See: Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), and Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).
6. According to Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 519-22, California's total wheat production in 1831 did not exceed 65,000 bushels. By 1842, mission grain production had plummeted to only 18,060 bushels. Despite the severe drop in wheat production, a number of small grist mills were operating in California in the 1830s. George Yount constructed one of the earliest in the Napa Valley with the help of local Indians. Yount's absorbing account of his pioneer experiences is found in Charles Camp, "The Chronicles of George C. Yount," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 2 (April 1923): 3-66.
7. Charles Beard and Mary Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1944), 191.
8. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 522-24.
9. Edwin R. Bingham, ed., *California Gold* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 9.
10. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," Appendix, Table V, 610. Davis recorded the actual price as $5.70/cental. A cental is a British measurement equal to 100 pounds. It became the unit of wheat measurement on the Pacific Coast with the increasing export of California wheat to England. A bushel of California wheat equalled approximately sixty-three pounds.
11. United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 460. California farm acreage increased from 3,894,000 acres in 1850 to 8,730,000 acres in 1860.
12. Clarence Wooster, "Building the Railroad Down the San Joaquin in 1871," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (March 1939): 22-31, presents an interesting personal account of the development of the San Joaquin railroad, the composition of work crews and their wages, the laying out and naming of prospective towns along the route, and hostilities directed at the Southern Pacific by cattlemen and landowners.
13. Lawrence J. Jelinek, *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing, 1979), 23.
14. Ibid., 41.
15. *WNWM*, March 4, 1881.
16. Ibid.; Jelinek, *Harvest Empire,* 41. Striking
photographs of the immense size of t
farming machinery are found in Ha
Fornari, *Bread Upon the Waters* (Nashvi
Tenn.: Aurora Publishers, 1973), 78ff.
17. Rodman Paul, "The Wheat Trade Betwe
California and the United Kingdom," T
Mississippi Valley Historical Review 45 (D
cember, 1958): 391-92, notes that wheat w
such a bulky and low-paying commod
that large-scale shipments were essential
create a profitable trade.
18. Rodman Paul, "The Great California Gra
War," *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (1958): 3
WNWM August 2, 1878.
19. Paul, "Wheat Trade," 400.
20. Ibid., 397.
21. Ibid., 403. After the repeal of the Corn La
in 1846, England became highly depende
on cereal imports to meet the demands
its expanding urban-industrial populati
22. Paul, "Wheat Trade," 403.
23. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," Append
Table VII, 612. Rates dropped from
shillings per long ton (2,240 pounds)
1867, to 24½ shillings in 1887 (annual av
age rates from January to December.)
24. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 18*
Paul, "Wheat Trade," 396-97.
25. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 529.
26. Almost all of California's wheat was e
ported from the port of San Francisco, a
its European destination was primarily En
land. According to *Statistical Abstracts of*
United States, 1890, 184, seventy-eight pe
cent of all wheat exported from the Unit
States to Europe in 1890 was shipped to t
United Kingdom.
27. W. A. Starr, "Abraham Dubois Starr: Pione
California Miller and Wheat Exporter," *C*
ifornia Historical Society Quarterly (Septe
ber 1948): 195. Between 1850 and 1860, t
population of California increased fro
92,597 to 379,994. *Statistical Abstracts of t*
United States, 1880, 149.
28. "Custom" refers to a bartering system
which the miller grinds flour for a percen
age of the customer's wheat. The numb
of small mills in California remained fai
constant. United States Census Burea
Manufacturing Statistics, 1880, 901, 451, list
115 mills in 1870 and 150 in 1880.

eorge Morrison of Bancroft's History ompany wrote in 1887 that "the mills of California] most famous for high quality of lour are Starr & Co.'s, the Golden Gate and Sperry's;" quoted in Starr, "Abraham Dubois Starr," 196

ames Gray, *Business without Boundary: The History of General Mills* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), 107.

Davis, "California Breadstuffs," Appendix, Table I, 602, presented the following figures or California's estimated wheat crop 1851-52: 163,058 centals, [245, 570 bushels]; 1852-53 375,000, [559,701]; and1853-54: 1,281,160, [1,912,179]

Herman Steen, *Flour Milling in America* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1963), 172

According to Gray, *Business without Boundary*, 107, the "XXXX" brand referred to the price of flour, which at that time sold for orty dollars a barrel.

bid., 107.

WNWM, February 16, 1885, 162.

ohn Leonard, *Who's Who In America* Chicago: A.N. Marquis and Company, 1908), 443.

Qtd. in Gray, *Business without Boundary*, 108.

WNWM, February 1, 1885, 162.

Starr, "Abraham Dubois Starr," 193.

bid., 194-95. In 1892, the Buckeye mill was aken over by the Sperry Company.

WNWM, February, 1, 1885, 162.

British Consular Reports, "San Francisco," ebruary 9, 1857, 44, noted: "California has almost ceased to be an importer of grain and lour, and has exported to some extent."

WNWM, February 10, 1904, 302.

British Consular Reports, "San Francisco," March 5, 1863, 430. This report stated that 1,362,467 bushels of wheat were ground during the year. Using a conservative figure of 4.8 bushels per barrel, the total production of these mills was approximately 290,000 barrels.

According to John Storck and Walter Dorwin Teague, *Flour for Man's Bread: A History of Milling* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952), 280, American per capita consumption of flour held steady at approximately 225 pounds until dropping sharply after the turn of the century. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1880*, 149, records California's 1860 census population as 379,994.

WNWM, August 2, 1878.

Paul, "Wheat Trade," 401.

Basil Lubbock, *The China Clippers* (Glasgow: James Brown and Company, 1922), 96. In 1853, the clipper *Swordfish* made the San Francisco to Shanghai run in thirty-two days.

49. According to the *WNWM*, August 2, 1878, Friedlander first lost heavily in grain speculation in 1860, when he underestimated California's wheat crop and imported large shipments of expensive wheat from Chile. He was able to rebuild his fortune, but lost it again in land speculation and the collapse of the Bank of California, with which he was closely associated.
50. Friedlander's business failed in 1877, and he died the following year. Paul, "Wheat Trade," 401.
51. Gray, *Business without Boundary*, 108.
52. Ramon H. Meyers, "Wheat in China—Past, Present and Future," *China Quarterly* 74 (1978): 297.
53. The Chile mill crushes rather than grinds wheat, producing a very low quality flour. Storck and Teague, *Flour for Man's Bread*, 79.
54. Joseph Mannix, "Chinese Millers and Their Sources of Supply," *WNWM*, August 13, 1897, 1944. For details on Chinese milling equipment, see Rudolf Hommel, *China At Work* (New York: John Day Company, 1937), 67-122.
55. In contrast, California's modern flour milling equipment used an elaborate series of grooved steel rollers and fine silk sieves to gently crack the kernel and separate shell, starchy flour, and bran. For details on the development of this roller milling technology, see: William D. Gray, "A Quarter Century of Milling," *WNWM*, October 18, 1889, part one of a twenty-part series, and Storck and Teague, *Flour for Man's Bread*, chs. 14-16.
56. *WNWM*, February 1, 1895.
57. *New York Times*, November 28, 1897, 10:4.
58. *WNWM*, September 23, 1903, 670.
59. *New York Times*, November 28, 1897, 10:4.
60. Chinese traditional commerce relied on silver (usually in the form of small bars called *taels*) as a medium of exchange. Since the purity of these bars was inconsistent, *sycee shroffs*, or silver assayers, determined the exact percentage of silver—and thus value—of each bar.
61. Kingsland Smith, "Around the World: Hong Kong," *WNWM*, September 16, 1903, 618.
62. *WNWM*, September 16, 1903, 618, reported a 30 percent composition for California flour.
63. Throughout the nineteenth century, West Coast exporters continued to ship directly to Hong Kong rather than to intermediate ports. In 1900, United States Consul [illegible] chastised West Coast millers for continuing to ship all flour bound for China via Hong Kong. Shipping directly to Japan and from there to Chinese ports, he argued, would eliminate a thousand miles of freight charges and additional time. *WNWM*, July 4, 1900.
64. During the last half of the nineteenth century, the advantages of such a port cannot be overstated—particularly for Asian trade from the American West Coast. With relatively few transpacific sailings, a central depot such as Hong Kong enabled exporters to maximize cargo space.
65. Kingsland Smith, "Flour Trade in the Orient," *WNWM*, September 23, 1903, 680-81. *Decennial Reports*, 1902-11, lists the MEX/US dollar conversion rate for 1902 as MEX$2.40/US$1.00.
66. *British Consular Reports*, "San Francisco," 1863, 501.
67. Although Davis includes China, Japan, East Indies, and Cape Town under these export figures, the majority of the flour was shipped to Hong Kong. For example, *British Consular Reports*, "San Francisco," February 23, 1878, 810, reports the amount of flour shipped from California (San Francisco) to Hong Kong as 133,197 barrels, or 82.5 percent of the figure given by Davis.
68. Ibid., 808-809.
69. Theodore Wilcox, president of Portland Flour Milling Company, noted that the China flour trade provided Pacific millers an "outlet for low-grade flours, which [could] not be sold at home"—an advantage not found in any other flour export region in the United States. Charles Kuhlmann, *The Development of the Flour-Milling Industry in the United States*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), 212.
70. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, v. 1, 1543-1800, 345, documents the mid-eighteenth-century Russian trade in otter and fur skins with the northern Chinese. See also: Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise*, chapters 7 and 10, for an excellent introduction to the early Pacific Basin fur trade.
71. E. Mowbray Tate, *Transpacific Steam* (New York: Cornwall Books, 1986), 22-25. Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 27-28, provides further details on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and its effect on Chinese immigration.
72. Chinese merchants controlled the early Asian export trade not only in San Francisco, [illegible] West Coast [illegible]. The Wo Chong Company of Seattle [illegible]

ample, entered the export trade in 1870. It continued to do "considerable business with mills of the coast" into the twentieth century. *WNWM*, May 9, 1900, 897. In 1897, a trade journal advised mills seeking to enter the China flour market to ship their goods "with Chinese houses in Portland or San Francisco." *WNWM*, August 20, 1897, 280.

73. Ibid., September 23, 1903, 670.
74. Presumably, as the price of flour dropped below $40 per barrel, Sperry revised his brand from "XXXX" to "XXX."
75. *WNWM*, September 6, 1911, 607.
76. The *Shanghai Shen Bao* [The Shanghai Evening News], January 1899, 17, contains an advertisement for the Starr company depicting a bag of flour emblazoned with a large star and the company's name in English.
77. *WNWM*, February 10, 1904, 302.
78. United States Department of State, *Despatches From United States Consuls in Shanghai, China, 1847-1906* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May 24, 1901).
79. Ibid.
80. Article IX of the United States and China Commercial Treaty of 1903, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1903, 96-97.
81. "Proposals for Amending the Provisional Regulations Governing the Registration of Trade Marks," contained in *Despatches From United States Consuls in Shanghai, China*, March 21, 1905.
82. Horace Davis, "On the Bill (H.R. No. 2423) to Restrict the Immigration of Chinese to the United States," *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., Appendix, 29.
83. *WNWM*, February 10, 1904, 302. This boycott was one of the first expressions of modern Chinese merchant nationalism. It was a prelude to the more comprehensive Anti-American Boycott of 1905.
84. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," Appendix,Table VI, 611, reports the average price of wheat in San Francisco for 1880-81 at 95 cents.
85. Ibid., Appendix, Table III, 608. Davis lists total flour exports for 1879-80 at 493,949 barrels. This jumped to 662,093 in 1880-81 and 919,898 in 1881-82.
86. Ibid., 532, gives the exact figure as 437,471 barrels
87. For an insightful report on the development of China's coastal steam shipping, see Zhang Zongh, et al., *The Swire Group in Old China* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1990).
88. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 530-32. The falling value of silver exacerbated the situation for California wheat and flour exports. Between 1880 and 1900, silver declined 45.8 percent against the U.S. dollar, making American exports less competitive on international markets than products from silver-based currency nations. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1900*, 45.
89. *British Consular Reports*, "San Francisco," April 13, 1863, 422.
90. Paul, "Wheat Trade," 411.
91. Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 522. Wheat farming in Oregon declined dramatically during the early 1850s, as farmers left the fields to seek California gold.
92. *British Consular Reports*, "San Francisco," March 6, 1871, 285. "Wheat equivalent" included the amount of wheat received, plus the amount of flour expressed in terms of wheat (approx. 4.8 bushels per barrel).
93. *British Consular Reports*, "San Francisco," October 29, 1872, 919.
94. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1900*, 363-64, reports the estimated annual production of wheat in 1897 for Oregon as 18,155,031 bushels, compared to Washington's 20,124,648 bushels.
95. Ibid., 280.
96. *WNWM*, March 28, 1900, 617. The eight shipping lines were the Canadian Pacific, Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Northern Pacific, Pacific Mail, Occidental & Oriental, California & Oriental, Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co., and Toyo Kisen Kaisha (Oriental Steamship Company).
97. Theodore B. Wilcox, "Oriental Trade," *Journal of the American Asiatic Association* 5 (September 1905): 240.
98. Ibid.
99. Gray, *Business without Boundary*, 109.
100. Starr, the other leading mill, continued briefly on its own until a combination of bad luck and the depression of 1893 forced the company into bankruptcy. In subsequent years, the mill was refitted as a sugar refining plant. Starr, "Abraham Dubois Starr," 199-200.
101. Gray, *Business without Boundary*, 109; and Steen, *Flour Milling in America*, 173.
102. Between 1900 and 1905, flour exports from San Francisco still averaged over 911,000 barrels per year. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1906*, Table 93, 425.
103. *Journal of the American Asiatic Association* 4 (June 1904): 153.
104. Between 1890-1909, the combined wheat production of Oregon and Washington increased 149 percent (20.94 million to 52.16 million bushels). During the same peric California wheat production fell 60 perce (29.12 million to 11.55 million bushels); *S tistical Abstracts of the United States, 1909*, 13 37.
105. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 190* Table 55, lists the amount of American flo exported to Hong Kong as 1,410,534 barre in 1900, valued at $4,203,623. Table 40 lis the value of all American exports to Ho Kong during that year as $8,485,978.
106. *WNWM*, July 31, 1901, 222.
107. As Michael Adas, *Machines As the Measu of Men* (Ithaca: Cornell University Pres 1989), has argued, most westerners perceiv China's backward technology as sympt matic of a stagnant civilization that could n master the intricacies of modern industr
108. For details on the development of China modern flour milling industry, see Daniel Meissner, "Shanghai Success" (Ph.D. dis University of Wisconsin, Madison, 199
109. Shanghaishi Liangshiju, *Zhongguo jina mianfen gongyeshi* [The History of China Modern Flour Industry] (Beijing: Zhonghu shubu, 1987), 204; and *WNWM*, July 2 1903, 245.
110. Shanghaishi Liangshiju, *Zhongguo jina mianfen gongyeshi*, Appendix 11, 419-22.
111. *Journal of the American Asiatic Association* (February 1910): 3, lists total American flo exports to Hong Kong as 834,826 barrels.
112. *WNWM*, September 21, 1910, 746.

Warrin, "An Immigrant Path to Soci Mobility," p. 94-107.

1. "With the Sheep, in California," *Hom Maker*, March 1891.
2. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Missions ar Missionaries of California* (San Francisc James H. Barry, 1908–1915), III, 80.
3. Marion Lee Menzel, "The Historical G ography of the Sheep Industry in Califo nia in the Nineteenth Century" (M.A. th sis, University of California, Berkele 1944), 37.
4. Clarence Gordon, "Report on Cattle, Shee and Swine," *Tenth Federal Census* (1880), 9
5. John Outcalt, *History of Merced County, Ca ifornia* (Los Angeles: Historic Record C 1925), 681.
6. Jack London, *Valley of the Moon* (New Yor MacMillan, 1914), 309. This section of th novel was inspired—at times taken almo verbatim—from Forrest Crissey, *Where O*

NOTES

ortunity Knocks Twice* (Chicago: Reilly & ritton Co., 1914), 18-19.

7 William Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in andling Cattle and Sheep* (New York: O udd Co., 1885), 124

8 heep are kept in flocks or "bands," usually umbering between 1,000 and 2,000 head.

9 "Wages Account Book" of James Lynch, ierra Redonda Ranch, Bancroft Library, niversity of California, Berkeley, 146, 374, 406

1 ugene T. Sawyer, *History of Santa Clara ounty, California* (Los Angeles: Historic ecord Co., 1922), 1392

1 *merica's Sheep Trails: History, Personalities* Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 948), 285.

1 'Nesta Trise Ocasião [On This Sad Occasion], in Eduardo Mayone Dias, *Cantares de lem Mar: Uma Colectânea de Poesia Vicencial opular de Emigrantes Portugueses nos Estados Unidos* (Coimbra, Portugal: University of Coimbra, 1982), 29-31, translation by onald Warrin.

1 'One of the great shepherds [sheepmen] on he Nacimiento [a river in central California] old me that, during one year, he employed on his *rancho* [as herders] a bishop's son, a anker, an editor, a civil engineer, and a ookkeeper, all of them college alumni," "A lock of Wool," *The Overland Monthly* (January 1870): 142

1 f., José Mallea-Olaetxe, "History that rows on Trees: Basque Aspen Carving in evada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* Spring 1992): 21-39

1 Mary Austin, *The Flock* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), 65

1 mmigrant surnames were commonly hanged. The name in parentheses indicates he Portuguese surname in its original form.

1 *hoshone Journal*, 21 December 1906

1 ohn Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra* Dunwoody, Georgia: N.S. Berg, 1972 [c. 1911]), 278-85

1 *The Plains Over: Reminiscences of William asper Stockton*, written by Ralph Leroy Milliken (Los Banos, California: Los Banos Enterprise, 1939), 38

2 hepherd, *Prairie Experiences*, 103

2 Menzel, "The Historical Geography of the heep Industry in California in the Nineteenth Century," 58. Owners were variously eferred to as "sheep raisers," "sheep growers," "wool growers," or "sheepmen." The erm "shepherd" was sometimes applied to an owner who traveled with his flock, although he was probably more commonly called a "sheepman." The "sheepherder" was simply a hired hand of the "sheepman."(Cf., Austin, *The Flock*, 56.)

22. *Brooklyn Home Journal* (Alameda County, Calif.,) 2 September 1871.
23. *San Francisco Morning Call*, 12 July 1883.
24. *People* vs. *John Westwood*, Case no. 88, Superior Court, Mono County, 5 October 1883.
25. This Manuel Cardozo is not to be confused with the younger poet, Manuel Cardoso (see p. 98.)
26. *Fresno Weekly Expositor*, 30 January 1889; *Daily Evening Expositor*, 7 March 1889.
27. 1900 Federal Census for Johnson County, Wyoming; Ben and Angie Ingraham, interview by author, Orangevale, Calif., 30 January 1993; Kim M. Ingraham, telephone interview by author, 16 February 1993.
28. *History of Torrance County* (Estancia, N.M.: Torrance County Historical Society, 1929), 21; Mary Mendonça Leonardo, interview by author, Modesto, Calif., 28 November 1992; Robert George Raymer, *Montana, The Land and the People* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1930), III, 541-42.
29. *Missing Pages: Idaho & the Book* [Dedication Catalogue] (Boise: Idaho Center for the Book 1994)
30. *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), 17 December 1974.
31. *East Oregonian* (Pendleton), 4 December 1939.
32. Alvin R. Graves, "Immigrants in Agriculture: The Portuguese Californians, 1850–1970s" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), 60-61.
33. Adrienne Alston, "Made in America!" (Unpublished article, Tulare, Calif.), 1.
34. James M. Guinn, *History and Biographical Record of Monterey and San Benito Counties* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co.), 629.
35. George H. Tinkham, *History of Stanislaus County* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1921), 1320
36. Guinn, *History and Biographical Record of Monterey and San Benito Counties*, 635-36.
37. Henry M. Brown, "Sheep in the Mountains," *Los Tulares* [Quarterly Bulletin of the Tulare County Historical Society] No. 80 (March 1969): 3
38. Quoted in Brown, "Sheep in the Mountains," 4
39. John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 59
40. Austin, *The Flock*, 204-205. Destruction by overgrazing was not the only problem associated with the presence of sheep in the parks and reserves. Herders allegedly set wildfires as they departed the high country in order to encourage the growth of grasses the following spring; Ise, *Our National Park Policy; A Critical History*, 59-60.
41. *Fresno Morning Republican*, 29 August and 3 October, 1899.
42. *Fresno Morning Republican*, 3 October 1899.
43. *United States* vs. *Grimaud*, 220 United States 506.
44. District Court of the United States for the Southern District of California, Case no. 1346.
45. *Fresno Morning Republican*, 28 July 1898.
46. Crissey, *Where Opportunity Knocks Twice*, 65-69.
47. *The Colusa Daily Sun*, 3 June 1924; Robert Bisho, interview by author and Diane Beeson, Colusa, Calif., 15 December 1994.
48. *Geographic Names Information System, California* (Reston, Va.: National Cartographic Information Center, U.S. Geological Survey, 1990, microfiche), 873-74; Erwin G. Gudde, *California Gold Camps*, ed. Elisabeth K. Gudde (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 273-74, 310. A cross-check in the *GNIS, California* of the surnames of Portuguese sheepmen represented in this article with toponyms located in the mountain areas of the state reveal a Cardoza Lake and Ridge (Sierra foothills); Enos Camp (Trinity N.F.); Freitas Spring (Diablo Range); Gomez Meadow (a common hispanicization of "Gomes") (Inyo N.F.); Mattos Gulch (Santa Cruz Mountains); Pimental Creek (Diablo Range); Pimentel Meadows (Toiyable N.F.); Silva Flat Reservoir (Modoc N.F.), named after a Sacramento Valley sheepman who pastured his animals there; Silva Ravine (Plumas N.F.); and Soares Gulch (Klamath N.F.).
49. Guinn, *History and Biographical Record of Monterey and San Benito Counties*, 684-85, 629; Tinkham, *History of Stanislaus County*, 318.
50. Interview by Adrienne Alston, Rawlins, Wyo., 18 October 1992
51. Manuel and Lillian Borges, interview by author and Diane Beeson, Carlotta, Calif., 28 December 1992

Hoffman, "Albert Einstein at Caltech," pp. 108-121.

1. An earlier version of this article was read at a meeting of the Westerners, Los Angeles Corral, January [illegible]

NOTES

2. Robert A. Millikan to Albert Einstein, October 2, 1924, Einstein Collection, California Institute of Technology Archives, hereinafter CA.
3. Robert A. Millikan, *The Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1951), 220-21.
4. Ronald W. Clark, *Einstein: The Life and Times* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1971), 331-32; Einstein to Millikan, November 3, 1924, and July 13, 1925; Elsa Einstein to Millikan, September 18, 1929, Einstein Collection, CA.
5. Clark, *Einstein*, 424.
6. Elma Ehrlich Levinger, *Albert Einstein* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1949), 121-23.
7. Clark, *Einstein*, 428.
8. Levinger, *Einstein*, 124-25; Dorothy Michelson Livingston, *The Master of Light: A Biography of Albert A. Michelson* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 336.
9. Judith Goodstein, "Albert Einstein in California," *Engineering and Science* 42 (May-June 1979): 18.
10. *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1931; Joe Hendrickson, *The Tournament of Roses: A Pictorial History* (Los Angeles: Brooke House, 1971), 73.
11. Livingston, *Master of Light*, 291, 335-36.
12. *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1931; Clark, *Einstein*, 432-34; *New York Times*, February 5, 1931.
13. Abraham Pais, *Einstein Lived Here* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 185.
14. Ibid.
15. *Los Angeles Herald*, January 31, 1931; *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1931.
16. *Los Angeles Herald*, January 5-31, 1931; *Los Angeles Express*, January 10-31, 1931; *Los Angeles Times*, January 3-March 8, 1931.
17. Goodstein, "Albert Einstein in California," 17.
18. *New York Times*, February 17, 1931; Clark, *Einstein*, 434-35.
19. Ann Scheid, *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley* (Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1986), 164.
20. Levinger, *Einstein*, 127-28; Clark, *Einstein*, 435.
21. Millikan to Einstein, July 9, 1931, and Einstein to Millikan, August 1, 1931, Einstein Collection, CA; *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 1931.
22. A. A. Noyes to G. E. Hale, October 9, 1931, Einstein Collection, CA; Clark, *Einstein*, 442-44.
23. Millikan to Einstein, October 11, 1931; Einstein to Millikan, October 19, 1931; Elsa Einstein to Millikan, November 14, 1931, Einstein Collection, CA; Clark, *Einstein*, 442-44.
24. *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 1931.
25. Ibid., January 3, 1932.
26. Ibid., January 5 and 15, and February 25, 1932.
27. Ibid., February 17 and 29, 1932.
28. Ibid., January 31, 1932; Amos A. Fries to Millikan, March 4, 1932, and Millikan to Fries, March 8, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA; Clark, *Einstein*, 453-47.
29. Millikan to Einstein, April 14, 1932, and June 7, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA.
30. Elsa Einstein to Millikan, June 22, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA.
31. Einstein to Millikan, June 25, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA.
32. Millikan to Abraham Flexner, July 23, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA.
33. Flexner to Millikan, July 30, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA.
34. Elsa Einstein to Millikan, August 1, 1932; Millikan to Einstein, August 15, 1932; Millikan to Flexner, August 15, 1932; Einstein to Millikan, September 8, 1932, Einstein Collection, CA.
35. Clark, *Einstein*, 453-57; Albert Einstein, "On German-American Agreement," *Caltech Bulletin* 42 (January 23, 1933): 9-12.
36. Goodstein, "Einstein in California," 19.
37. Clark, *Einstein*, 468.
38. Clark, *Einstein*, 450; Michael White and John Gribbin, *Einstein: A Life in Science* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 202; Abraham Pais, *'Subtle is the Lord . . .': The Science and the Life of Albert Einstein* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 450; Levinger, *Einstein*, 141-42; Judith Goodstein, *Millikan's School: A History of the California Institute of Technology* (New York: W.W. Morrow, 1991), 103-105; Banesh Hoffman with Helen Dukas, *Albert Einstein: Creater and Rebel* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), 162-64; Philipp Frank, *Einstein: His Life and Times* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 224-26.
39. Einstein to Millikan, March 1933, Einstein Collection, CA.

Kelly, "The Recall Election of 1946," pp. 122-135.

1. Although much work on several aspects of the political history of San Francisco in the 1930s through the 1940s has appeared, few scholars even mention the recall election of 1946. See the postscript to William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932:*
Politics, Power and Urban Development (Ber
ley: University of California Press, 1986); t
articles by William Issel, "Business Pov
and Political Culture in San Francisco, 19
1940," *Journal of Urban History* 16 (Nove
ber 1989): 52-77, and "Liberalism and Urb
Policy in San Francisco from the 1930s to
1960s," *Western Historical Quarterly* XXII (N
vember 1991): 431-50; Charles Raudebau
"San Francisco, the Beldam Dozes" in Rob
S. Allen, ed., *Our Fair City* (New York: T
Vanguard Press, 1947), 347-69; Albert
Broussard, *Black San Francisco: The Strug*
for Racial Equality in the West, 1900-19
(Lawrence, Kansas: University Press
Kansas, 1993); David G. Dalin, "Jewish a
Non-Partisan Republicanism in San Fra
cisco, 1911-1963," *American Jewish Histor*
(June 1979): 492-516; George Dorsey, *Chris*
pher of San Francisco (New York: The Macm
lan Company, 1962); two articles by Ro
W. Lotchin: "The Darwinian City: The Po
tics of Urbanization in San Francisco
tween the World Wars," *Pacific Historical*
view XLVIII (August 1979): 357-81, a
"World War II and Urban California: C
Planning and the Transformation Hypot
sis," *Pacific Historical Review* LXII (May 19
143-71; Chester Hartmann, *The Transform*
tion of San Francisco (Totowa, New Jers
Rowman and Allanheld, 1984); John H. M
lenkopf, *The Contested City* (Princeton, N
Jersey: Princeton University Press, 198
Frederick M. Wirt, *Power in the City: Decis*
Making in San Francisco (Berkeley: Univers
of California Press, 1974); Judith Robins
You're in Your Mother's Arms: The Life a
Legacy of Congressman Phil Burton (San Fra
cisco: Mary Judith Robinson, 1994); John
cobs, *A Rage for Justice: The Passion and Po*
tics of Phillip Burton (Berkeley: University
California Press, 1995).

The author wishes to thank the follo
ing individuals for their encouragement a
commentary on earlier versions of this a
cle: Bruce G. Laurie, Francis G. Couvar
Bernard Sternsher, Tom Sitton and, es
cially, Kenneth A. Yellis.

2. The Progressive fathers of the recall dev
invented the mechanism as a means of pu
ishing official corruption. It is difficult, ho
ever, to uncover a case of recall conduct
primarily for that purpose; searching
such typically reveals the presence of larg
political goals informed by an ideology ha
ing little to do with corruption. Distinct
titudes toward liquor are reported to ha
underlaid the support for and opposition

he recall of San Francisco State Senator Ed-vin E. Grant in 1914, extremist right-wing roclivity by Los Angeles Councilman Meade McClanahan stirred a successful re-all in 1946, and a variety of right-wing and eft-wing groups with distinct ideological gendas formed the coalition that recalled os Angeles Mayor Frank T. Shaw in 1938. ee the *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 17, 1946, 2; two articles by Tom Sitton, "Direct emocracy vs. Free Speech: Gerald L. K. mith and the Recall Election of 1946 in Los Angeles," *Pacific Historical Review* LVII 1988): 285-304, and "Another Generation of eformers: Los Angeles in the 1930s," *West-rn Historical Quarterly* XVIII (July 1987): 15-32; Fred W. Viehe, "The Recall of Mayor rank L. Shaw, A Revision," *California His-ory* LIX (Winter 1980-81): 290-305.

3. Vhen the recall movement leadership uni-aterally floated the names of several promi-ent political figures as potential replace-ents for Lapham, each of them sharply epudiated the possibility and promptly isassociated himself from any implication f support for the recall. *Chronicle* (May 30, 946), 1, 6; (June 4, 1946), 8.
4. ando Starr, ed., *Blue Book of San Franciscans n Public Life* (San Francisco: McLaughlin ublishing Company, 1941): 127-28; *Chron-le* (April 18, 1966), 8.
5. Howard Kimeldorf, *Reds or Rackets? The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on e Waterfront* (Berkeley: University of Cal-ornia Press, 1988), 60-63; Charles P. Lar-owe, *Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Rad-al Labor in the United States* (New York: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1972), 103-104.
6. *Chronicle* (August 29, 1935), 16; *Chronicle* May 1, 1936), 4; Bruce Nelson, *Workers on e Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana, Illinois: Uni-ersity of Illinois Press, 1988), quotes apham's characterization of Bridges's ob-ectives on 220; employer involvement in the ridges deportation proceedings is noted by arrowe, *Harry Bridges*, 103. Lapham's 1934 etter to Secretary of Labor Perkins in which e labeled the leadership of the waterfront trike movement as "largely led and di-ected by the Communist party and its embers, most of whom are aliens," is eprinted in Paul Eliel, *The Waterfront and eneral Strikes, San Francisco, 1934* (San Fran-isco: Hooper Printing Company, 1934), 238-9. Lapham never abandoned his belief that e 1934 waterfront strike was fomented by e Communist party. In an interview 22 years after the event, he still characterized it as an effort directed by the party "to get power [and] control" and had nothing to do with "the aims of the usual accepted labor leadership." Roger D. Lapham, *An Interview on Shipping, Labor, San Francisco City Government and American Foreign Aid* (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, 1957), 79. The recent work by David F. Selvin, *A Terrible Anger: The 1934 Waterfront and General Strikes in San Francisco* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), is an excellent summary and analysis of the 1934 waterfront strikes.
7. *Chronicle* (May 21, 1938), 5; *Chronicle* (June 23, 1943), 5.
8. Lapham's colleagues at the club included Leland W. Cutler, an insurance underwriting executive. Cutler had arranged Reconstruction Finance Corporation funding for the Bay Bridge in the early 1930s, had been the president of the World's Fair at Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay in 1939-40, and was prominent in the city's Republican party; James B. Black, the president of Pacific Gas and Electric, the single largest supplier of electricity to the entire state; Angus D. McDonald, the president of the Southern Pacific Railroad; John Francis Neylan, the chief editorial writer for the Hearst chain of newspapers; and Dean W. Witter of the national stock brokerage firm. See Starr, *Blue Book*, and Marguerite M. Pinchard, publisher, *The New Society Blue Book, 1930* (1930), 209-15.
9. As examples of these cosmopolitan institutional affiliations, Lapham was a member of the California state Golf Association in 1920, a member of the Board of Directors of the statewide California anti-prohibition Crusaders in 1932, a member of the Board of Directors of the regional Treasure Island World's Fair of 1939-1940, a co-founder of Pacific House, an institute to promote trade between the United States and Asia, president of the Harvard Club of San Francisco in 1939-1940 and, after his mayoralty term, chief of the U. S. Aid mission to China in 1948.
10. *Chronicle* (November 2, 1943), 10. In California, candidates for office collect signatures of sponsors who thereby formally testify to the candidate's fitness for office. These signatures, usually around 20 names, are then filed with the Registrar of Voters. For the sponsor, the signature is a mechanism for a community notable to associate himself early with a successful candidacy, especially when the candidate is an incumbent. For the prospective office-holder, it is a means by which his candidacy is legitimized by prominent, presumably influential, members of the business and political communities.

    Lapham's roster of sponsors included officials of both the Republican and Democratic parties, thus inspiring the claim that his campaign was non-partisan. Edward B. Baron in 1943, for example, was a theater owner in the exclusive Marina neighborhood, a frequent sponsor of Republican candidates, often a candidate for membership on the San Francisco Republican County Central Committee, and was to become a Thomas E. Dewey Presidential Elector in 1948.

    Neal H. Callaghan, a lawyer, was a frequent sponsor of Democratic candidates, a member of the San Francisco Democratic Central Committee in the 1930s and 1940s, and was to become President Truman's nominee as superintendent of the mint in San Francisco in 1945.
11. Lapham complained of politicians as such as early as 1926 when he advocated the "complete elimination of the United States Shipping Board," observing that the members of the board were appointed on "a political and sectional basis" and thus were not qualified to "treat our shipping problems from the standpoint of international relations." *San Francisco Examiner* (March 20, 1926), 3.
12. Ibid. (September 18, 1943), 15.
13. Ibid. (September 20, 1943), 3.
14. Indeed, Republican party strategists often complained of the disruption of the "natural harmony of interests" between employer and employees wrought by unions and their Democratic party allies. See Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted? The Dynamics of Electoral Turnout. 1870-1980* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), 109. In California, the Republican nominee for the U. S. Senate in 1938, Philip Bancroft, lamented that the Wagner Act of 1935 forced "employers and employees to look upon each other as enemies" and eliminated "all possibilities of friendly settlement of labor disputes." *Chronicle* (September 25, 1938), 12.
15. *Examiner* (January 9, 1944), 13.
16. The consolidation scheme had not originated with Lapham. Indeed, the absorption of the Market Street Railway system into the city-owned Municipal Railway was an old proposal. As early as 1931, for example, Mayor James Rolph, Jr., later a governor of

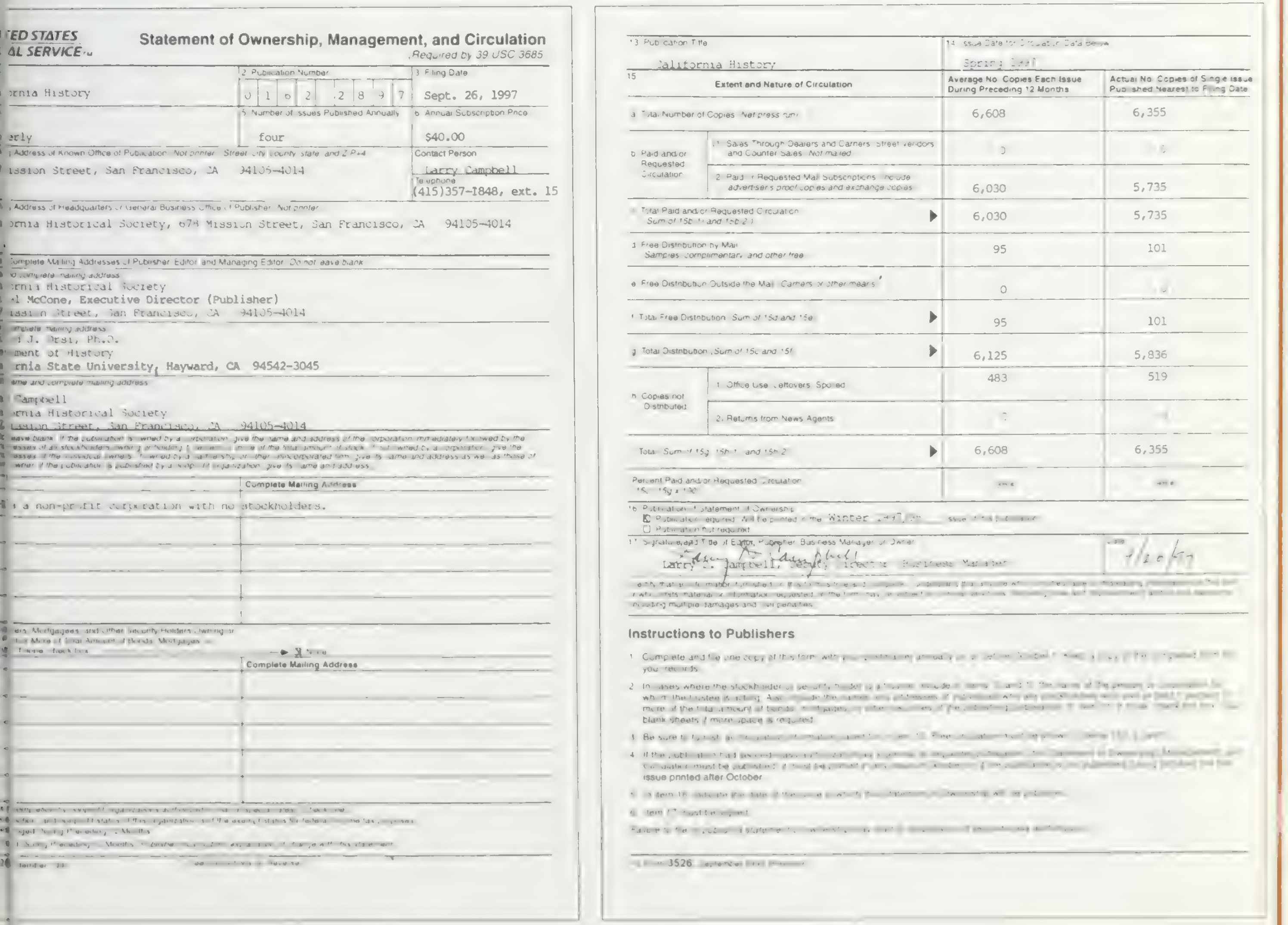
California, and Jesse C. Colman, a supervisor whose political career extended into the 1960s, both urged consolidation. *Examiner* (January 7, 1930), 4, and *Examiner* (October 20, 1930), 17.

17. *Chronicle* (October 18, 1945), 1. Lapham's conception of San Francisco as a world center extended beyond the economic realm. Once again, his considerable energy was devoted in December of 1945 to a vigorous, though unsuccessful, personal lobbying effort in London, England, to lure the permanent headquarters of the new United Nations to San Francisco.
18. *Chronicle* (July 1, 1945), 6; *Chronicle* (August 21, 1945), 1, 4.
19. *Chronicle* (November 2, 1943), 10; (July 12, 1946), 1; (July16, 1946), 2. In 1944, for example, Lapham appointed the president of the chamber of commerce to the board of education and remarked that he was purposely abandoning the past practice of balancing the board with representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish segments of the community. Instead, said Lapham, he was appointing the man "best suited to serve" for the job. But Lapham was not, in fact, above the use of patronage as a means of wedding politically potent groups to his regime. He appointed George Wilson, a CIO official, to the city's welfare commission in 1944 and George Johns, already a city planning commissioner, to the board of education in 1945. Johns was a vice president of the San Francisco Labor Council and an official of the retail liquor clerks union. Later, Ray Leavitt, a political columnist for the *Chronicle,* noted that Lapham's appointment of the Chinese woman Mon S. Owyang to the recreation commission and of the black doctor William M. Thomas to the housing authority were examples of his extending "recognition to the city's minority groups." *Chronicle* (July 22, 1944), 1; *Chronicle* (August 30, 1945), 1; *Chronicle* (April 8, 1946), 4-H.
20. *Examiner* (June 14, 1944), 26.
21. *Chronicle* (August 3, 1945), 8.
22. Ibid. (May 21, 1938), 5.
23. *Examiner* (October 9, 1944), 5.
24. *Chronicle* (February 14, 1945), 1.
25. Ibid. (August 3, 1945), 7.
26. The brawl between Lapham, the board of supervisors, and the municipal carmen's union can be followed in the *Examiner* between March 11, 1944, and April 1, 1944.
27. *Chronicle* (June 28, 1946), 7; *Chronicle* (June 30, 1946), 1, 4; *Chronicle* (July 3, 1946), 7.
28. *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* (April 19, 1946), 2. One complaint of the recall petition lambasting Lapham for failing to exploit the potential for the city to be named as the site of the United Nations headquarters is puzzling. Lapham had spent considerable time and energy on this effort in December 1945.
29. *Chronicle* (July 17, 1946), 1; *Chronicle* (June 25, 1946), 1.
30. *Chronicle* (June 24, 1946), 4.
31. The interview with Walter I. Carpeneti occurred on April 14, 1994.
32. *Call-Bulletin* (June 5, 1946), 1.
33. The classification of San Francisco's neighborhoods into four strata is based on data from the census of 1940 reported in the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States. Population, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1 (1943)* and *Housing Supplement to the 1st Series Housing Bulletin for California-San Francisco Block Statistics* (1942). The basis for the classification and rankings of the neighborhoods is detailed in a methodological supplement to this article available from the author at 1740 Franklin Street in San Francisco, CA 94109.
34. Descriptions of the various neighborhoods were drawn from several different sources: Alvin Averbach, "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1850-1950: The Emergence of a Skid Row," *California Historical Quarterly* LII (Fall 1973): 196-223, George P. Daskarolis, "San Francisco's Greek Colony: Evolution of an Ethnic Community, 1890-1945," *California History* LX (Summer 1981): 114-33; Richard Dillon, *North Beach: The Italian Heart of San Francisco* (Novato, California: Presidio Press, 1985); Jerry Flamm, *Good Life in Hard Times: San Francisco's '20s and '30s* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1977), 72-83; and *Hometown San Francisco* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1994); WPA Writers' Program, *San Francisco, The Bay Area and Its Cities* (New York: Hastings House, 1940); Susan Shephard, *In the Neighborhoods* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981); Brian J. Godfrey, *Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
35. Calculation of turnout in the four classes of neighborhoods is based on estimates of the size of the population eligible to register and vote in each neighborhood in each election year and is in the methodological supplement to this article available from the author.
36. The generalizations on office-holding are
based on data collected for all non-judi
elective office holders (mayors, supervis
state legislators, and congressmen) and
mayorally appointed commissioners
board members between 1942 and 1
The names and addresses of these 239
ficeholders were extracted from city di
tories for the 1940s and mapped to a
try, upper burgher, lower burgher,
working class neighborhood accordin
See the methodological supplement for
precise shares of offices held by resident
the four strata.
37. All generalizations on the political pre
ences of the city's voters are based on
original precinct-level returns maintai
by the San Francisco Registrar of Voters.
two-party raw returns were transcribed
machine-readable form for all contested
sembly, congressional, state, and national
fices between 1938 and 1952. The results
elections where a candidate had no, or m
imal, opposition were excluded. The ne
gible absentee votes were excluded, as th
votes were not reported at the precinct le
only at the assembly district level, so t
could not be assigned to any neighb
hood's totals.
The partisan distribution of the vote
all state and federal elections between 1
and 1952 by neighborhood strata and for
non-partisan Lapham-related elections
1943, 1944, and 1946 are presented in
methodological supplement available fr
the author.
38. The three Lapham-related elections were
mayoralty election of 1943, the proposa
purchase the private Market Street Railw
in 1944, and the recall election in July 1
It should be noted that not every pol
promoted by Lapham triggered the sa
alignment between the neighborhoods.
example, Lapham's strenuous campaign
a $20 million bond issue in November 1
for expanding the San Francisco airport
supported strongly throughout the city.
proposal was simply not controversial, p
haps because it involved a structure with
tle impact on the daily lives of San Fr
cisco's citizens.
39. On the 1944 Market Street Railway p
chase, a similar proposal had been p
sented to the voters in special elections
October 1938 and April 1943 and in the
mary election of August 1942. These p
posals were rejected by comfortable marg
in all neighborhoods. But the results on
same question in the spring of 1944 illustr

the differential response. Lapham was not involved in the earlier elections; in April 1943 he had not even declared his mayoral candidacy. Yet in May 1944 he offered the prestige of his person and office behind the purchase measure.

Lapham could, indeed, in these early days of his term, call on selected support from working-class San Francisco (at least those working-class downtown districts of Chinatown and the financial district, both of which experienced the daily aggravation of heavily congested traffic), but the upper burgher and gentry portions of the city responded much more enthusiastically to his political recommendations in May of 1944.

40. *Chronicle* (September 4, 1945), 1, 10.
41. *Chronicle* (June 7, 1946), 1.
42. Augustine Gaynor, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, James E. Ricketts, vice president in 1943 of the Building Trades Council, and George Johns of the retail liquor clerks were all non-CIO union leaders who campaigned against the recall.



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(Required by 39 USC 3685)

rnia History
2. Publication Number: 0 1 6 2 2 8 9 7
3. Filing Date: Sept. 26, 1997
erly
5. Number of Issues Published Annually: four
6. Annual Subscription Price: $40.00
Address of Known Office of Publication (Not printer) (Street, city, county, state, and ZIP+4)
ission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014
Contact Person: Larry Campbell
Telephone: (415)357-1848, ext. 15
Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher (Not printer)
rnia Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

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13. Publication Title: California History		14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: Spring 1997
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
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2. Returns from News Agents	[illegible]	[illegible]
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Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation (15c / 15g x 100)	[illegible]	[illegible]

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☒ Publication required. Will be printed in the Winter 1997/98 issue of this publication.
☐ Publication not required.

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Larry L. Campbell, Deputy Director, Business Manager
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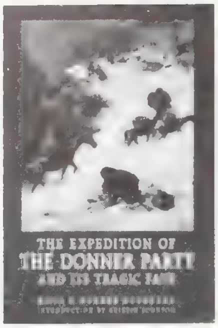

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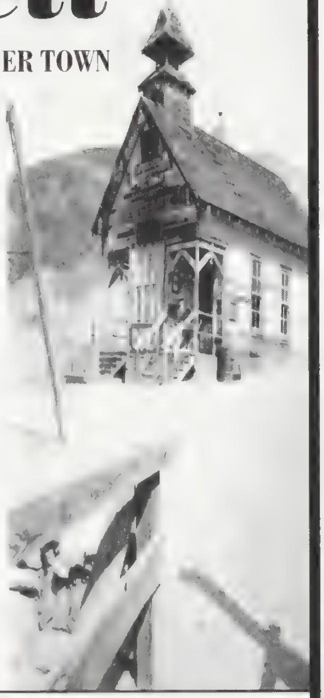

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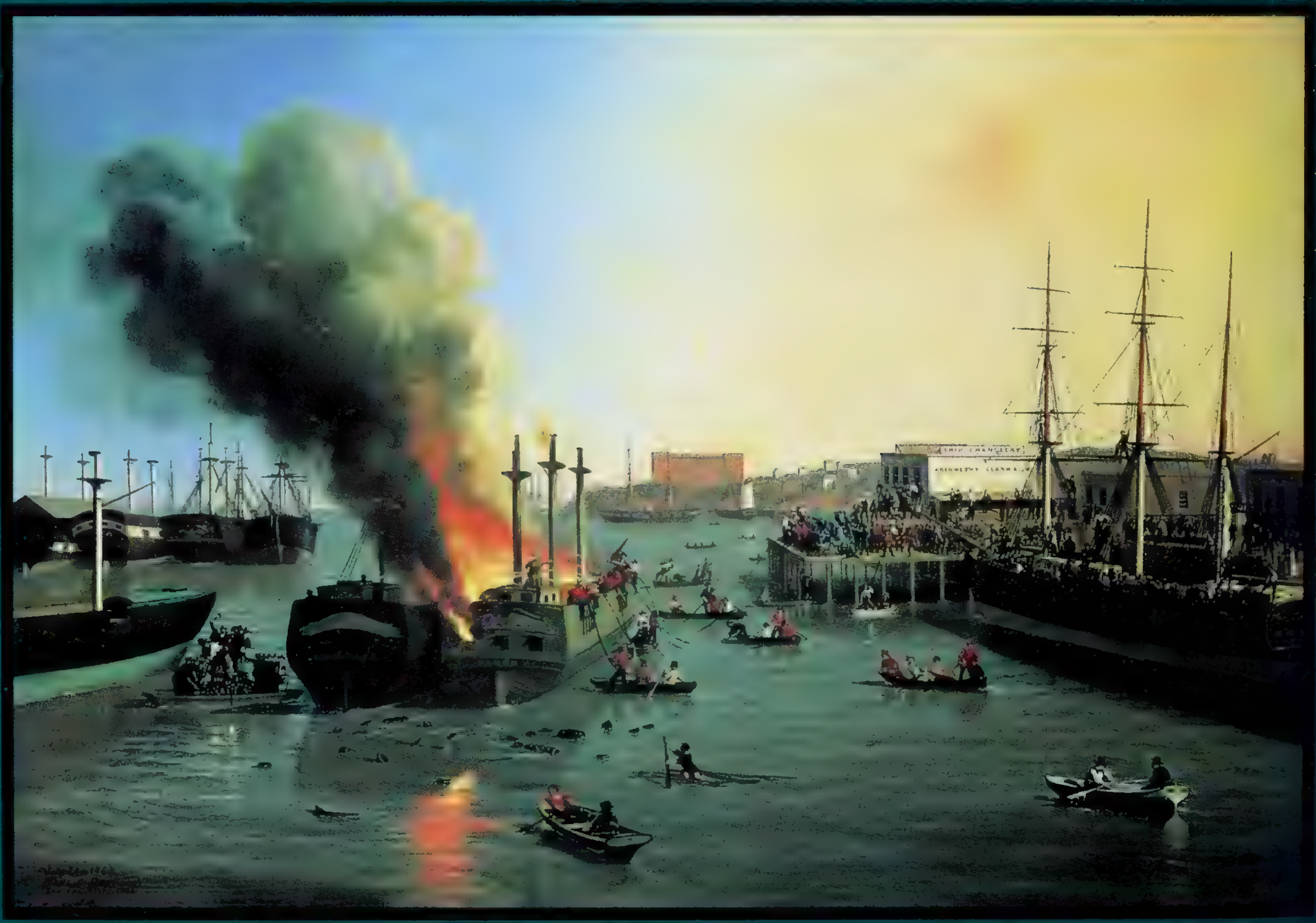

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13

19

29

2 Annual Reports: Fiscal Years 1996 & 1997

10 A Portfolio of Exhibitions
Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood
Bearing Witness to Manifest Destiny
The San Francisco Art Association
James Madison Alden
Personal Edens: The Gardens and Film Sets of Florence Yoch
Direct From Nature: The Oil Sketches of Thomas Hill

30 Financial Highlights: Fiscal Years 1996 and 1997

32 Reviews

45 California Checklist

47 Donors
General Fund Donors
Annual Fund Donors
Capital Campaign Donors

53 New Members

California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward.

California History (ISSN 0162-2897 LC 75-640289) is published quarterly by the California Historical Society (CHS) 678 Mission Street San Francisco, CA 94105-4014. Subscription: Regular annual membership is $40.00. Periodicals Postage PAID at San Francisco, CA and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: send address changes to CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

ANNUAL REPORT

Fiscal Years 1996 & 1997

(July 1, 1995-June 30, 1997)

At the start of Fiscal Year 1996 the California Historical Society entered a new era. It left its premises of nearly four decades, in the gracious surroundings of San Francisco's Pacific Heights residential neighborhood, and moved to the dynamic environs of the growing Yerba Buena Gardens area in downtown San Francisco. The move to the new headquarters building was completed on July 31, 1995; the renovation of the Society's new building at 678 Mission Street was documented in the Annual Report of Fiscal Year 1995 (July 1994-June 1995).

The move propelled the Society to offer more of itself and its collections to the public, fulfilling a goal of greater accessibility that had been defined by the Society's Trustees in a 1990 long range plan. The challenge of making these ambitions a reality precluded the publication of an annual report after the close of FY 1996. This document serves to bring the Society's own history up to date. It is important to note that besides having an excellent new facility and a debt-free building, the Society has successfully balanced its budget in the two years covered by this report. It is truly the start of a new era.

ACTIVITIES COUNCIL

The Northern California Activities Council, chaired by Mrs. John C. Williams and co-chaired by Mrs. Donald C. McNear, is a group that assists the Society in raising funds with special events. On October 31, 1995, the Council presented its fourth Hats Off! luncheon, a program which honors a distinguished Californian. The 1995 honoree was Nan Tucker McEvoy, whose commitment to public service, support of the arts, and abiding interest in history was celebrated by nearly 350 people at the historic Palace Hotel. The featured speaker was I. Michael Heyman, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and the event netted $27,928 to support the Society's programs.

Thanks to the generosity of the Rosekrans families, on October 20, 1996, the Council presented a Sunday picnic at Runnymede Sculpture Farm. A feast of foods prepared by chefs and specialty purveyors added to the enjoyment of seeing the extensive outdoor art collection on this beautiful 130 acre estate in Woodside. The efforts of event chair Cindy Casey and food and wine chair Cristina Carelli were appreciated by 642 guests. The event, which netted $28,369, was sponsored by Crystal Geyser, the Specialty Brewing Group of Anheuser-Busch, and Wente Vineyards.

In May 1997 the Council presented a celebration of architect Julia Morgan. The program began at the CHS headquarters on May 15 with a cocktail reception and illustrated lecture by Sara Holmes Boutelle, author of *Julia Morgan, Architect*. This was followed by a luncheon lecture on May 17 given at the Berkeley City Club, designed by Morgan in 1929-30. In addition to tours of the building, the sold-out crowd heard panelists Michael H. Casey (a restoration expert), Hearst family architect Robert M. Blunk, A.I.A., and Lynn Forney Stone (Miss Morgan's goddaughter) discuss the many facets of Morgan's career.

Mrs. John C. (Patty) Williams, Chair of the Activities Council, recruits new members for CHS at the Runnymede Sculpture Farm Sunday Picnic.

is was followed by house tours of five homes in arby Piedmont designed by Morgan in the years 11-1915. Cindy Casey was the event chair and the use tours chair was Suzi Soper. These programs sed $8,596. The Society is deeply grateful for the orts of all the Activies Council members involved making such significant contributions, which have en both financially and intellectually rewarding.

AWARDS AND HONORS

A historic business plaque, marking the cennial of the Macaulay Foundry, was presented to undry Chairman Keith Dennison at its Berkeley nt on June 3, 1996. The foundry was established San Francisco in 1896 and relocated to Berkeley er the 1906 earthquake and fire. The foundry nufactures large machine parts and has played a nificant role in California industries including rospace, hydraulics and irrigation, and Disneynd.

The Heilbron Award for an outstanding history search paper written by an 11th or 12th grade stunt was given in 1996 to Katherine Marino of Saint ancis High School, Sacramento, for her essay "Maud Younger and the San Francisco Wage Earners' Suffrage League: Standing Firmly for Working-class Women." In 1997 Janelle Peters of Ruben Ayala High School, Chino Hills, received the award for her essay "Goliath Wins: Water, Los Angeles, and the Owens Valley." The awards were presented in Sacramento at the conclusion of History Day, sponsored by the Constitutional Rights Foundation of Los Angeles, which takes place in May each year.

Because the Society's annual conference program was suspended during the period of moving to the new headquarters, no further awards, normally presented at the conference, were given during these two fiscal years.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Taking her third consecutive term as President of the Board of Trustees in FY 1996, Edith Lamm Piness, Ph.D., has presided over the important period of the Society's transformation: the capital campaign and move to new headquarters, and the fulfillment of plans for greater accessibility which became a reality in FY 1996. In FY 1997, the presidency of the Board was assumed by Stephen L. Taber, Esq., who also

Fourth graders enjoy viewing stereographs on a visit to the CHS gallery.

took a leading role during this period, ensuring the FEMA grant for the seismic retrofitting of the new headquarters and working closely with the architect (Rosekrans and Associates) and contractor (Oliver & Company). The Board, which can have up to 36 members, consisted of 28 people in FY 1996 with members coming from as far north as Humboldt County and as far south as San Diego County. There are three Regional Vice Presidents among the Board officers, to ensure representation from the northern, central, and southern portions of the state. The number of the Board decreased slightly in FY 1997 to 23 members. The list of Trustees can be found on the last page of this publication.

California Historical Foundation

The twelve-member Board of the Foundation, appointed by the CHS Board of Trustees, manages the Society's endowment funds. During the period of this report the chairmanship of the Foundation Board was passed from James K. Edmund, who had been heading the group for three years, to George Basye, Esq., former President of the CHS Board of Trustees. Also appointed to the Foundation is CHS Trustee Donn R. Schoenmann, who brings extensive financial expertise from his years with Merrill Lynch, and former CHS Trustee and president David B. Hudnut. Investment counsel continues to be provided by John Lilienthal and Associates, now a division of U. S. Trust Company of California, N.A.

The corpus of the CHS endowment fund was increased by $200,000 in January 1996 thanks to a generous gift from the Eva Benson Buck Trust D, and further increased by $340,000 in April 1996 by funds from the proceeds of the sale of 2099 Pacific Avenue (Schubert Hall, the former home of the CHS North Baker Research Library) which had not been needed for the renovation of 678 Mission Street.

Docents and Educational Programs

A curriculum guide and reading list, prepared by CHS intern Leah Tarlen from the San Francisco State University's Museum Studies Program, was created for the CHS opening exhibition "Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood: Happy Valley to South of the Slot." Their availability was publicized to San Francisco Public Schools teachers, and the materials were provided to 30 teachers who requested them, 17 of whom brought their classes of fourth grade students to receive a docent-led tour of the exhibition. There was no intern or staff person available to handle school outreach for the subsequent exhibitions presented in Fiscal Years 1996 and 1997. Docent guides were available for groups who

CHS members view the inaugural exhibition at 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, on March 20, 1996.

quested them, but a coordinated education pro- am was not in operation. Thanks to the generos- y of the Hearst Foundations, a two year grant was ceived near the end of FY 1997, enabling CHS to re an education director and establish a permanent lucation program to address both local and atewide outreach.

From January through June 1997, nearly 300 eople participated in the California Historical Soci- y's docent-led tour program. Groups as diverse as ie Monterey History and Art Association, Bonita arden Club, Robert Browning Poetry Club, San lateo AAUW, Carlisle Retirement Community, and ie Men of Grace at Grace Cathedral, to name just a w, were treated to in-depth tours at the Society's useum. Family groups have also been encour- ged. One family of seven drove a considerable dis- nce to tour "Direct From Nature: The Oil Sketches f Thomas Hill" in order to learn more about the Hill ainting that had been lovingly preserved in their mily.

Each group was led by one of the dedicated vol- nteer docents, all of whom put in much hard work reparing to lead the tours. We are grateful for their efforts and extend our thanks to: Marilyn Crigger, Cheryl Jackson, Tosca Lee, Barbara Marre, Randall Miller, Maria Mortati and Don Nelson.

EXHIBITIONS

Drawing upon the CHS costume collection, housed at the Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising in Los Angeles, an exhibition entitled "Carriage Days" was presented at FIDM from October 21 through December 21, 1995. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Maggie Pexton Murray, the exhibition of fashions and accessories from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also featured apparel from the Chumash tribe indigenous to the Los Angeles area as well as items worn by early Chinese, Japanese and African American settlers. The exhibition was launched with a gala dinner which raised funds to support programs for CHS members in southern California.

The Society inaugurated its museum galleries at the new headquarters on March 19, 1996, with a gala reception for donors, followed by a members preview on March 20 with nearly 500 members in attendance. The opening exhibition, "Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood: Happy Valley to South of the Slot" opened to the public on March 21 and remained on view until August 24, 1996. It told the story of the Society's new neighborhood from the time San Francisco was settled to the great 1906 earthquake and fire utilizing all CHS collections materials.

Following that exhibition, the Society presented:

September 4, 1996-February 15, 1997 (three concurrent exhibitions)
"San Francisco Art Association: 1871-1906"
"Bearing Witness to Manifest Destiny: Early California Through the Lens of Western Photographers," and
"Shipwreck Stories," a contemporary fine art book installation.

March 5, 1997-May 24, 1997 (two concurrent exhibitions)
"Personal Edens: The Gardens and Film Sets of Florence Yoch" (exhibition originated by the Huntington Library, San Marino), and
"James Madison Alden: Watercolors & Drawings"

June 20-August 16, 1997
"Direct from Nature: The Oil Sketches of Thomas Hill" (exhibition originated by the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento).

The text and illustrations of the brochures that accompanied these exhibitions are reproduced in this publication.

EVENTS AND PUBLIC PROGRAMS

With the inauguration of the CHS museum galleries, CHS also began offering a series of lectures and presentations called "Thursdays at CHS" taking place at 5:30 p.m. and concluding by 7:00 p.m. The continuing series has featured speakers and authors treating a wide range of topics, many relating to the current exhibition.

Among those appearing in the (nearly) weekly series have been:

Dr. Albert Shumate (June 20, 1996) A slide-illustrated lecture about South Park and Rincon Hill, San Francisco's first elegant neighborhoods;

Dr. James J. Rawls (September 19, 1996) A discussion of his latest book *Chief Red Fox is Dead: A History of Native Americans Since 1945;*

Harriet Rochlin (October 13, 1996) Author o *Pioneer Jews* discussed her new book *The Reformer's Apprentice;*

George Basye (January 9, 1997) An expert in water issues talked about the 1884 federal court decree that stopped hydraulic mining in California;

James Yoch (March 13, 1997) Cousin of noted landscape architect Florence Yoch spoke about her career in southern California and the film industry;

Sara Holmes Boutelle (May 15, 1997) Author of *Julia Morgan, Architect* gave a summary of the noted architect's career.

Bus tours to significant sites in southern California (such as historic Santa Ynez Valley, landmarks of Orange County, and historic gardens of Santa Barbara) were augmented by walking tours in the greater Los Angeles/Inland Empire areas presented by Neighborhood Place Project. In addition, a lecture by horticulturist Shirley Kerins was presented at the Huntington Library, San Marino on April 17, 1997, on the subject of early Pasadena gardens, from the turn of the century to 1940. CHS extends its sincere thanks to the Huntington Library and its staff for making this lecture possible.

In June 1997 CHS began offering walking tours in northern California with expert tour guide Gary L. Holloway. A California native with twenty years experience providing walks for such organizations as the California Academy of Sciences and the Oakland Museum of California, Holloway explores the history, architecture and lore of neighborhoods and communities throughout northern California.

During the period of this report the special events held in the San Francisco Bay Area were all under the sponsorship of the Society's Activities Council. A description of them can be found in that section, at the start of this report.

FINE ARTS COLLECTIONS

The move to the Mission Street headquarters has prompted many donations to the fine arts collections. Through the various exhibitions mounted by CHS, new acquisitions and works in storage have drawn attention to the remarkable and unique objects in the permanent collection.

Among the generous donations of paintings, sculptures, textiles and artifacts, of particular note are two paintings received at the beginning of FY 1996: a Theodore Wores full-length portrait of Carolyn Bauer (Mrs. Theodore Wores), given by Drs. Ben and A. Jess Shenson, and a large Thomas Hill untitled ork known as "Gold Rush," donated by the Gary J. rotte family. More recent donations have included Mary Curtis Richardson portrait of Mrs. Irving M. ott, given by Mr. Thomas Rarick, and four Thomas rd watercolors illustrating views of San Francisco d its surroundings, given by Mrs. Elizabeth Lyman tter.

The fine arts collection is a rich resource that has racted a steady flow of researchers and museum ofessionals. Temporary loans of paintings and orks on paper by various nineteenth and early entieth century California artists have been anted to such institutions as the Grace Hudson useum/The Sun House, the Oakland Museum of lifornia, and the Autry Museum of Western Her- ge. One loan, Thomas Hill's painting "Black Butte, . Shasta," went to the Crocker Art Museum, Sacra- ento for inclusion in their traveling exhibition irect from Nature: The Oil Sketches of Thomas ll." That exhibition was presented at CHS after its cramento opening, and the exhibition brochure xt can be found in this publication. On extended an to the California State Senate is a marble bust Senator David Broderick, one of California's first ited States senators.

MEMBERSHIP AND PUBLIC SUPPORT

As anticipated by the CHS long range plan of 90, the relocation of the Society to downtown San ancisco has led to a welcome growth in member- ip and support. The following table illustrates the owth.

Fiscal Year	Number of Members	Total Membership $
1995	4,663	$274,077
1996	4,856	297,045
1997	4,980	320,282

Even after attrition (non-renewing members), is represents a healthy 6.8% growth over the last o years. Special thanks go to the Eva Benson Buck haritable Trust D which made possible an panded direct mail campaign to attract new mem- rs.

Members have also been generous in their sup- rt of the Society's Annual Fund drives. Gifts to the nnual Fund, which totalled $52,070 in FY 95, grew $57,368 in FY 96 and then jumped to $84,734 in FY . That is an increase of 62.7% over the base of FY 95. HS extends its sincere appreciation to all the members who have gone beyond their annual membership contribution and made gifts to the Annual Fund as well. This support helps CHS provide programs and services besides the regular ones available to members (notably the two quarterly publications, *California History* and *California Chronicle*) and represents a wonderful gesture for the whole community of California. A roster of Annual Fund contributors is provided in this publication.

Also in this publication we provide a list of those individuals, businesses and foundations that have supported the California Historical Society through membership gifts and grants above $250. It is their support which has made possible the steady increase in programs and services that all can enjoy.

Lastly, we gratefully acknowledge those who supported the CHS Capital Campaign which resulted in the beautiful new headquarters at 678 Mission Street. The building has given CHS the ability to fulfill its mission effectively, with proper storage for the priceless collections, a handsome museum space for exhibitions, a research library that makes use of today's technology, and a new bookstore. Thanks go to all who supported the campaign and made it possible for CHS to start a new era well equipped and debt free.

NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY

The North Baker Research Library has enjoyed a dramatic increase in its use since the move to 678 Mission Street. The number of library researchers visiting the library has doubled and the telephone and letter reference requests have quadrupled. The Library now averages 200 telephone calls and about 100 other requests each month via letters, e-mails, faxes and written requests left at the reception desk. Due to our many unique holdings, other libraries also refer patrons to us.

While historians and California history researchers still are the core patrons, the library also serves a broad range of research needs. Architectural, engineering and law firms, graduate students, museum professionals, writers, teachers, film makers, scientists, environmental researchers, and art and photography historians are among those also being served, as well as foreign and out-of-state visitors. The Kemble Collections on Western Printing and Publishing, which contains the most complete collection of type specimens west of the Mississippi and much valuable material (fine press books, manuscripts and ephemera), is enjoying renewed use. An effort has begun to revitalize the collection through cataloging, acquisitions and preservation.

Not only are library materials used for exhibitions at CHS, they are also loaned to other institutions world-wide. Recent loans have been to the DAR Museum in Washington, D.C., the National Library of Australia, the Oakland Museum of California, and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Items are also being reproduced in books, periodicals and films, attesting to the importance of the collections.

The Society's library vaults are up-to-date in climate control, adhering to preservation guidelines. Many new donations of materials--books, manuscripts, newspapers, etc.--have been received. To cite a few examples: the records of the Forum Club of California (c.1890-mid-20th century), a diary from a voyage around Cape Horn from New York to San Francisco in the late 19th century which describes the life on board ship and the events of the voyage, and the papers of prominent newspaper woman Nan Tucker McEvoy. The many donations of books and ephemeral material (pamphlets, brochures, business items, etc.) are all invaluable research tools for our library patrons.

In the midst of serving patrons, the collection must also be cataloged and maintained, a time-consuming, on-going task. A brief description of items in the unique manuscript collection are being created and made available online. In November 1996 19,000 records of books, pamphlets and periodicals were loaded onto MELVYL, the online catalog of the University of California, which serves all UC and California State University campuses, the State Library and other reserach libraries such as CHS. This move was documented as the cover story of the Summer 1997 issue of the *DLA Bulletin*, published by the Division of Library Automation, the University of California, written by CHS Director of the Library Patricia L. Keats. Since the records were added, requests from as far away as Maine and Europe have been received.

There are many devoted volunteers who donate their time and expertise to help with the library collections. We also make use of interns from Bay Area schools--students of both library science and history--to help with various projects. Their contributions are recognized in the section "Volunteers and Interns" in this report. We are very grateful for the invaluable help they provide.

PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTIONS

The core collection of nearly one-half millio images is housed at the CHS headquarters; the satellite collection of 20,000 images relating to the Lo Angeles area is housed at the University of Southern California Doheny Library. The collection contains images of the entire state, ranging from Gol Rush daguerreotypes to twentieth century photojournalism, from the earliest images of Yosemite t family albums, and it continues to grow.

Recent donations of particular note hav included a collection of vintage photographs b Alma Lavenson of California's gold country, taken in the 1930s-1950s, given by the photographer's son, Paul Wahrhaftig, and a Carleton Watkins mammoth plate print, "Devil's Canyon, Geysers," given by S. Charles Olivia in memory of Lucille Olivia.

In addition to their inclusion in CHS exhibitions, photographs from the collection have been featured at such institutions as the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Ansel Adams Center for Photography, the Autry Musem, and the Smithsonian Institution. Scholars, filmmakers, educators and artists continue to draw upon the collection for its historic images, which have been included in Ken Burns' documentary "The West" and a curriculum guide for California teachers that focuses on the use of primary source materials. A number of images from the collections can be seen on-line at the CHS Website www.calhist.org.

PUBLICATIONS AND ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS

Continuing its informal series devoted to the contributions of different ethnic groups to the history of California, special issues of *California History* were devoted to Mexican Americans in California (Fall 1995) and African Americans in California (Fall 1996), as well as a special issue about Archives in California (Spring 1996).

After conducting market research, thanks to the assistance of QualiData Research, a re-design of the quarterly newsletter *California Chronicle* was instituted in the spring of 1996. This was followed one year later by a survey of CHS members, whose reactions to the publication were sought. Over 10% of the members responded, providing a valuable guide for continuing efforts to fulfill members' interests and needs.

The Society launched its new Website in the fall
1995, and can be seen at www.calhist.org. The
dress for e-mail communication with the Society
nfo@calhist.org. The Website provides informa-
n about current exhibitions and programs, guides
the many CHS collections, the complete index of
lifornia History as well as institutional and mem-
rship information.

STAFF CHANGES

New staff positions were added in 1996 to help
eet the increased activities at the new headquar-
s. Bo Mompho was hired to be the curatorial
sistant, handling exhibition and loan details as well
rights and reproduction requests. Yvette De
ndreis joined the staff as public relations manager,
iting *California Chronicle* and working on pro-
ams for members as well as publicity matters with
participation of public relations counsels Cynthia
wman and David Landis.

Existing staff positions underwent some
anges. Emily Wolff, who had been working part-
ne in the photography collection, was promoted
photography collection manager upon the depar-
re of Robert MacKimmie in September 1996.
therine Kowalewski was appointed photography
sistant, providing valuable darkroom and repro-
ction help. Holly Hurd-Forsyth assumed the posi-
n of membership services manager, taking care of
membership records, mailings and requests.
th Graham joined the staff as assistant librarian,
t has left; her replacement, Jennifer Schaffner,
ns the staff in September 1997. Fine arts consul-
nt Katherine Holland, who reorganized the col-
ctions and helped launch the exhibition program,
t in January 1997 having fulfilled the goals of her
nsultancy. A permanent fine arts curator is now
ing sought.

VOLUNTEERS AND INTERNS

At the reception desk, volunteers Lara Beau-
ont, Judith Cadwallader, Sara Cheung, Marilyn
igger, Alexander Crouch, Ruth Dorsey, Jacqueline
ng, Ana Howes, Cheryl Jackson, Margot Klopp,
sca Lee, Doug Leonard, Marty Maricle, Barbara
arre, Sue McAdams, Randall Miller, Merle Mont-
mery, Bill Moir, Maria Mortati, Don Nelson, Anne
liteo, Elizabeth Riccomi, Barbara Smith, Peggy
retch, Lilly C. Vallee and Isabel Wiel have provided valuable service greeting the public and helping visitors.

Loren Basham converted the entire index of the Society's quarterlies (74 years of publication) into a computerized format which was then added to the Society's Website, which he also maintains with many hours of volunteer service. Anyone around the globe with electronic means can learn about CHS exhibitions, programs and collections thanks to his efforts.

There is a dedicated core of volunteers that assists with the day-to-day operations of the North Baker Research Library. Checking periodicals, keeping track of donations, shelving books and other necessary tasks are handled three days a week by Donn Schroder. Peggy Zeigler's skills as a writer are reflected in the descriptive guides and transcriptions she does of the manuscript collection. She is completing ten years as a volunteer at CHS. Irene Moran, a former librarian at the Bancroft Library, keeps us up to date on manuscript donations with her cataloging abilities. Steve LaBounty, with a history and writing background, helped us photocopy and preserve some of our more fragile scrapbook collections.

Intern Richard Meghoo, a graduate student from CSU Hayward, applied his history background to sorting out our collection of City Directories and many collections that áre not fully inventoried. Thanks to him, the list of directories is now on the CHS Website. Cameron Holland, from UC Berkeley, helped rehouse in acid-free folders and update the list of posters and certificates. Thomas Clark, a history student at USF, helped gather all the files for our manuscript collection into one usable list. Another history student from USF, Daniel Alipio is currently gaining experience in research, preservation and organization of an archival collection.

The photograph collection has benefitted from knowledgeable volunteers who have assisted with cataloging, scanning of images for the digitized database, the re-housing of fragile and at-risk materials, and participated in exhibition development. Helping with these tasks have been Carmen Blair, Katherine Demopoulos, Abner Knowland, Naomi Lane, Joan Roberts, Sharon Spain, and Sean Trunk (who also contributed welcome assistance in the configuration of the CHS Website).

CHS extends its sincere gratitude to all those named above, and those we have inadvertently neglected to name, for their efforts to assist CHS fulfill its mission to the public.

TRANSITIONS
IN A SAN FRANCISCO NEIGHBORHOOD
HAPPY VALLEY TO SOUTH OF THE SLOT
March 21 - August 24, 1996

We gratefully acknowledge the sponsors of this inaugural exhibition: The Bank of California; California Tamarack Foundation; Chronicle Publishing Company & Chronicle Books; Mr. & Mrs. L.W. Lane, Jr.; Plymouth Printing; Dr. Albert Shumate.

Imagine yourself standing at the site of the California Historical Society's front door 150 years ago: virtually nothing within view is recognizable. San Francisco Bay washes the sandy beach of Yerba Buena Cove along a crescent that borders what is now First Street; tidal mud flats spread through an area that includes Howard and Fremont Streets; and waterfowl feed in a rich salt marsh that extends to Folsom and Fifth. Giant sand hills, some up to one hundred feet in height, loom throughout the area–if you glance to your right, you will even see an eighty-foot dune at what is now Market and Third. Rincon Hill actually *is* a hill reaching up to 120 feet in height; and seasonal streams wend their way to the bay. Native peoples once prospered by these shores, but their villages have long since disappeared. The scene shifts and alters as the decades progress. Although people occasionally pass through this area, no one actually lives here. Then the Gold Rush brings thousands of miners who camp in tents and makeshift shanties; industries spew coal tar and malodorous fumes into what had been tidal marsh and mud flats; streets spread out and buildings rise up where the bay once lapped, its waters displaced with sand from the hills that no longer exist; spacious mansions, crowded houses and numerous businesses accommodate the thousands who now live and work here; and a previously unfamiliar natural landscape is replaced by an equally unrecognizable man-made one.

The Ohlone People

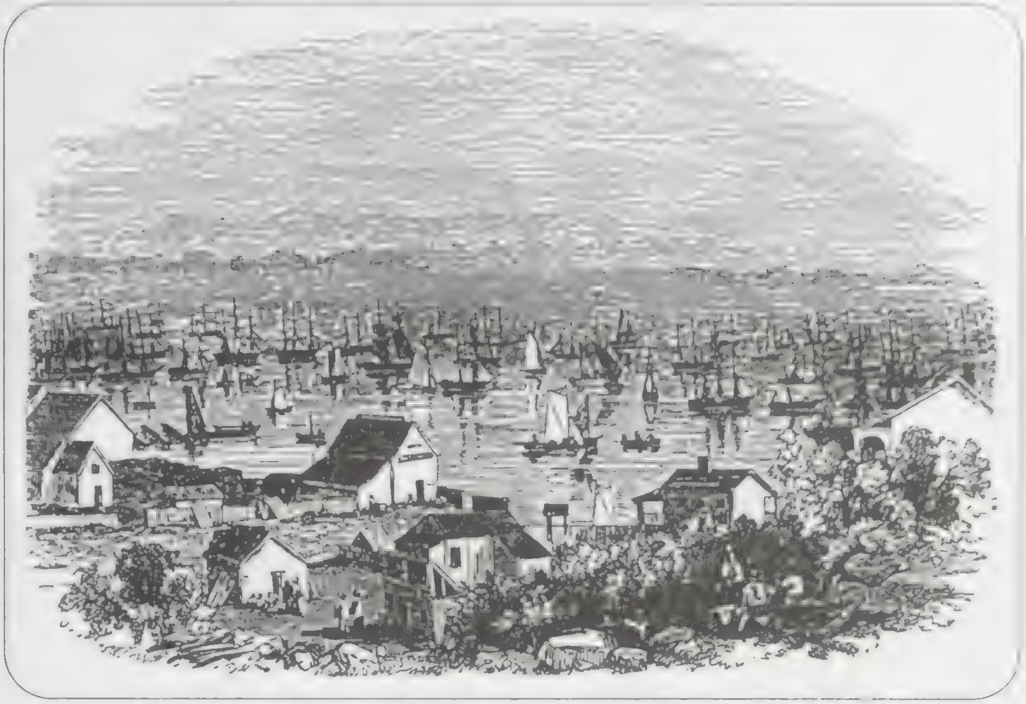
Prior to Spanish colonization, the coastal area stretching from San Francisco to Monterey Bay was home to forty or so culturally diverse native tribes now known collectively as the Ohlone. Theirs was a mobile society of hunter-gatherers in a region where abundant waterfowl, shellfish, game, native plants, and fish provided sustenance for thriving villages. For the Ohlone and neighboring Bay Area peoples the founding of San Francisco's Mission Dolores in 1776 hastened the end of traditional, pre-European ways. Today, the remains of once extensive shellmounds composed of broken shells, ash, animal bones, and cooking stones often provide the only archaeological testimony of these once vigorous, self-sustaining societies. One such mound stood on a salt marsh that is now Harrison Street, west of Third.

The Colonial Period

A decade before the Gold Rush, San Francisco was called Yerba Buena, an unprepossessing village under Mexican governance. Its former Spanish military presidio was all but abandoned and its mission, now secularized, had been divided into private land grants. In what would soon become San Francisco's South of Market neighborhood, sheep and cattle grazed, deer roamed thickets of willow and scrub oak, and village residents journeyed to picnic, hunt, gather mussels, and race horses among sand hills, in grassy valleys and along the shoreline.

Plotting A City:
Vara Lots & Speculation

In 1846, Mexican authorities began dividing and mapping San Francisco into vara lots (1 vara = 2.76 feet) for sale as residential and commercial property and sold by public auction to the highest bidder. These divisions continued after California became a state in 1850. In anticipation of future landfill, plans were made for east-west oriented streets extending south of Market. Lots were staked out, not only on the beach, but in the waters of the bay itself. Sales were brisk and speculation high. Then, in 1848, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill and San Francisco's history underwent a swift and dramatic change.



Beach of Yerba Buena Cove, Winter of 1849-50. From Frank Soule, [illegible]

he Gold Rush & Happy Valley

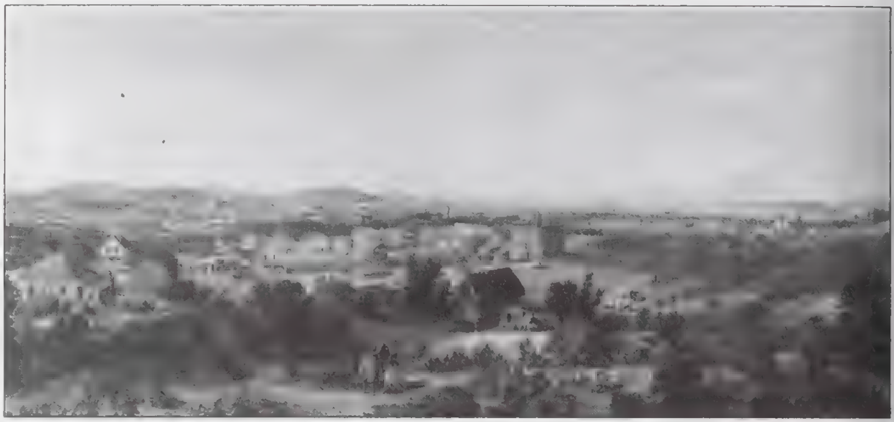
San Francisco boasted a mere 459 residents in June of
47. By December of 1849 that number had swelled to
rly 30,000. In Happy Valley, an area that stretched
and from Rincon Point and Market Street, several thou-
d miners camped in tents and shanties between treks to
d from the Sierra gold mines. Happy Valley had been
med for its sunshine, shelter from prevailing winds, springs
clear water, and enthusiastic residents. But, by the win-
of 1849-50, the name had become synonymous with
rcrowding and unsanitary conditions which led to dysen-
y, cholera and death. And by 1853, those leaving the mines
ualled those arriving. Gold fever had begun to subside.

Happy Valley, like the rest of San Francisco, was under-
ing rapid and dramatic changes. Wooden buildings, both
mmercial and domestic, sprang up seemingly overnight.
efabricated houses were shipped from the east coast,
cted, and then rented out for profit by their owners. As
ner Samuel C. Upham recorded in his 1850 journal, "San
ancisco, despite the clouds of dust and chilly afternoons,
destined to become the second city on this continent."

Upham's optimism was borne out by a steady flood of
velopment that occurred, despite periods of economic
om and depression, throughout the 1850s and '60s.
aller streets and alleys such as Jessie, Tehama, Clementina,
d Minna were created on which middle- and working-class families built homes and businesses. The massive sand hills that once hindered transportation South of Market were leveled and used to fill the cove, creating additional land on which to build. Grading made more construction possible and main roads were planked to improve transportation. New wharves facilitated shipping and supported burgeoning industries in the area. The growing industrial, commercial and residential neighborhoods south of Market were rapidly being linked to the well established financial centers north of Market.

David Hewes & The Steam Paddy

Perhaps the most engaging force behind much of this change was David Hewes and his Steam Paddy, the ingenious machine that, quite literally, shaped the landscape. The Steam Paddy was a steam-powered shovel attached to a railroad car which, as it proceeded, dug up sand and gravel that it tossed, by means of a crane, into a waiting railway car. When full, the load was deposited into the bay, becoming landfill for the ever-expanding waterfront. A classic example of a machine replacing human workers, the Steam Paddy derived its name from the crews of mostly Irish laborers it supplanted. It remained in operation until 1873, clearing away sand hills, grading roadways, filling in water lots, and altering forever the natural topography South of Market.



F.N. Otis, M.D. *City of San Francisco from Rincon Point, 1855.*
Lithographer: C. Parsons;
Printer: Endicott & Co.
Templeton Crocker Collection.

Rincon Hill, South Park & The Second Street Cut

Two of San Francisco's most elegant neighborhoods, Rincon Hill and South Park, were situated South of Market. High on the slopes and ridge of Rincon Hill, the wealthy built opulently-furnished mansions with views of the growing city, busy bay and lucrative commercial activity below. On the sun-bathed southern face of Rincon Hill was South Park, a refined residential development created by Englishman George Gordon in 1852. Gordon modeled his development after a picturesque English archetype of elegant town homes situated around a formal park. The residents of these fashionable neighborhoods included many of the creme de la creme of San Francisco society, including William Babcock who managed the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Babcock lived at 11 Essex Street, the site of F. N. Otis's view of San Francisco, published in 1855. Otis's rendering makes it possible for us to step back in time and survey the very scene enjoyed by Babcock and his family in the 1850s.

Through the heart of Rincon Hill–up and over its summit–ran Second Street. In 1869, plans were drawn to connect San Francisco's commercial district north of Market Street with the city's southern waterfront and railroad access on Mission Bay. To accomplish this, Second Street was excavated from its surrounding hill, leaving a gash through Rincon Hill that devastated the neighborhood and hastened its decline. Although South Park's basic form may still be seen, envisioning Rincon Hill requires a more vivid imagination, for the remnants of its once soaring heights now support the western anchor of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.

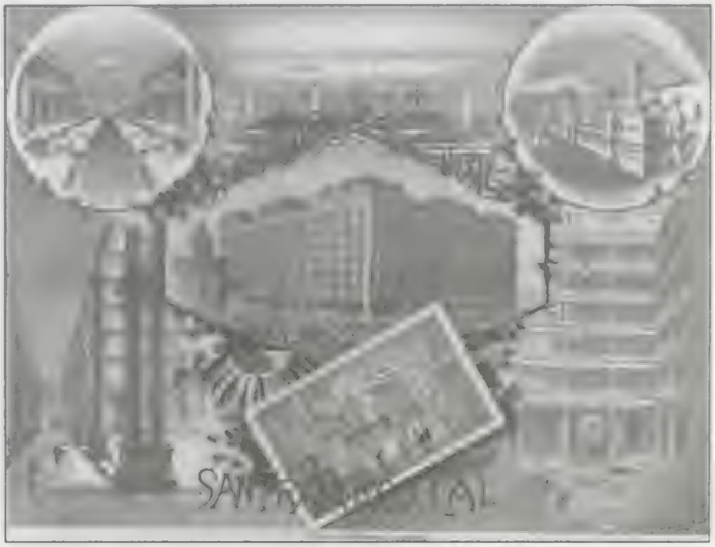
Businesses: Large & Small

With its level ground, readily available labor pool and access to the bay, South of Market became a locus for the industries San Francisco needed to become a major metropolis. The lumber trade flourished around Steuart Street where an extensive wharf allowed schooners laden with wood from the Redwood Coast and Pacific Northwest to deposit their cargoes directly at the site of waiting processing mills. Peter Donahue's Union Iron Works, the largest and most successful iron foundry on the west coast, got its start in 1849 at the corner of First and Mission Streets. The San Francisco Gas Works (precursor of today's Pacific Gas & Electric Company) was founded by Peter Donahue and his brothers in 1852 to illuminate San Francisco's streets, homes and businesses. Converting coal into gas resulted in a malodorous sludge that was flushed into Yerba Buena Cove's tidal mud flats, turning the area around Fremont and Howard Streets into an industrial site with the apt, if unflattering, name of "Tar Flat." Joining the gas works was the Selby Lead and Shot Company whose tall, distinctive shot tower at the corner of Howard and First Streets is a readily identifiable beacon in many nineteenth century prints and photographs.

Heavy industry and large companies were not the only economic forces evident South of Market. Small businesses sprang up everywhere, serving the rapidly expanding population that lived and worked throughout the area. Chinese laundries, German beer halls and butcher shops, furniture show-rooms, boarding houses, hotels, groceries, and drugstores; merchants, bakers, shoemakers, coopers, tailors, barbers, and oyster dealers: the list of small but essential businesses that made life possible South of Market seems virtually inexhaustible. But it was the neighborhood saloon that was the most ubiquitous sight. To slake the thirst

METALLURGICAL
& MINING MACHINERY
Catalogue
No 3.
UNION IRON
WORKS

Catalogue No. 3. Union Iron Works
Metallurgical & Mining Machinery.
San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Co.
Stationers and Printers. 1896



Palace Hotel, San Francisco, Cal. [illegible]
The Bosqui Engraving Co., San Francisco
News Letter (publisher). Lithograph.

the clamorous populace, breweries were founded and pil-er and porter began to flow. By 1856, fifteen breweries ere in operation, including the Philadelphia Brewery, unded by August Hoelscher and taken over by John ieland shortly thereafter.

A Diverse Community

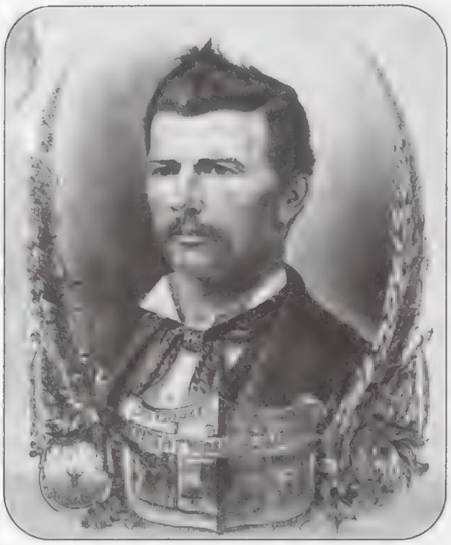
Who lived South of Market? The area offered a mix, if ot always a harmonious blend, of many cultures, nation-ties, religions, and ethnicities. The largest group of habitants hailed from New England, New York and other cations on the east coast. They, in turn, were joined by rivals from the South and Midwest. Among the immi-ants, the most numerous were from Ireland and Germany, ut there were also those from China, France, Scotland, Eng-nd, and Eastern Europe. There were African Americans well, many of them former slaves. People of many faiths ed, worked and worshipped in these neighborhoods here, for the most part, class rather than ethnicity divided e from the other. But even these distinctions faded in e sometimes dense, overlapping commercial and resi-ential neighborhoods where the back of one family's home ight overlook the congestion of a working-class alley.

The Palace Hotel

William Chapman Ralston was a prominent San Francisco industrialist and financier whose dreams for San Francisco came to include one of its most grand and enduring architectural landmarks: the Palace Hotel. Opened in 1875, the Palace was a quintessential expression of prosperity, not just for those South of Market, but for the city of San Francisco as a whole. Touted as "The Most Spacious Hotel in the World," it offered modern, well appointed rooms and an interior great court where horse-drawn carriages deposited fashionably-dressed occupants under a glass-domed rotunda. The Palace played host to the wealthy and famous of the day, from Queen Victoria and Enrico Caruso to presidents of the United States.

Politics of The Workingmen's Party

San Francisco's economy progressed through cycles of fortune and decline. Then, as now, unstable economic conditions were apt to lead to political debate of a heated and sometimes hateful nature. Such was the case in San Francisco at the end of the 1870s. It was a debate occasioned, in part, by the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Although the railroad's western terminus in San Francisco's South of Market had been



Carl Browne, President Workingmen's Party, California.
"The Chinese Must Go!" An 1878 Lithograph.

optimistically anticipated, it had the unexpected result of ushering in great numbers of immigrants and goods from the east, an influx which burdened a local economy already weakened by lowered mining productivity, drought-damaged agriculture and growing working-class unemployment. Compounding these problems was the impact of rapidly increasing Chinese immigration. The result, by the late 1870s, was an economic depression accompanied by declining wages and chronic unemployment. Working-class rage and frustration found a convenient scapegoat in the Chinese, who were blamed for falling salaries and diminished employment opportunities. The wealthy were targets as well, for industrialists and financiers were seen as manipulating working conditions for personal gain. Denis Kearney, a drayman by trade, galvanized the anger, fears and prejudices of mounting numbers of working-class men to form a political movement known as the Workingmen's Party. Centered in the South of Market, its angry members rallied behind the vicious slogan, "The Chinese Must Go!" Although the Workingmen's Party succeeded in electing its candidate, Reverend Isaac S. Kalloch, as San Francisco's mayor in 1879, the party's popularity lasted for only four short years.

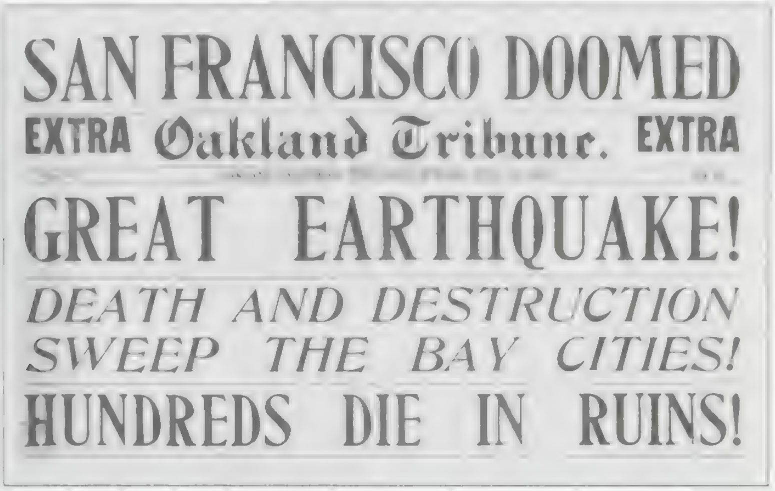
A Comfortable Network of Support

As a city grows, so do the needs of its people. There were poor to be sustained, orphans to be reared, fires to be doused, workers to be supported, sick to be nurtured, and dead to be buried. But there were support systems of a social nature as well. Social clubs, fraternal orders, neighborhood saloons, and church programs abounded. Charitable institutions were created by various groups in an effort to look after their own. There was the French Hospital, run by the French Benevolent Society; St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, School and Orphan Asylum; the Japanese Mission to prevent traffic in women; the Association of the Daughters of Israel; the Austrian Benevolent Society; the Sailor's Home; the Celtic Protection and Benevolent Society; and, the Salvation Army–located opposite the Grand Opera House on Mission Street.

An important element, and one indicative of the family-oriented life South of Market, was the establishment of schools. As early as 1850 public subscription supported the Happy Valley Public School at Mission and Second Streets. Kate Douglas Wiggin, author of Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm, founded the Silver Street Kindergarten, the first free kindergarten west of the Rockies. At a more advanced level, there was Union College, St. Ignatius College, and–in a former home at 660 Mission Street–the University of the Pacific Medical College.

Fire posed a real and persistent threat to San Francisco during the 1840s and '50s. Between December 1849 and June 1851, six major fires destroyed various parts of the city. San Franciscans were justifiably anxious. By early

Silver Street Kindergarten and Boys Free Library, 64 Silver Street.
Photographer, I.W. Taber.



SAN FRANCISCO DOOMED

EXTRA Oakland Tribune. EXTRA

GREAT EARTHQUAKE!

DEATH AND DESTRUCTION SWEEP THE BAY CITIES!

HUNDREDS DIE IN RUINS!

San Francisco Doomed / Great Earthquake / Death and Destruction Sweep the Bay Cities / Hundreds Die in Ruins, Oakland Tribune, Wednesday Evening, April 18, 1906, vol. LXV, no 49.

50, six volunteer fire companies had been organized and m boxes placed throughout the city. South of Market's n valiant protectors were the men of Tiger Engine npany No. 14. Firemen were on call constantly and, en a fire bell rang, the population turned out to follow engines. The firemen's motto, "We strive to save," peared on both the banners and the gravestones of the 's fallen fire fighters.

arthquake!

arly in the morning of April 18, 1906, terrified San nciscans were jolted from their sleep by nearly seventy- seconds of geological upheaval. As dramatic as this 8.2 gnitude earthquake was, the events that followed were prove even more destructive. After the tremors came fires t were rendered all but invincible by the city's many bro- water mains. Unable to combat the mounting flames, dents watched as the ensuing firestorm altered forever neighborhoods South of Market. In a mere six hours growth and dreams of five decades were reduced to rub- -strewn desolation.

pilogue

But the history of San Francisco's South of Market has ays been synonymous with change. The 1906 earthquake d fire were simply another—albeit dramatic—link in a long ain of transformations. Today, this area is undergoing new nsitions. Housing is being constructed, businesses are emerging, and former commercial spaces now house museums and galleries. Even the California Historical Society's new headquarters are in a historic structure, the 1922 Builders Exchange, that rose from the ashes of the 1906 fire. The re-invention of this neighborhood continues south of the "Slot" that once carried Market Street's original street cars.

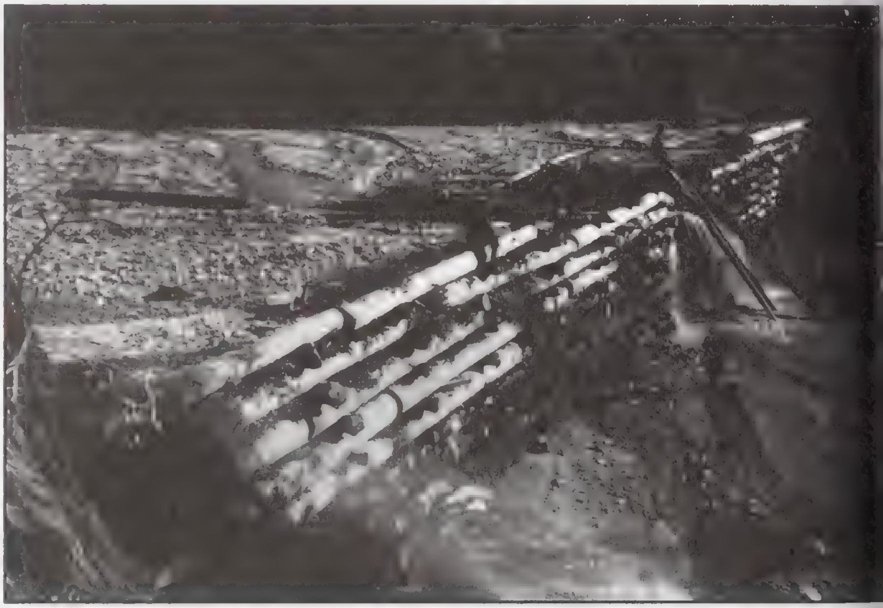
Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood: Happy Valley to South of the Slot was organized and curated by the following staff of the California Historical Society: Paula B. Freedman, Exhibition Coordinator; Katherine Church Holland, Consulting Fine Arts Curator; Patricia L. Keats, Director, North Baker Research Library; Robert MacKimmie, Curatorial Director of Photography; Sharon Spain, Photography Department Intern; Leah Tarlen, Educational Programming Intern; and Emily Wolff, Curatorial Assistant.

Exhibition Graphics & Design: Gordon Chun Design, Berkeley, CA; Graphic Design: Mervin Lee Design, San Francisco, CA; Photography: M. Lee Fatherree, Oakland, CA; [illegible] San Francisco, CA. All [illegible] are from the collections of the California Historical Society.

BEARING WITNESS TO MANIFEST DESTINY

Early California Through the Lens of Western Photographers

Manifest destiny was a concept that held it was America's right to conquer and settle what we now call the continental United States. History tells us that many ill-advised policies and numberless transgressions against man and nature resulted from this belief. In this exhibition, the use and abuse of water is used to illustrate some of these transgressions. Water runs, quite literally, through all of California history.



"No. 2900 U.S. Circuit Court-Cal. Edwards Woodruff vs. North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. et al., Filed Nov. 16, 1882, L.S. B. Sawyer, Clerk, by F. H. O'Beine, Deputy Clerk, Todd No. 4."

Photograph by J. A. Todd. California Historical Society/FN-29933.

The first gallery of the exhibition depicts the method known as hydraulic mining, developed in 1853, which was used in the search for gold. By the 1880s, once gold no longer lay close to the surface, huge quantities of earth and rock had to be processed to reach and extract gold economically. Powerful water pumps and hoses loosened and washed down entire hillsides into "debris dams" from which mining companies could process the material efficiently.

Dams often broke, devastating nearby farms and orchards that lay in the path below the dam. The 1882-83 photographs by J. A. Todd of debris dams and the damage they caused were used as evidence in the first federal environmental legal case filed by citizens, in this case, farmers from the Marysville area, against a large corporation. The federal court ruled in the farmer's favor.

The five dome-topped salt photoprints by Carleton Watkins, shown in the second gallery, depict the cabin of John C. Fremont near a mining area, a riverbed after it was worked out, and the resulting landscape after it had been carved to catch and send water to nearby mining operations. The photographs of the borax operations may well have been documentary images taken to impress shareholders. The vast alkali deposits were able to be mined because of the absence of water, as the lake water had evaporated many decades before.

The third gallery contains three stories. Works by an unknown photographer are from the collection of papers and photographs of William Hammond Hall, an engineer and the architect/designer of San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. These images illustrate how the California desert is brought to life thanks to the introduction of water.

The images of Kern County by Carleton Watkins document the use of machinery in agriculture. In addition to making ordinary objects and mundane circumstances appear beautiful to the eye, Watkins' work provides historical information, such as the artesian well bubbling over. Today, the water table in that area has dropped as much as 100 feet, requiring pumps to be used where, in Watkins' day, a pipe in the ground was all it took.

The grouping of small photographs documents the work of the Golden Gate Mine Company, showing the construction of a dam and the diversion of a river by use of flumes.

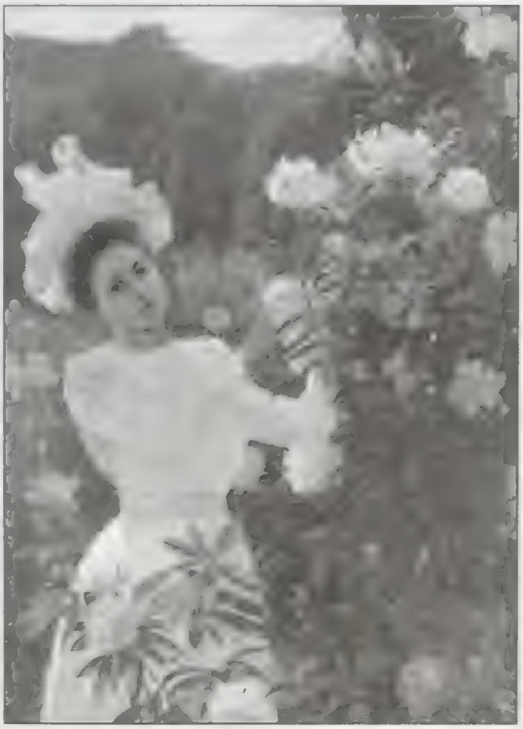
THE
SAN FRANCISCO ART ASSOCIATION
1871 & 1906

September 5, 1996 - February 15, 1997

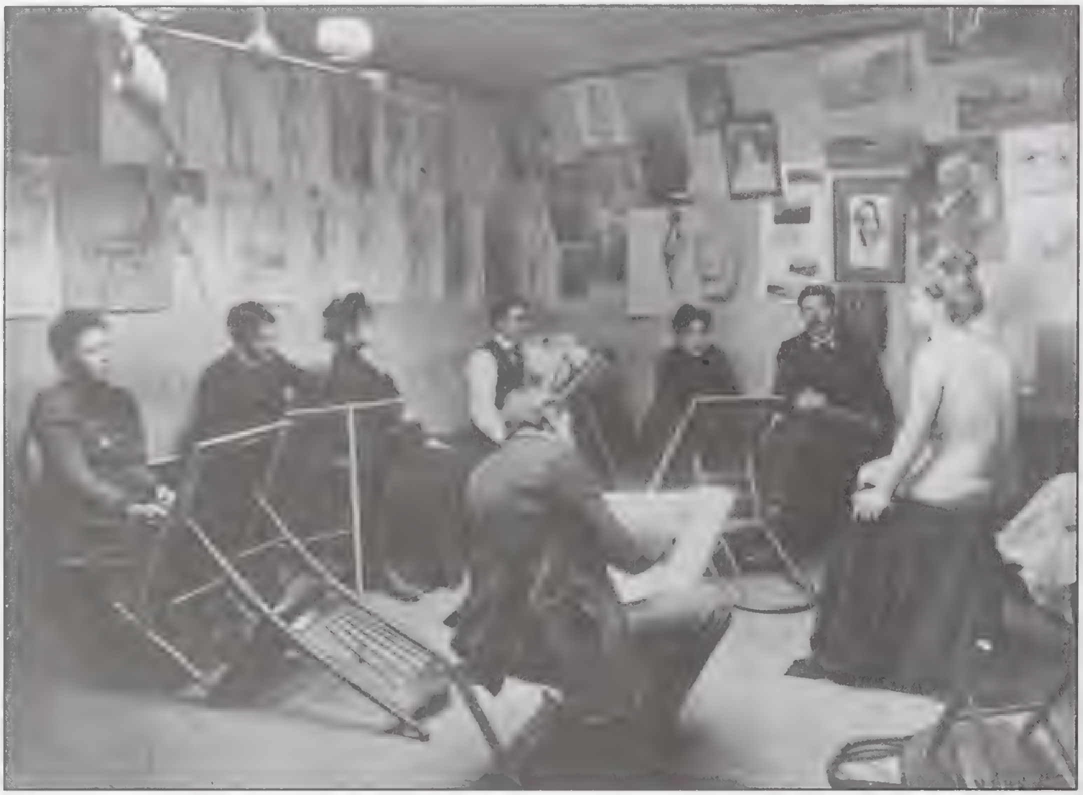
In the history of every city there are clusters of souls who share a common purpose and who, by banding together, help define the community and its future. Such was the San Francisco Art Associa- n whose members, in great part, formed the cultural heart San Francisco beginning in the late nineteenth century. unded in the period just following the raucous tumult of Gold sh times, the association's culturally minded citizens saw in ir young community the possibilities for a genteel and prosous metropolis replete with the sophisticated good life. The ociation helped to define the city's artistic essence and proed a haven in which to gather and speak of art–a place to ill the pleasures of expression for generations to come. The tural energy that was generated continues to this day through San Francisco Art Institute, heir to the association's rich artislegacy.

The association began simply enough - with an informal hering at an artist's studio. Painter Samuel Marsden Brookes 16-1892) noted in his diary for March 21, 1871: "Artists eting at Wandesfords [sic] to meet again next Tuesday."[1] Dur- the convivial gathering at the *atelier* of Juan Buckingham Wanforde (1817-1902), the formation of an organization that uld bring together not only artists but ". . . all who have any ire to encourage the progress of the fine arts . . ." was dissed.[2] At the close of the evening temporary officers were ected—Brookes as chairman—and a committee appointed draw up a constitution and by-laws

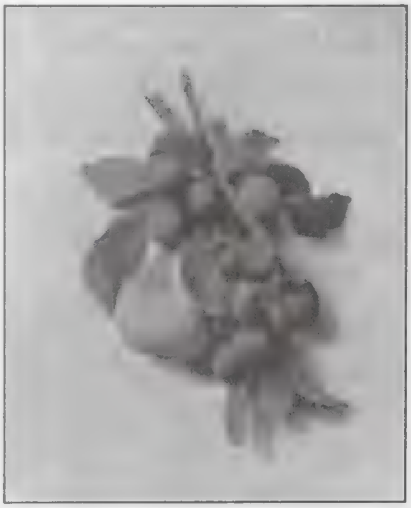
One week later the group met again, this time in the Merntile Library. The constitution was quickly adopted and offis for 1871-72 elected. Thus the San Francisco Art Association s born. The majority of its founders were European *emigres* transplants from the east coast, professional artists whose ion of the organization most likely had practical as well as ruistic motivations. The first president, Juan Wandesforde, had igrated from England, settling in San Francisco where he made living painting portraits and landscapes. Vice-president ookes, also British, was already an accomplished still-life inter when he arrived in San Francisco in 1862 The first board directors included visionary landscapist William Lewis arple (1827-1910) and Gideon Jacques Denny (1830-1886), ator of canvases that portrayed the ships that plied the region's s and ocean. But just as crucial to the association were oth whose interests truly lay in the cultural development of the young city. Board member Benjamin Parke Avery came west with the Gold Rush and remained to become a newspaperman, editor of *Overland Monthly* and diplomat in China. William Alvord, the association's second president, was a businessman and mayor of San Francisco from 1871 to 1873.


Theodore Wores, Girl with Rhododendrons, 1899, Oil on canvas
California Historical Society, gift of [illegible]
[illegible]

From its inception, the association's principal goals were ". . . the establishment of a permanent gallery and a School of Design."[3] The exhibition program was established quickly. According to Edward Bosqui, the founding treasurer and noted fine arts and commercial printer, the first show featured work by regional artists and "fine pictures" from the holdings of local collectors. Bosqui reminisced, "On the opening night of the exhibition there was music and dancing; and altogether it was pronounced one of the most successful and notable social events that San Francisco had yet seen."[4] The initial exhibitions empha-



Class at Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, circa 1898. Photographer: Isabel Porter Collins.
California Historical Society, Isabel Porter Collins Collection. FN-25688.



Samuel Marsden Brookes, Plums and a Pear, 1872.
Oil on canvas. *California Historical Society, gift of Colonel Harry Innes Thornton Creswell. Photo: M. Lee Fatherree*

sized romantically realistic landscapes that captured the gentle beauty of the bay region and the awe-inspiring presence of the Sierra Nevada and Yosemite, but quiet genre scenes and portraits of patrons and family members were also included. The works reflected the traditions taught in Paris, Düsseldorf and Munich, as well as those of the Hudson River painters in the east. Both the gallery presentations and social gatherings cemented the association's role at the heart of the cultural community. By spring 1873 the annual attendance totaled nearly 11,000 people. Considering the population of San Francisco at this time was around 175,000, this was an incredible accomplishment.

With this initial success, the establishment of an art school became the overriding goal. In March of 1873, two years after its founding, the association announced that plaster casts of ancient Greek and Roman masterworks had been secured from France and would be arriving soon. The casts were to be models for the young students, providing both instruction and inspiration. "The school will be organized as soon as these materials arrive and can be arranged."[5]

The school, formally named the California School of Design, opened on February 9, 1874, in the association's lodgings at 313 Pine Street. Under the directorship of European-trained Virgil Macey Williams (1830-1886), who constituted the entire staff, the school welcomed forty-seven women and fourteen men to classes in painting and drawing. Williams' teaching goals were simple: "The method of teaching adopted tends directly to encourage original effort and to develop whatever genius there may be in a pupil."[6] Looking to Europe as a model, the curriculum was based in part on that of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The school introduced entering students first to classical art of the past through sketching exercises based on

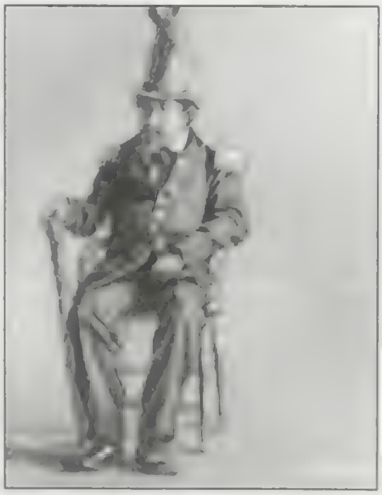
Sculpture Class, Mark Hopkins Art Institute, circa 1895. Photographer: Isabel Porter Collins. *California Historical Society, Isabel Porter Collins Collection.* FN-[illegible]

rly engravings. They then advanced to making detailed drawings of casts; and finally the budding artists were allowed to work om live models and, eventually, to sketch from nature. After nishing the program, students often went on to Europe for rther study.

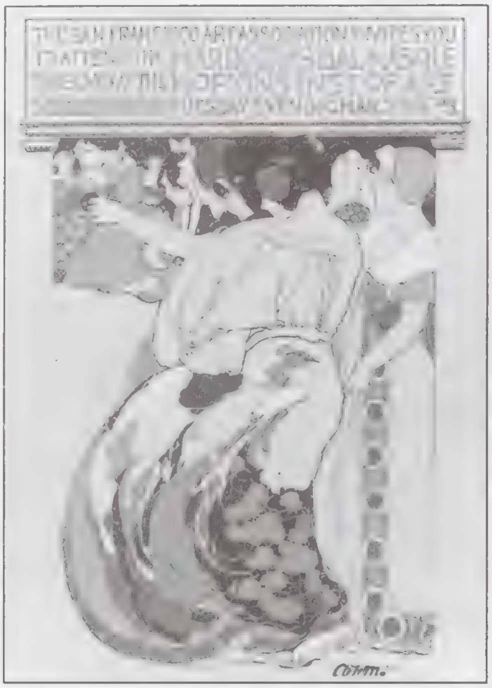
In 1876, the association moved its operations to 430 Pine treet, renting rooms from the Bohemian Club which had ecome a focus of the city's literary and artistic community. But r the next seven years, the association struggled: financial problems developed, membership dwindled, and the members looked esperately for funding sources. The emphasis turned to the sale f works and an effort was made ". . . to make the rooms of e Association *the* place where our wealthy and art loving citiens will always come to make their selections of local paintgs."

What better way to entice the nabobs and collectors to join e parade than to supply them with grand costume balls replete ith gaudy plumage and *tableaux vivants*? The *First Artists' Annual Ball* enefiting the fundraising cause waltzed onto the scene in 1879, eralding a succession of galas, Mardi Gras fiestas, and masuerades. These were art student balls brought to the highest order, ull of humor, pageantry and revelry. Students and faculty esigned the invitations and imbued the decor and costumes with igh-spirited inventiveness.

By 1883 financial stability returned. The president of the ssociation, S. G. Hawes, was able to exult, "We are the western outpost of American civilization . . . giving law to the world in the domain of art and literature."[8] But the death of Virgil Williams in 1886 precipitated a period of turmoil in the school leadership. Williams, beloved by his students and revered in the community, was a difficult figure to replace. In the following four years, the school had three different directors. For a short



Alice Brown Chittenden's Emperor Norton, 1878. Graphite on paper. California Historical Society, [illegible]



Arthur Frank Mathews, San Francisco Art Association Mardi Gras Bal Masque Invitation, March 7th, 1905, 1905. Chromolithograph. *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library.*

period starting in December 1886, the directorship was held by Thomas Hill (1829-1908), whose grand panoramas and intimate oil sketches of the Sierra Nevada were greatly admired. But Hill abruptly left for Alaska and was replaced by Emil Carlsen (1853-1932), a Danish-born artist of broadly-painted still-lifes. Carlsen's tenure as director was also shortlived as he left for New York in 1889 and when he returned, it was as teacher, not director. Raymond Dabb Yelland (1848-1900), who had conducted the school's popular *al fresco* sketch classes and painted luminous landscapes, then acceded to the director's position.

Finally, with the 1890 directorial appointment of Arthur Frank Mathews (1860-1945), some semblance of stability returned. Mathews re-energized the school, downplaying the tedious study of antique casts and emphasizing classes featuring live models. Students were encouraged to study in Paris and, in an effort to revitalize the faculty which had grown to include Amedée Joullin (1862-1917), Yelland and others, teachers' schedules were limited to two days per week, leaving them ample time to pursue artistic careers outside the classroom.

With the stabilization of the directorship, the founders of the San Francisco Art Association were able to pursue their dream of owning their own facility, one that would be spacious enough to house a gallery, school and ever-expanding library. In 1893 this vision was realized when Edward Searles, a Massachusetts-based philanthropist, donated the palatial Mark Hopkins mansion on Nob Hill to the University of California in trust for the association. The estate was renamed the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art and the association quickly moved in. Makeshift classrooms were set up on the top floor and in the public rooms, with their richly wooded panelling and frescoed walls, paintings and sculpture by association members were installed.

In her photographs of the studios and students of the institute, Isabel Porter Collins (1874-1954) captured the sense of conviviality and camaraderie of the times. Collins was but one of many women active in the association. From its earliest days women were members: in 1871 the membership roster lists 28; by 1878 the number had risen to 42. Classes were composed of a majority of female students, many of whom became professional artists, among them Nellie Hopps (1855-1956), Grace Carpenter Hudson (1865-1937) and Lucia Kleinhans Mathews (1870-1955). Women served on the association's board and as the school's teachers. And the work of female artists was included consistently in the group's exhibitions. Although initially floral paintings dominated the women's contributions, these were soon replaced with incisive portraits and studies from nature.

The cultural energy the association and its artists imparted to San Francisco came to an abrupt halt with the 1906 earthquake. In the aftermath of the April 18 temblor, workers feverishly attempted to save the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. Despite the private cisterns located beneath the property, the towering structure and its contents ultimately succumbed to the flames. But this was not the end. Within a year the association had rebuilt on the same land, naming the new facility the San Francisco Institute of Art. From this new beginning, the association prospered, eventually becoming the San Francisco Art Institute in 1961.[9]

From its founding in 1871 until the disaster of 1906 the San Francisco Art Association touched the lives of every culturally inclined person in the bay region. Its membership rosters, exhibition checklists, and student and faculty registers reflect the names of the great and near-great of the times. From Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) to William Keith (1838-1911); Jules Tavernier (1844-1889) to Theodore Wores (1859-1939); Henry Percy Gray (1869-1952) to Alice B. Chittenden (1859-1944), the history of the San Francisco Art Association is the history of the art of San Francisco.

Katherine Church Holland

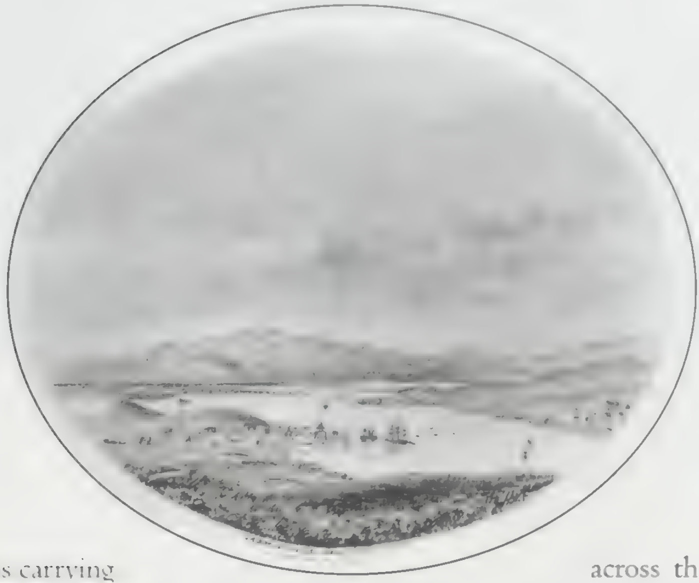
NOTES:

1. Diary of Samuel Marsden Brookes, 1871. California Historical Society, n.p.
2. Frederick Whymper, "The San Francisco Art Association," The California Art Gallery, February 1873, vol. I. no. 2, p. 17.
3. William Alvord in his address to the annual meeting of the San Francisco Art Association, March 28, 1873, as published in The California Art Gallery, April 1873, vol. I. no. 4, p. 53.
4. Edward Bosqui, Memoirs, 1904, p. 196.
5. Minutes of the San Francisco Art Association, March 28, 1873.
6. Minutes of the San Francisco Art Association, Report of Committee on School of Design, March 30, 1874.
7. Minutes of the San Francisco Art Association, March 1879.
8. List of Members of the San Francisco Art Association, 1871; Constitution, By-Laws, List of Members, Catalogue of Library, and Rules of the School of Design of the San Francisco Art Association, San Francisco: B.F. Sterett, 1878.
9. In 1916 the San Francisco Institute of Art became the California School of Fine Arts, ten years later it was relocated to a new facility at 800 Chestnut Street. The School and the association merged in 1961 under the name, the San Francisco Art Institute.

JAMES MADISON ALDEN

Watercolors & Drawings

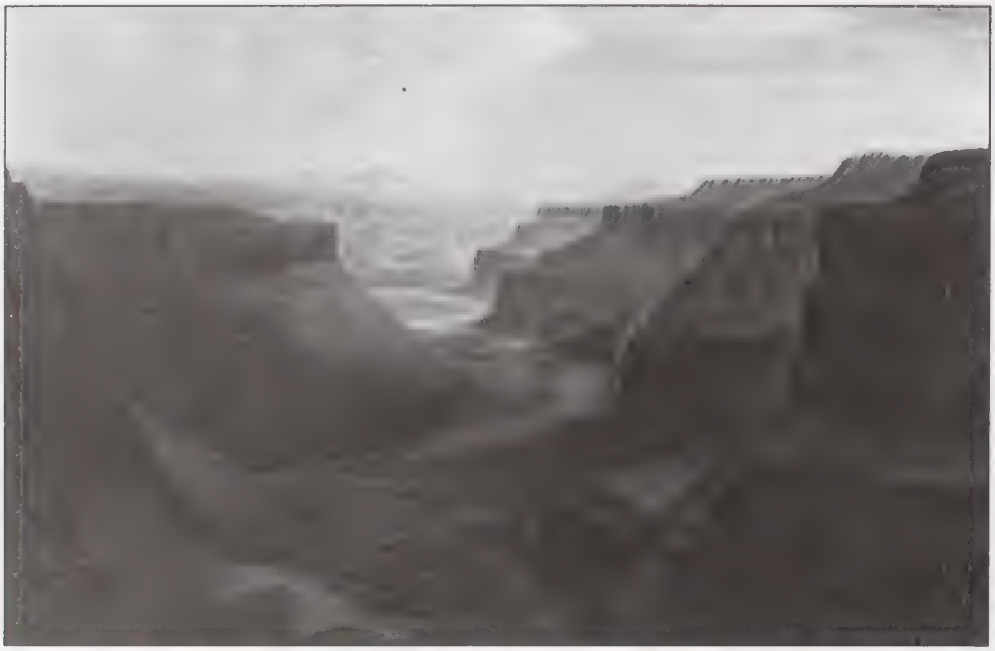
March 6 - May 24, 1997



The stream of ships carrying Argonauts to the gold fields of California plied waters fraught with danger. The Pacific coastline, charted only sketchily by arly explorers, proved to be deadly for many bound for he calm waters of San Francisco Bay. In response, the Jnited States government initiated the Coast Survey, andated to accurately map the myriad offshore hazards, s well as the inlets, capes and bays that defined the western edge of the continent. Aboard the vessels that plotted he coast were not only surveyors and scientists, but rtists—like James Madison Alden—who recorded—oth faithfully and as interpretations—the views they eheld.

In spring 1854, James Madison Alden arrived in San rancisco, eager to begin work as a cartographer for the nited States Navy. Alden, a descendant of the John Alden vho had journeyed across the Atlantic on the *Mayflower*, vas born in Boxborough, Massachusetts in 1834 and spent us formative years in Boston. After his father's death in 1853, he enlisted in the naval force and was assigned to he West Coast charting project. Following instruction in napmaking in Washington City (now Washington, D.C.), he young Alden sailed for California via the Chagres River across the Isthmus of Panama. Upon reaching San Francisco, he was assigned to the steamer *Active* under the command of his uncle, then Lieutenant James Alden. James Madison Alden was charged with sketching and coloring the many points of interest he was to observe during the ship's tours along the western coast. Also on board the *Active* was William Birch McMurtrie, a fellow artist who had arrived in California in 1849 and had painted several early vistas of the fledgling settlement of San Francisco. McMurtrie was assigned to draw precise views that could be used in survey charts. After an initial foray in San Francisco Bay, the *Active* turned north and spent the summer cruising the waters off Washington Territory.

In February 1855, the *Active* towed the sloop *U.S.S. St Mary's* to the new navy yard at Mare Island near Vallejo where Alden executed a highly detailed rendering of the disabled vessel and a view of the navy yard. Perhaps because of McMurtrie's influence, these watercolors are tighter than Alden's later work and exhibit a diligent attention to record rather than aesthetic interpretation. Reflective of Alden's position with the survey are the notations on these drawings—and subsequent works—that describe the scene. Inscribed on the verso of the watercolor of Mare



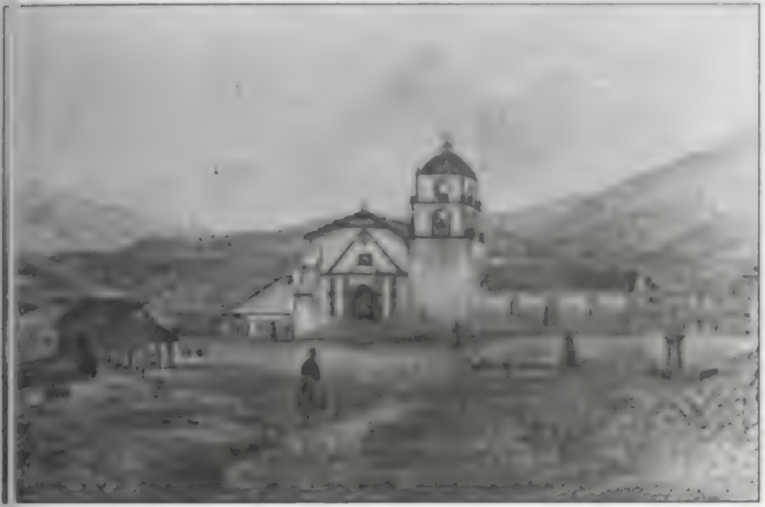
Above: Grand Canyon of the Palouse River, Washington Territory, 1860. Gift of Henry R. Wagner.
Previous page: Mare Island Navy Yard, Cala. View from the South, 1855. Gift of Henry R. Wagner.

Island, for instance, are the words, "View of Mare Island with the tules or marshes in the distance. The Active can be seen above the Sloop of War St. Mary's that she has just towed up from San Francisco. Don't mistake the Active's two masts & a smoke-stack . . . The workmen are crossing to Vallejo to go home to supper . . ."

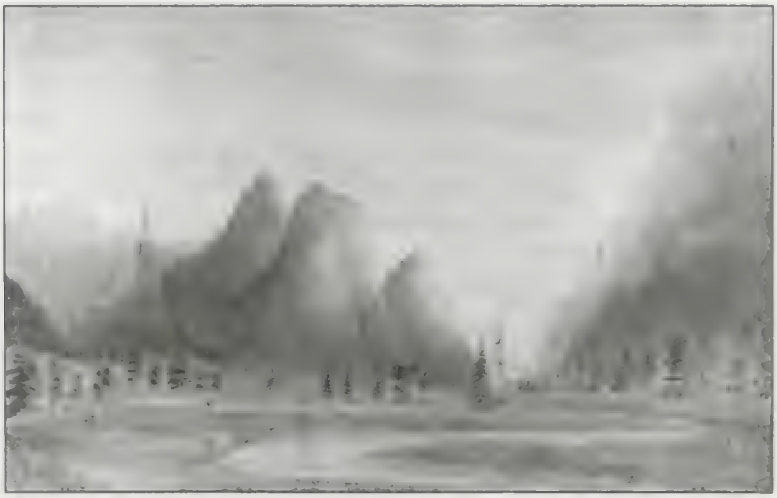
During the fall of 1855 Alden sailed south, stopping at Santa Barbara, where by land he traced the El Camino Real to Mission San Buenaventura. His depiction faithfully reports the architecture of the church and its outbuildings and alludes to the everyday activities of mission life. Another trip to Southern California took place the following year when, aboard the schooner *Ewing*, the surveying crew was given the task of logging the currents that flowed through Santa Barbara Channel and around the Channel Islands.

By 1857, Alden had travelled the length of the coast, from the border with Mexico to the as-yet undelineated boundary line of British America, but he had not explored the inland territory. In the spring he trekked to the counties north of San Francisco Bay—Marin, Sonoma and Lake—and the following year he ventured up the Sacramento River to the Gold Rush diggings of Sierra County. The spring of 1859 found him visiting Yosemite Valley and the giant redwoods of Calaveras County. The drawings from these tours of inland California give insight into Alden's working methods, for while some are meticulously finished with sensitive coloration and accurate detailing, many are quick sketches, broadly drawn, with notations, not only as to place, date, time of day and, often, direction of the view, but also of colors—presumably to be used later when the drawing would be "worked up" into finished form. The views display a respectful awe of the scale of the land and the wonders of geological patterning.

Interspersed with these inland expeditions were cruises in 1857, 1858, 1859 and 1860 to the Pacific Northwest where the water boundary between the United States and British America was in dispute. In January 1858 Alden became the official artist of the Northwestern Boundary Survey, a body charged with gathering information to help determine the setting of the border. His duties took him throughout the straits and sounds of the Northwest, and inland to the Continental Divide. In his final trip for the survey, which began in late summer 1860, Alden followed the Fraser River to the Hudson's Bay Company outpost at Fort Hope, then climbed up and over the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Battling snow



Mission San Buenaventura, 1855.
Gift of Henry R. Wagner.



Valley of Yo Semite, California, 1859.
Gift of Henry R. Wagner.
Photo: M. Lee Fatherree.

d cold as winter approached, he continued south rough eastern Washington Territory, along the Grand anyon of the Palouse River and back to San Francisco. ndoubtedly weary of the arduous life of a western plorer, Alden quickly boarded a steamer bound for New ork and served out his assignment with the Northestern Boundary Commission in Washington, D.C. here he expanded many of his field drawings into ge- scale detailed works. In 1863 he re-enlisted in the avy and became secretary to Admiral David Porter om he served until 1891. His final years were spent Florida, where he died in 1922.

James Madison Alden's quick sketches convey the working methods of an artist recording cogent facts about a newly discovered landscape. His finished works attest to the powers of his sense of color, innate appreciation of form and skilled handling of the watercolor medium. Through his eyes, through his strokes, the landscape of the western edge of North America—vistas of sea and land—becomes a reality. In his drawings and paintings, Alden combines the *history* and the *art history* of California.

Katherine Church Holland

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Personal Edens:

THE GARDENS AND FILM SETS OF FLORENCE YOCH

March 6 - May 24, 1997

Personal Edens: The Gardens and Film Sets of Florence Yoch was organized by the Virginia Steele Scott Gallery at the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens and circulated by Curatorial Assistance, Los Angeles. This brochure text is courtesy of the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens.

Florence Yoch; graduation picture, University of Illinois, 1915. *Private collection*

During her career as a landscape architect, from 1918 to 1971, Florence Yoch adapted traditional landscape designs to American needs. In her gardens, she combined patterns studied on annual pilgrimages to Europe with childhood recollections of California's country avenues, flowered meadows, and fruitful orchards. Going well beyond regional limitations, her more than 250 projects ranged from Cuernavaca to Carmel, including courtyards for historical adobes and social clubs in both Northern and Southern California, parks in Orange County and at Idaho's Shoshone Falls, the grounds for the faculty club and student housing at the California Institute of Technology, and landscapes for stately manors in Pasadena and San Marino. Yoch also designed villas for film producers and directors, such as Jack Warner and George Cukor, as well as the sets for many important movies, of which the most famous is the landscape surrounding Tara in *Gone With the Wind*.

For Florence Yoch, gardens brought together people from disparate worlds. At the turn of the century, she and her parents visited Arden, Madame Modjeska's estate in Orange County, to participate in a newly-formed community enthusiastic about horticulture. Eventually, Yoch's practice—and the shared distinction of owning one of her gardens—united a network of friends and clients across Los Angeles by overcoming divisions of geography and social background. In the 1920s and 1930s, Florence Yoch was one of the few landscape architects to work in both Pasadena and West Los Angeles. These communities supposed themselves radically different in their approaches to living, yet Yoch recognized the similarities linking people of differing tastes, backgrounds, and pursuits. To make every settler more comfortable, she transformed desert hills and plains into the places of dreams—beloved homes left behind or those that had always been wished for. She was fond of the people for whom she made gardens on both sides of the city and through her generosity befriended many. Movie director Dorothy Arzner treasured an antique sculpture that Yoch loaned her for her garden, and society doyenne Florence Banning remembered appreciatively the designer's frugality when laying out her grounds after World War II.

Florence Yoch's designs were notable for being inclusive. From her earliest to her latest landscapes she gathered many experiences into a single garden, which even on the smallest lot might contain inveigling walks in sun and shade, a flower garden, a bench for reading beneath a tree, a parterre, a well, an orchard, a grove, and a stretch of lawn. Her open-mindedness to new experiences and her travels helped her harmonize diverse garden desires into an amiable gathering. Each garden site took on a rich personality of its own.

Aiming for the unaffected, she poised the natural

Mary Stewart Garden, Il Brolino, Montecito, California: View to the Villa c. 1996. Photograph by Skeet McAuley.

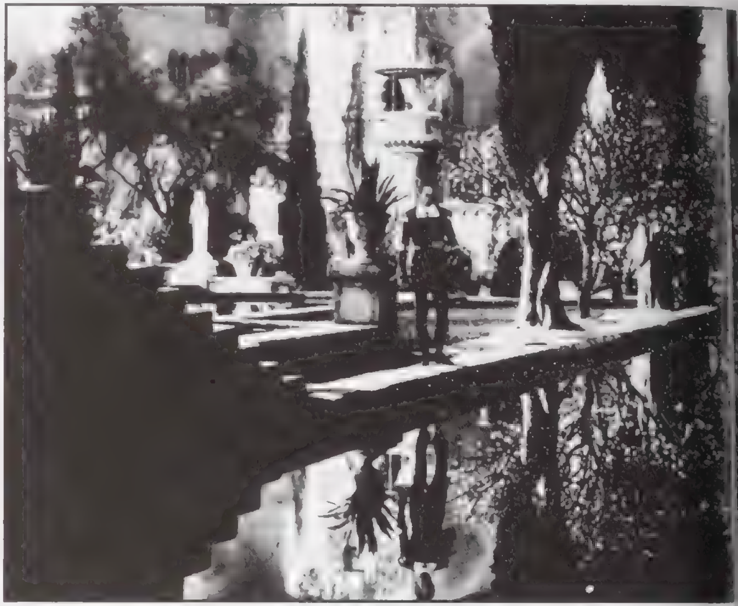
inst the artificial and the wild against the disciplined
an allegory of temperance. Her style, countering many
lifornia myths, emphasized the tidy and under-stated
er the carefree and bold. In writing notes toward a book,
jotted down, "Genuinely informal planting is not nat-
al in our climate." Instead, she made function determine
size and spacing of garden rooms and walkways. "Let
ffic carry the bonework" she proclaimed, and practical
ythms of old roads, of ambling, and of wheelbarreling
her basic patterns. Unlike other stately home garden
signers, she found the most intriguing outdoor living
angements in the patios and kitchen gardens of peas-
ts, from which she drew inspiration even for the wealth-
st clients. Her most audacious scenes mixed intimate
oments with grand recollections.

Florence Yoch executed the majority of her designs dur-
g her partnership with Lucile Council, her lifetime com-
nion. Their firm, Yoch and Council, flourished between
25 and 1940, and their gardens were by far the most
otographed in Winifred Starr Dobyns' influential *Cal-*
rnia Gardens (1931). Their much-published work was pre-
ninent during the period when California's climate,
velopment, magazines, and movies elevated its landscapes
to models for the rest of the country. Yoch and Coun-
l worked together with the period's best architects,
cluding Roland Coate, Myron Hunt, Reginald Johnson,
allace Neff, and Gordon Kaufmann, whose own Bel Air
rden Yoch designed. Successful women in Los Angeles
ve Yoch key commissions: the rooftop gardens of the
omen's Athletic Club; the garden for the Italianate bun
low of the noted soprano Amelita Galli-Curci; and the Greek temple garden for Dorothy Arzner, who introduced Florence Yoch to the movie industry.

After creating landscape settings to secure California's newcomers in their worlds, Yoch took a natural step and began to design and dress movie locations. Her earliest film work was scholarly—a research trip to Africa for David Selznick, who was remaking *The Garden of Allah* (1936). More extensive commissions included the Capulet Garden for the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet* (1936) and Tara for *Gone with the Wind* (1939), where the plantation demonstrates her characteristic combination of formal motifs and casual plantings. In Tara's seemingly conservative design Yoch rejected obvious solutions —tidy grass and pretty flowers—for rough hillocks and gnarled trees that give a venerable presence to the O'Hara family home.

Wry humor informs the unpredictable turns in her designs, and it appears as well in the smiles of her mature portraits. Her gardens and film sets seem simple and photogenic at first glance, yet her landscape pictorialism fulfilled the movie maker's call for stunning visual effects. These gardens also repaid study. Exploratory walks unravelled witty complexities and seasonal discoveries. Through her lectures, book recommendations, nursery outings, and instruction manuals, she educated clients in the more subtle pleasures of gardening. Richness in thought and care rather than in expensive ornamentation gave her designs a longevity unusual in America, and many have endured changes of generation and ownership.

As clients' demands changed after the 1929 stock market crash and again after World War II, Yoch simplified plans so that unskilled workers could perform the installation



Set for *Romeo and Juliet:* Romeo by pool, c. 1936.
Photographer unknown.

Warner Garden, Beverly Hills, California.
View of new pool stair, c. 1937.
Photograph by Fred R. Dapprich.

and maintenance of her gardens. She began to draw more explicitly on American architectural forms, turned pools and tennis courts into major features, and let sites speak with fewer accents that recalled European traditions of landscape design. In her later years, she added simple gardens to historic adobes in Monterey, California, and prepared the grounds of country farms throughout California and in Mexico. Some plans retained her attention to sophisticated plant detailing (the courtyard for the Honeyman Ranch in Orange County, for example). Others abstracted classical forms (the 1960s Reese Taylor and Charles Edwin Davis gardens), but many allowed agriculture as well as a natural landscape to dominate. Fields of barley, alfalfa, and African grass replaced lawns on her plans, and Yoch, in 1961, admonished a friend, "do not work against local conditions and spoil the genuine desert-country-ranch look."

Unlike other landscape designers whose proud gardens announced separation from the rest of the world, Yoch strove for harmony and amalgamation. She drew freely from several landscape traditions and classes to resist a single dimension and to make room for surprises in her designs. Never predictable, her earliest projects included the division of a residential site into Spanish, Italian, and English sections, like a collection of postcards from a far-ranging trip. She also recommended that the Orange County Park in Santiago Canyon do nothing but preserve its existing stand of river bottom trees. Her later gardens balance muted and explicit conventions. Viewers enjoy the free play of association and the pleasures of the imagination within emphatically American contexts.

In the designs for the forest in which Yoch and Council had their final home together, historic forms are attenuated into a faint palimpsest, ghostly appearances from earlier plans now succumbing to the forces of nature. Yet even in Yoch's least geometrical designs, her gardens retain the memory of classical figures, recalling earlier, clearer, more defined motifs. Through these devices, the American gardens of a single lifetime came to mirror the subtleties of multi-generational gardens like the Villa Lante in Italy or Stourhead and Stowe in England. The complex harmonies of her personal Edens bridge divisions in city and state and join their owners to larger communities, new cultures, and venerable times. In each landscape, she told many stories to enlarge American dreams.

James J. Yoch, University of Oklahoma, Guest Curator
Eric T. Haskell, Scripps College, Guest Curator

DIRECT FROM NATURE

THE OIL SKETCHES OF THOMAS HILL

June 20 - August 16, 1997

Direct from Nature: The Oil Sketches of Thomas Hill attests to the breadth of Hill's interests and the importance of the artist's small-scale paintings in understanding his achievements. The exhibition was organized by the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, and made possible by the enthusiasm, knowledge, and support of many people. Particular appreciation is extended to the many lenders, who have generously shared works from their collections. Dr. William H. Gerdts and the Yosemite Association are thanked for their important contributions to the accompanying book. The California Historical Society presentation was made possible through the generosity of The Bernard Osher Foundation, Dr. A. Jess Shenson, Sarah and Stephen Taber, and an anonymous donor.

One of California's finest 19th-century landscape painters, Thomas Hill (1829-1908) is little known outside of California today. In his own time, however, Hill was favorably compared with Albert Biertadt in the East (on his return to the United States from Europe n 1867) and won a gold medal at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

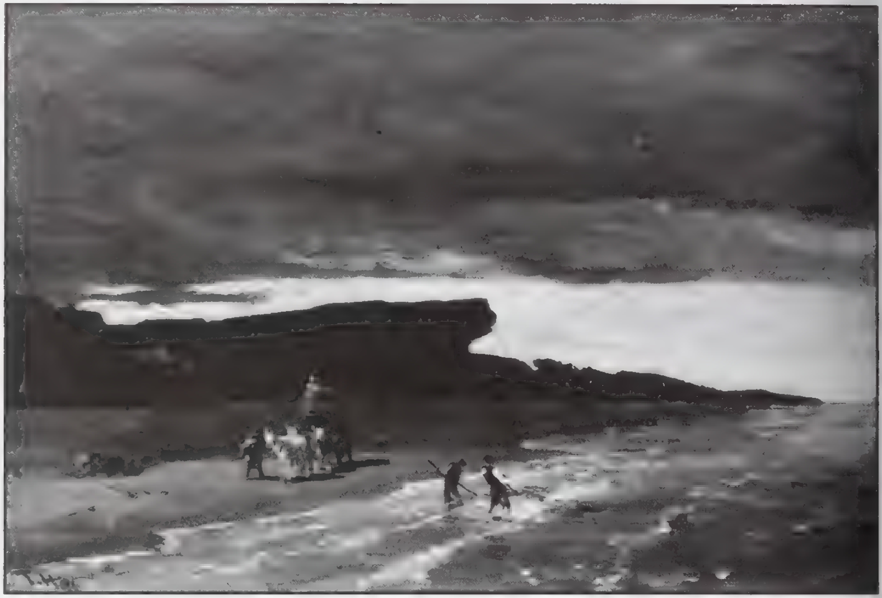
Thomas Hill is generally associated with monumental paintings of Yosemite or his *The Driving of the ast Spike*. However, his small paintings of Newport, Rhode sland, the White Mountains, Mount Shasta and Lake Tahoe in California, and the Pacific Northwest, and other subjects are among his finest achievements. Created outdoors, in front of their subjects, these "oil sketches" attest to Hill's powers of observation, capable technique, and enchantment with his motifs.

These modest paintings (generally under 16 x 20", and often on paper or board) comprised a significant portion of Thomas Hill's work from the early 1870s onward. Often highly detailed, they were apparently created along with and in nearly equal number to his larger paintings. Many are signed, indicating Hill regarded them as independent, fully-realized compositions. How

Thomas Hill, c. 1880

Photograph by I.W. Taber

Courtesy of [illegible]



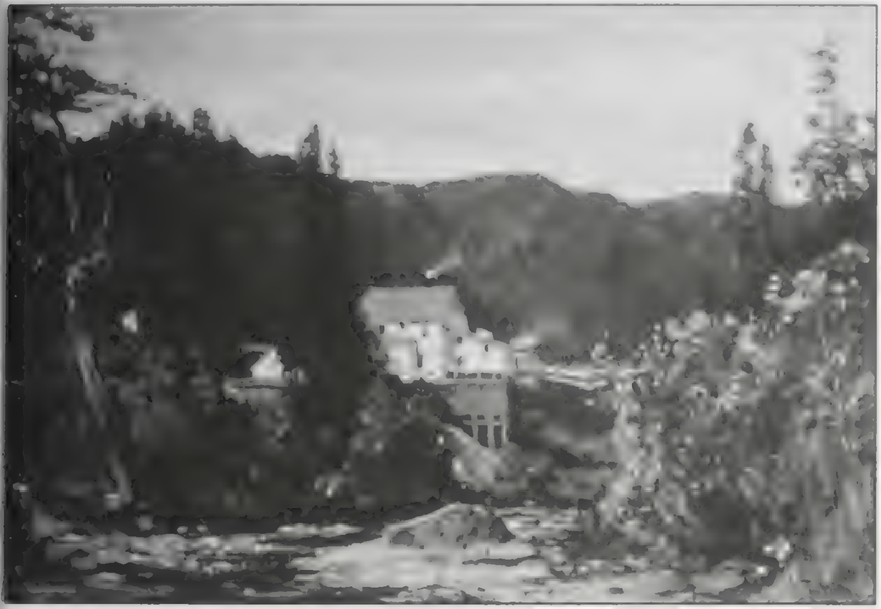
Gathering Sedge, ca. 1875. *Private collection.*

ever, he also used oil sketches as models for illustrations in other media and for larger canvases. By the mid-1870's, his practice of departing San Francisco to make studies from nature and returning with oil sketches to use in the studio was common among California artists. The State's magnificent landscape and hospitable climate, as well as the enthusiastic reception that outdoors studies received in the local press encouraged the production of oil sketches.

Born in Birmingham, England, Thomas Hill immigrated to Massachusetts with his family in 1844. The son of a poor tailor, Hill worked briefly in a cotton factory, then was apprenticed to a carriage painter. He joined an interior decoration firm in Boston in 1847, and by 1851 had married and fathered the first of nine children who lived to adulthood.

In 1853, Hill enrolled in evening art classes at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The following year he began visiting the White Mountains to paint landscapes, but he was unable to devote significant time to his artwork prior to taking up residence in San Francisco in 1861. Although Hill advertised as a portrait painter, he exhibited Sierra and Napa scenes as early as 1864. In 1865, Hill made his first documented trip to Yosemite. Although his paintings of its awesome landscape were well received, Hill left California in early 1866, traveling to the East Coast, then Paris. In France, he studied with Paul Meyerheim, and visited the art galleries at the Universelle Exposition, which opened in April 1867. By late spring he returned to the United States, settling in Boston and proceeding to produce the first of his highly praised monumental views of Yosemite Valley. Despite the attention these were accorded in the East, Hill's two major "exhibition-size" (or 6 x 10′) Yosemite canvases were both purchased by Californians–Charles and E.B. Crocker. Motivated by unsteady health and a lackluster art market in the East, Hill moved permanently to California in 1872.

Hill was hailed upon his return to San Francisco, with one newspaper noting "he has come here panoplied so royally, that we who knew him in the years gone, among his portraits, scarcely recognize him now." By his presence and his participation in the San Francisco Art Association, Bohemian Club, and other organizations, Hill offered leadership at a time when Northern California was becoming established as a major regional art center. At the same time, he sought to maintain his national reputation while residing far from eastern art centers.



Papermill Creek, n.d.
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Mildred Anna Williams Collection.

Throughout the 1870s Hill's paintings—both large nd small—were regularly featured in exhibitions and the ress in San Francisco, New York, and Boston. His sumner sketching sojourns took him throughout Northrn California, as well as to the White Mountains and tlantic coast. Despite his exhibitions and the numerus commissions Hill received from San Francisco's busiess elite, as early as 1874 he began offering large number f paintings—many of which were oil sketches—at auctions. These sales met with mixed success as San Francisco's econmy deteriorated during the late 1870s. Hill engaged in usiness ventures, becoming the proprietor of an art gallery and realizing significant income from investments in the stock market.

In 1879, Hill returned to Yosemite after several years to record new Sierra scenes for patrons. Soon therefter, he moved his studio from San Francisco to his large home in Oakland. After 1882, however, Thomas Hill spent considerable time in Yosemite Valley, where he constructed a studio (which was promptly demolished by a storm). After his daughter's marriage to John Washburn in 1885 his principle residence was at Wawona. Hill continued to travel—to the East Coast, Oregon, and Alaska—and enjoyed accommodations at San Francisco's Palace Hotel and the Coronado in San Diego in the late 1880s and 1890s. However, his paintings were increasingly of Yosemite subjects that appealed to tourists in California. Although Hill continued to develop new Yosemite views, his mature style had been formulated many years before. Hill's late oil sketches of Alaska testify that his capabilities had not diminished; however, they incorporate stylistic approaches Hill had developed many years before to depict California's impressive landscape in both large and small format compositions.

Janice T. Driesbach
Curator

Financial Highlights

Fiscal Years 1996 and 1997

Combined Statements of Financial Position
California Historical Society and California Historical Foundation

BALANCE SHEET	**AS OF** June 30, 1996	June 30, 1997
ASSETS		
Current Assets		
Cash	$ 61,376	$ 47,883
Accounts receivable (net)	2,275	4,300
Grants & pledges receivable	102,618	46,450
Interest receivable	16,108	22,280
Prepaid expenses & other assets	22,665	40,836
Total Current Assets	205,042	161,749
Non-Current Assets		
Investments	4,289,498	5,064,204
Property & equipment (net)	4,287,618	4,169,770
Deferred charges	79,769	79,769
Total Non-Current Assets	8,656,885	9,313,743
Total Assets	$ 8,861,927	$ 9,475,492
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS		
Current Liabilities		
Accounts payable & accrued liabilities	$ 76,033	$ 64,905
Total Current Liabilities	76,033	64,905
Net Assets		
Unrestricted	4,454,991	4,351,766
Temporarily restricted	241,071	424,798
Permanently restricted	4,089,832	4,634,023
Total Net Assets	8,785,894	9,410,587
Total Liabilities & Net Assets	$ 8,861,927	$ 9,475,492

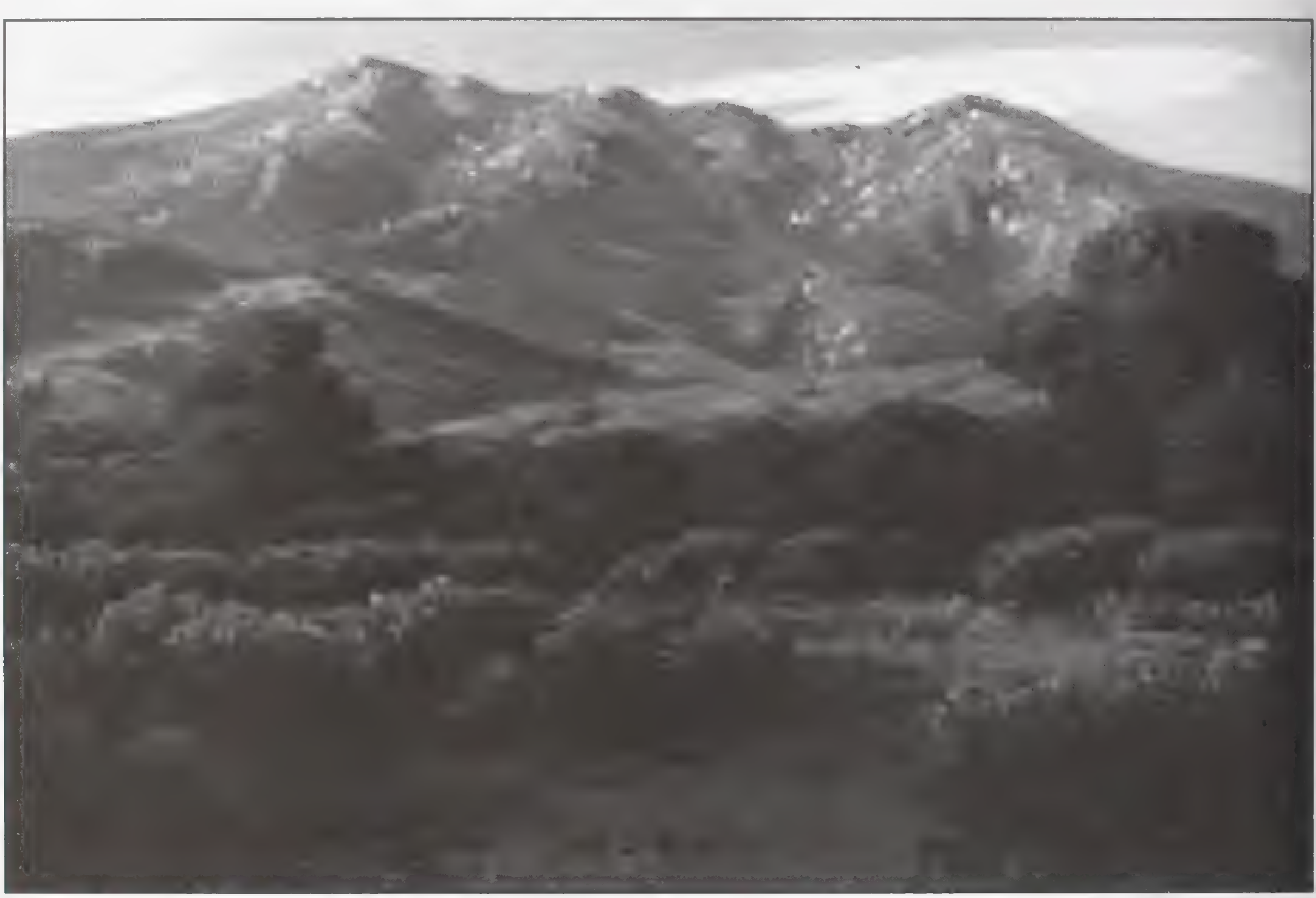
Complete audited financial statements are available from CHS upon request.

Combined Statements of Activities and Changes in Net Assets
California Historical Society and California Historical Foundation

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES	YEAR ENDED	
	June 30, 1996	June 30, 1997
Support & Revenue:		
Memberships	$ 297,085	$ 320,282
Programs & activities	58,015	28,701
Contributions, grants & bequests	309,633	172,034
Sales & other revenue	41,600	48,704
Net investment income	43,134	46,211
Volunteer benefits	47,980	60,610
Loss resulting from troubled debt restructuring	<91,741>	0
Net assets released from restrictions	728,518	368,522
Total Support & Revenue	1,434,224	1,045,064
Expenses:		
Program services	646,598	658,294
Supporting services	586,183	489,994
Total Expenses	1,232,781	1,148,288
Increase (decrease) in unrestricted net assets	201,443*	<103,225>*
Changes in temporarily restricted net assets:		
Grants and contributions	738,938	341,332
Investment income	12,319	10,972
Net assets released from restrictions	<901,992>	<168,577>
Increase(decrease) in temporarily restricted net assets	<150,735>	183,727
Changes in permanently restricted net assets:		
Investment income	127,024	169,075
Unrealized gains on investments	705,094	503,441
Reinvested capital gain on sale	59,786	63,400
Grants and contributions	245,297	7,590
Settlement on note receivable	314,320	0
Net assets released from restrictions	<140,846>	<199,945>
Increase in permanently restricted net assets	1,310,675	544,191
Increase in net assets	1,361,383	624,693
Net assets at beginning of year	7,424,511	8,785,894
Net assets at end of year	$ 8,785,894	$ 9,410,587

During the year ended June 30, 1997, the Society implemented the provisions of Financial Accounting Standards Number 124. Accordingly, the recorded amounts of all investments are adjusted annually to reflect current market values. The Society has restated certain prior year financial information to reflect the cummulative effect of complying with FASB 124.

*A non-cash depreciation expense ($147,825 in FY96, $150,908 in FY97) is included in supporting services and is reflected in these figures.



"Pink Buckeye and Santa Barbara Hills," by John Marshall Gamble, n.d. Oil on board.
California Historical Society, Gift of Edith Slack. Photograph by M. Lee Fatherree.

Edited by James J. Rawls

On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950.

Edited by Paul J. Karlstrom. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, xvii, 308 pp., $45.00 cloth.)

Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890–1945.

Edited by Patricia Trenton. (Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, in association with the University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995, xiii, 304 pp., $60.00 cloth, $34.95 paper.)

California Impressionists.

By Susan Landauer, with additional essays by Donald D. Keyes and Jean Stern. (Athens, Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, in association with the Irvine Museum, 1996, $39.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Will South, *research curator for the Utah Museum of Fine Arts and author of* Guy Rose, American Impressionist.

Added to the burgeoning literature on Californian art history are three new titles, all of which contribute in varying degrees to recognizing and reassessing the overlooked, undervalued, rediscovered, and newly discovered West Coast artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though a good deal of the documentary evidence to be found in these publications has appeared in prior publications (indeed, in more comprehensive studies by some of the same authors), they collectively contribute toward understanding California's impressionistic and modernist artists within the context of broader national and international movements. The commendable desire to bring early Californian art into mainstream discussions of American art, however, is unnecessarily compromised by a general tendency toward hyperbole and overstatement on the one hand by those anxious to assert the "we're every bit as good as the East Coast" agenda, and by an equally unnecessary apologetic on the other by those who would seek to refute allegations of provincialism by way of making it a primary issue. When inflated, both tendencies create detours around the art itself, which all three present publications demonstrate is ample and well worthy of our attention, analysis, and appreciation.

Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890–1945, edited by well known art historian and curator Patricia Trenton, is comprised of ten substantial essays focusing on women artists, with three of these essays addressing women artists of California. In all cases, the essays are well researched, clearly written, and rich with biographical detail, making *Independent Spirits* instantly indispensable to Californian art studies. However, the theme of California's neglect by the East Coast establishment is sounded early, in her essay, "Searching for Selfhood: Women Artists of Northern California," Susan Landauer concludes that there have "always been two strikes against their [Californian women artists'] admission to the canon of American art: their gender and their place of residence."

The tacit implications regarding gender and exclusion are of course familiar, making the issue of admission and/or exclusion to the proverbial canons of art history (presumably created in New York) the more interesting question regarding California specifically: why do westerners continue to be obsessed with aesthetic imprimatur from the East? Answering this question makes for lively discussion, but it distracts from qualifying the impressive achievements of the artists in question. It does not, for example, explain why Californian women artists were, as Landauer notes, "on average more successful than their Eastern counterparts"—an observation that begs for clarification and support.

Ilene Susan Fort's essay, "The Adventuresome, the Eccentrics, and the Dreamers: Women Modernists of Southern California," likewise ends with an allusion to a lack of East Coast recognition: " [The] women who pioneered modernism [in California] during the decades between the two world wars had to wait even longer for national attention." To this recurring preoccupation Fort adds shades of historical overstatement. For example, she describes the climate of southern California as particularly conducive to modernism (presumably in contradistinction to the more tradition-laden East) because of its "openness to alternative lifestyles and spiritual beliefs," a judgment made at the expense of completely ignoring the fact that throughout the teens and twenties southern California was a predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon community, so politically and morally conservative that Willard Huntington Wright had dubbed it "the land of the chemically pure." In an otherwise hugely informative and useful essay, Fort's characterization of southern California as a virtual incubator of unconventionality is a bit disconcerting.

Far more disturbing reactionary manifestations are to be found in *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950.* Paul J. Karlstrom, the book's editor, asserts in his introduction that California provided an environment that "practically guaranteed individuality and self-determination." Notions of self-invention and self-discovery are at the heart of the present-day California mythology, and Karlstrom and a good many (though not all) of his ten essayists apparently believe the myth wholeheartedly.

In Richard Candida Smith's essay, "The Elusive Quest of the Moderns," Mabel Alvarez becomes (based ostensibly on a reading of Alvarez's diaries on deposit with the Archives of American Art) an artist committed to showing viewers "the fundamental reality of harmony." The average devotees of Cal-

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library ifornia art may never read Alvarez's diaries, but, if they did, they would discover that throughout the 1930s Alvarez makes not one mention of the Great Depression or its results, while she commits pages to her bout with hemorrhoids. No doubt a talented painter, Alvarez was clearly not a philosopher, social commentator or, for that matter, much of a journalist.

Indeed, *On the Edge* is rife with the rash. In his essay entitled "The Impact from Abroad: Foreign Guests and Visitors," Peter Selz would have us believe based on absolutely no visual evidence whatever that "It is safe to assume that the work of Duchamp and that of the futurists and expressionists elicited a response from California artists." Perhaps most startling of all is Bram Dijkstra's essay, "Early Modernism in Southern California: Provincialism or Eccentricity?" For Dijkstra, the solution to the whole issue of provincialism, whether real or perceived, is to redefine early California's modernists as a lot of "eccentrics," which Dijkstra defines as those artists who "found isolation congenial." To construct his argument, the author necessarily leaves out any discussion of the many art organizations formed for group support and promotion by Californian artists, including the moderns, and the many instances in which they showed outside of California, especially New York. And, in a crescendo of hyperbole, Dijkstra calls southern California's pre-war environment a land of "outlandish isolation," despite the fact that 1920s Los Angeles absorbed the single largest internal migration to a city in United States history. When it comes to getting short shrift from the East, no other author protests so loudly as Dijkstra, who would define other critics (presumably post-war critics working in New York) as those who "tend to gain authority among the public the more they are obsessed by absolutist rules about art." A curious summation given the amount of obsession gripping Dijkstra's own commentary.

On the Edge is to be recommended, however, for a number of provocative essays. Gray Brechin's piece on "Politics and Modernism: The Trial of the Rincon Annex Murals" is not only an engaging summary of a now largely forgotten controversy, but it invites dialogue on how we now deal with controversy, community, and government. Margarita Nieto's essay, "Mexican Art and Los Angeles, 1920-1940," broaches a topic that seems wide open, and leaves the reader wishing her chapter were longer and more detailed. William Moritz's discussion of avant-garde film making in Los Angeles is a fascinating corollary to standard accounts of Hollywood.

Finally, Susan Landauer appears again as the primary author of *California Impressionists.* This catalogue was produced to accompany the exhibition organized by the Georgia Museum of Art during the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta. Unfortunately, Landauer is at her most authoritative when addressing issues surrounding abstract expressionist painting, which she does admirably in an essay in Karlstrom's *On the Edge.* Her tenuous interest in California impressionists is evidenced by her summary of it: "California Impressionism crested with Los Angeles's boom culture and expressed its propensity toward boosterism, nostalgia, and willful escapism." Landauer's entire thesis as stated here is vitiated by her failure to account in any way for the sources of California impressionism, both in California in the work of Thomas Hill, William Keith, Virgil Williams, and others, or in American landscape traditions as represented by the Hudson River School, and how California impressionism might have inherited and extended some of these traditions that have nothing to do with economic boom, boosterism, or willful escapism.

What these new titles in Californian art history make clear is that California does not lack for either a rich artistic legacy or enthusiastic art historians to record that legacy. What does seem lacking, however, is judgmental equilibrium based on a liberation from an ill-conceived sibling rivalry with that "other" coast.

"At the Extremity of Civilization": An Illinois Physician's Journey to California in 1849.

By Israel Shipman Pelton Lord, Edited by Necia Dixon Liles. (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1995, 441 pp., $45.00.)

Gold Rush Desert Trails to San Diego and Los Angeles in 1849.

Edited by George M. Ellis. (San Diego: San Diego Corral of the Westerners, 1995, 243 pp., $45.00 plus s/h $1.50, edition limited to 500 copies.)

Overland: The California Emigrant Trail of 1841–1870.

By Greg MacGregor, Introduction by Walter Truett Anderson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996, 168 pp., $75.00 cloth, $37.50 paper.)

Seven Trails West.

By Arthur King Peters. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996, 252 pp., $39.95.)

Reviewed by Rudolph M. Lapp, *professor emeritus, College of San Mateo, and author of* Blacks in Gold Rush California, *Yale University Press, 1977, reissued 1995, paper.*

The Israel Lord diary, entitled "At the Extremity of Civilization," is the story of two exciting adventures: the long one, of course, by Dr. Lord, and the much shorter one by his editor. Jaded scholars will be invigorated by the excitement generated by Necia Dixon Liles in her almost twenty-year journey to locate and then transcribe the Lord diary.

Lord's diary covers the period from May 1849 to April 1851, when he returned to his home in Illinois. His company took the northern route to California that led to Goose Lake near the Oregon border, and then turned south to Sutter's Fort and the northern mines. The company stayed to mine gold in the area between the Yuba and Feather rivers. Lord was in Sacramento during the height of the flooding and the devastation of cholera in 1850. His descriptions of both are graphic. His observations of San

ncisco encompass a short period of time and are even less
tailed than his later comments about Panama and Jamaica.
rd continued writing with meticulous detail after arriving in
mines and after his departure from California. But this
ry is unique in other ways as well.

Lord's daily entries, rarely boring, may prove to be the most
tailed overland account yet published—with the possible
eptions of the Goldsborough Bruff and William Swain diaries.
ey include observations for the geologist, the naturalist, the
storian, and even the philosopher with sharp wit. Lord notes
ery Illinoisan, whether as a death notice on the trail or in per-
n. Still, he does not neglect to make the usual comment about
les made each day and the rivers crossed, as well as avail-
ility of grass and water. His descriptions include scenes of the
man, animal, and material wreckage that littered the last half
these crossings. Dr. Lord practiced homeopathic medicine but
scribed this work rather sparsely.

Lord was not comfortable with the cultural habits of Native
nericans, but he was even-handed in observing that they were
much sinned against as sinners. This devout northern Bap-
t hated slavery, as well as many of the white southerners that
met. However, the whole human race was at the receiving
d of his caustic wit. Since he detested gambling, drinking,
earing, and smoking, Lord had a very limited circle of friends
California.

This diary spends less time on the price of things and profits
losses of the company than do many other gold-rush accounts.
rd commented more than most accounts on the practice of reli-
on or the lack of it. He took every opportunity to attend Sun-
y services, but with one exception showed little enthusiasm
r the ministers he heard. He felt that the best sermon he
tended was one given by the very antislavery reverend, M. C.
iggs.

As the literature of the Gold Rush continues to be a distinc-
ve part of Californiana, the Lord diary will be increasingly
oted. It is a rich document and a very good read. However,
ose acquainted with the rich annotations of the Goldsborough
ruff diary and, J. S. Holliday's *The World Rushed In* will miss
mparable scholarship in the Lord diary.

The Gold Rush Desert Trails, the Brand Book of the San Diego
orral of the Westerners, is not only a fine collection of extracts
om overland accounts of gold seekers who took southern
utes, but it is also a corrective to the impression that the north-
n routes were overwhelmingly preferred. Forty percent of the
rty-niners came by southern routes. This percentage decreases
mewhat if overlanders are counted for the full period of gold-
sh years. Gold-seeking Mexicans were a significant group on
ese routes. George M. Ellis, this brand-book's editor, provides
richly annotated essay on sources for studying these trails.

There are five sections to this work, and the first and largest
108 of 244 book pages) presents extracts from the nine best
ccounts of the routes that concluded in San Diego or Los Ange-
s. Section two dwells on the little-known or noted route to Cal-
ornia that began at the tip of the Baja peninsula. Few took this
ute, but the two diaries and their editors, Harry W. Crosby and
orace Dodd, provide excellent annotations and good con-
mporary photography. Crosby thoughtfully warns the reader
at the diarist has nineteenth century racial attitudes.

In section three the reader revisits the Couts diary of section one, and Leland Bibb takes the reader through the Couts route in terms of what is now known of the terrain. Illustrations and maps abound in this presentation. Trail buffs will love it. This section also includes archeologist and historian Ronald May's minute examination of San Felipe Valley, which fits in this Brand Book because it was a way-station on one of the southern routes. Mission history in this section is enhanced with essays by Msgr. Francis J. Weber and Msgr. I. Brent Eagan, who deal with Assistencia of Santa Ysabel and Mission San Diego de Alcalá, respectively.

Section four is trail buff and frontier memorabilia of more recent periods, written by Harrison Doyle and Robert B. Michealis. The last section is given to a presentation of the work of contemporary western artist Dennis Torzecki, with an essay about him by Hilda Isaac. His Baja California paintings are splendidly reproduced and enrich the reader's appreciation of the Baja diaries in section two.

This Brand Book held to high standards in scholarship but also is an aesthetically excellent production. Public libraries should have it on their shelves. Coincidentally, both books in this review were enhanced by gracious and informative prefaces by J. S. Holliday.

Overland presents the reader with an imaginative depiction through re-photographing scenes along the overland trail to California. The author, a photographer and professor of art at California State University, Hayward, produced eighty-six excellent photographs and five very good maps with which to follow the geography of the narrative. Whenever possible, the author places a sidebar extract from a contemporary gold-rush account that is appropriate to the facing photograph. The extract is usually located quite close geographically to MacGregor's present-day photograph. At times this is a challenge to the reader's imagination, since today's overland site may reveal a modern paved road, a railroad track, a school building, or even a sewage plant.

Ironies give spice to some of the original sources matching with the pictures facing them. Facing the Elko, Nevada, trail site photograph is a sidebar diary extract that refers to fears of Indians and of hunger. The MacGregor photograph, which conjectures where the trail once ran, shows a three-story hotel and next to it a bar and a cafe. For some readers, the gloominess of some of these black and white photos will suggest the dramatic photography of the Depression of the 1930s.

The Walter Truett Anderson introduction to *Overland: The California Emigrant Trail of 1841–1870* is a personal essay about Anderson and his family's experience through several generations of western residence. It concludes with a recognition of the unfortunate and brutal aspects of western expansion history, but it also hopes wistfully and sentimentally that some of its mythic romance can survive.

Seven Trails West presents a much more densely populated stage of emigration and covers a longer period of time than the other trails books. The title has the word "seven," but the table of contents has eight chapters. The seven principal trails are the Lewis and Clark, Santa Fe, Oregon-California, Mormon, Pony Express, Transcontinental Telegraph, and Transcontinental Railroad. Maps illustrate each of these. The odd chapter that brings the total to eight is on the "Mountain Men and the Fur Trade" and is as well illustrated as the other chapters but does not have a map. Evidently the fur-trade's logistics does not lend itself to map-making.

In this fine example of book-making, illustrations—many in beautiful color—abound in all eight chapters along with a very readable text. Well-written, capsule biographies of relevant individuals are included in all chapters. For general readers the biographies will animate the text.

Peters concludes with a "Coda" that expresses some of the sober end-of-the-century questions about this unstoppable western expansion. The three photos that illustrate the Coda are dramatic visualizations of his closing theme. They include a picture of Chief Big Foot frozen to death in the snow after his defeat at Wounded Knee, a view of the ugliness left by hydraulic mining in California, and a full-page photo of a field of slaughtered buffalo.

Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians.

By Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo. (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1995, 369 pp., $16.00 paper, $32.00 cloth.)

A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810.

By Randall Milliken. (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1995, 320 pp., $24.95 paper, $32.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Edward D. Castillo *(Cahuilla/Luiseño), chair of the Native American Studies Department, Sonoma State University, and author of* Native American Perspectives on the Hispanic Colonization of Alta California *and co-author of* Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians.

The written analysis of California Indian history has undergone a profound change over the past twenty-five years. The publication of Sherburne F. Cook's seminal demographic study of the native peoples of California, *The Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization,* in widely available form in 1976 was preceded by the maturation of the earliest California Indian periodical to reach wide non-Indian, non-governmental readers. The highly esteemed Mountain Cahuilla writer Rupert Costo founded the American Indian Historical Society from his longtime home in San Francisco in 1964. He then began publication of an important journal, *The Indian Historian.* The two important works being reviewed here are direct outcomes of those two seminal historiographic events in California Indian studies. One takes a micro-approach to its topic while the other tackles a broader examination of the subject.

Anthropologist Randall Milliken has produced an important study of San Francisco Bay's tribal reaction to Spanish colonization to 1810. This important study was begun as a doctoral thesis and now is one of the most important books of California Indian ethnohistory to appear in the recent past.

Milliken's thesis has been turned into a tightly focused study of the San Francisco Bay's Indian resistance, adaptation, and accommodation to colonization. It is essential to those seeking a factual and well-documented history and analysis of early contact between Indians and Spanish colonists. Inspired by the ethno-geographic work of James Bennyhoff, Milliken has historically documented the many environmental, cultural, and ethnographic forces that drew the Costanoan Indians and their neighbors into the missions around the bay area. His extensive use of Spanish documents is important, but his failure to seriously integrate important native testimony, found in the bibliography and translated in Appendix 4, Pertinent Manuscripts in Translation, detracts from this otherwise balanced narrative.

With solid documentation, Milliken investigates livestock introduction, the secession of native fire management practices, diseases and loss of faith in traditional shamanism, and the staggering population decline (both within and outside of Mission communities) as factors creating a centrifugal attraction for surviving Indians into the labor empire of the Franciscans. Unfortunately, this choice for the vast majority of Indians inevitably resulted in suffering, exploitation, and ultimately massive death. The end of the study comes all too soon, and without mentioning the survival of several Indian tribes, leaving the impression that the disintegration referred to in the book's title was permanent. A more comprehensive examination of the Costanoan adaptation and survival to the present is found in the recent anthology, *The Ohlone: Past and Present,* from the same publisher. One problem with such tightly focused works is a lack of contextual comparisons and failure to place developments in historical context of the native response to colonization and the evolution of broader Spanish Indian policy in California and other borderland territories.

More problematic is the posthumous publication of long-time activist Cahuilla Indian leader Rupert Costo (Costokik) and his non-California Indian wife, Jeannette Henry. The publication of *Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians* provides readers with an insight into the workings of the American Indian Historical Society's perspective on California Indian history, and it is an important one.

The book is a reflection of the Costos' tireless efforts to demand respect for California Indians. Their crusade has been aimed at biased historians and other scholars equally blinded to the humanity of the non-white participants of California's history. Unfortunately, the compiler has produced a book that ignores serious scholarship and fails to acknowledge the multiple perspectives of California Indians, both past and present, who have provided contemporary students and scholars with their important insights. The first two hundred pages of text are poorly organized, seriously undocumented, and sometimes erroneously so. Perspectives similar to the authors' have been well documented by both California Indians and non-Indians in numerous published works that are here unacknowledged, unknown, or ignored.

Serious factual errors abound. For instance, the writer alleges that no military traditions, war chiefs, or offensive weapons existed in aboriginal California. Even a casual examination of the field notes and published accounts of numerous California

"Yosemite Indians."
Stereograph by M.M. Hazeltine.
California Historical Society/FN-13897.

dian consultants attests to the existence of not only an offen-e war club among the Quechan, Mohave, Tongva, and umeyaay, but a well-developed and sometimes formal posi-n of war leaders in intra-tribal conflicts throughout the state. uiseño, Cupeño, and Tongva Indians of southern California will interested to learn that with little more than a declaration, ey have been categorized as sub-groups of the Cahuilla! A view of the bibliography reveals that only a handful of pub-ations after 1980 appear to have been consulted.

Historical contradictions seem to have escaped editing. On ge 135, the writer alleges that no Spanish settlements were tablished among the Quechan, while on the next page there a description of the great Quechan and Mohave uprising of 81 against the Spanish settlements of La Purísima Concepción d San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuner, in Quechan territory on e Colorado River. Tribal members knowledgeable of their peo-es' territory in the north San Francisco Bay area will be tounded to learn that between 1812 and 1842 "forced conver-on to Catholicism" took place at the Russian Orthodox out-st of Fort Ross in Sonoma County. The author assigns without cumentation the Fort Ross territory to Coast Miwok. That tribe s never in fact claimed territory that far to the north. The author ay have confused the more southerly Russian colony, Port umiantsov, at Bodega with that of Fort Ross, universally knowledged among Indians (and by an 1817 treaty) as ashaya Pomo territory.

Scathing attacks upon numerous anthologists by name, and storians as a class, abound in *Natives of the Golden State*. Some these criticisms are valid, but the vast majority are vague, cit-g neither author nor specific problems with their works. Such tions do little to "set the record straight" as promised in the troduction. More disturbing still is the ignoring of many con-mporary Cahuilla authorities such as the two incredibly deter-ned Cahuilla females, the late Jane Pablo Penn, and linguist and ethno-botanical author and editor of *The Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, Katherine Siva-Saubel. These honored elders managed to develop the first Indian-controlled museum in the United States, on the poverty-stricken Morongo Indian Reservation. Additionally, they published several important historical and ethnographic studies about southern California Indians. Also unacknowledged are the accomplishments of Cahuilla spiritual leader and author Francisco Patencio and UCLA's Cahuilla ethno-musicologist Ernest Siva. Failing to acknowledge the numerous books published by other California Indians seems to contradict the introduction, which declares the authors' hopes to "stimulate" Indian historians to publish! Finally, simple mathematical errors like the assertion that the missions lasted 55 years (page 201) instead of their actual existence from 1769 to 1834 or 1836, does little to invest trust in the other issues under discussion.

The primary value of this work is its focus on the issues surrounding the systematic dispossession of the California Indians from 1850 to the end of the Land Claims struggle in 1972. Drawing upon personal participation, Costo describes the Bureau of Indian Affairs' manipulation, and the vicious in-fighting surrounding the land claims efforts. Important and invaluable insight can be gained by readers in this section of the study. Relying primarily on federal reports with some Indian testimony, Rupert Costo's authorship here is clear and takes us through the disquieting legal and ultimately immoral dispossession of the California Indians from their landed estate.

The memory of Rupert Costo's important contribution to California Indian history is yet to be acknowledged. It should have occurred here, but it did not. Perhaps some future holder of the Costo Chair of American Indian history at the University of California at Riverside will provide the well-earned acknowledgment that Rupert deserves a map. Evidently the fur-trade's logistics does not lend itself to map-making.

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A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810.

By Randall Milliken. (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1995, 320 pp., $24.95 paper, $32.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Edward D. Castillo *(Cahuilla/Luiseño), chair of the Native American Studies Department, Sonoma State University, and author of* Native American Perspectives on the Hispanic Colonization of Alta California *and co-author of* Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians.

The written analysis of California Indian history has undergone a profound change over the past twenty-five years. The publication of Sherburne F. Cook's seminal demographic study of the native peoples of California, *The Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization,* in widely available form in 1976 was preceded by the maturation of the earliest California Indian periodical to reach wide non-Indian, non-governmental readers. The highly esteemed Mountain Cahuilla writer Rupert Costo founded the American Indian Historical Society from his longtime home in San Francisco in 1964. He then began publication of an important journal, *The Indian Historian.* The two important works being reviewed here are direct outcomes of those two seminal historiographic events in California Indian studies. One takes a micro-approach to its topic while the other tackles a broader examination of the subject.

Anthropologist Randall Milliken has produced an important study of San Francisco Bay's tribal reaction to Spanish colonization to 1810. This important study was begun as a doctoral thesis and now is one of the most important books of California Indian ethnohistory to appear in the recent past.

Milliken's thesis has been turned into a tightly focused study of the San Francisco Bay's Indian resistance, adaptation, and accommodation to colonization. It is essential to those seeking a factual and well-documented history and analysis of early contact between Indians and Spanish colonists. Inspired by the ethno-geographic work of James Bennyhoff, Milliken has historically documented the many environmental, cultural, and ethnographic forces that drew the Costanoan Indians and their neighbors into the missions around the bay area. His extensive use of Spanish documents is important, but his failure to seriously integrate important native testimony, found in the bibliography and translated in Appendix 4, Pertinent Manuscripts in Translation, detracts from this otherwise balanced narrative.

With solid documentation, Milliken investigates livestock introduction, the secession of native fire management practices, diseases and loss of faith in traditional shamanism, and the staggering population decline (both within and outside of Mission communities) as factors creating a centrifugal attraction for surviving Indians into the labor empire of the Franciscans. Unfortunately, this choice for the vast majority of Indians inevitably resulted in suffering, exploitation, and ultimately massive death. The end of the study comes all too soon, and without mentioning the survival of several Indian tribes, leaving the impression that the disintegration referred to in the book's title was permanent. A more comprehensive examination of the Costanoan adaptation and survival to the present is found in the recent anthology, *The Ohlone: Past and Present,* from the same publisher. One problem with such tightly focused works is a lack of contextual comparisons and failure to place developments in historical context of the native response to colonization and the evolution of broader Spanish Indian policy in California and other borderland territories.

More problematic is the posthumous publication of long-time activist Cahuilla Indian leader Rupert Costo (Costokik) and his non-California Indian wife, Jeannette Henry. The publication of *Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians* provides readers with an insight into the workings of the American Indian Historical Society's perspective on California Indian history, and it is an important one.

The book is a reflection of the Costos' tireless efforts to demand respect for California Indians. Their crusade has been aimed at biased historians and other scholars equally blinded to the humanity of the non-white participants of California's history. Unfortunately, the compiler has produced a book that ignores serious scholarship and fails to acknowledge the multiple perspectives of California Indians, both past and present, who have provided contemporary students and scholars with their important insights. The first two hundred pages of text are poorly organized, seriously undocumented, and sometimes erroneously so. Perspectives similar to the authors' have been well documented by both California Indians and non-Indians in numerous published works that are here unacknowledged, unknown, or ignored.

Serious factual errors abound. For instance, the writer alleges that no military traditions, war chiefs, or offensive weapons existed in aboriginal California. Even a casual examination of the field notes and published accounts of numerous California

"Yosemite Indians."
Stereograph by M.M. Hazeltine.
California Historical Society/FN-13897.

Indian consultants attests to the existence of not only an offensive war club among the Quechan, Mohave, Tongva, and Kumeyaay, but a well-developed and sometimes formal position of war leaders in intra-tribal conflicts throughout the state. Luiseño, Cupeño, and Tongva Indians of southern California will be interested to learn that with little more than a declaration, they have been categorized as sub-groups of the Cahuilla! A review of the bibliography reveals that only a handful of publications after 1980 appear to have been consulted.

Historical contradictions seem to have escaped editing. On page 135, the writer alleges that no Spanish settlements were established among the Quechan, while on the next page there is a description of the great Quechan and Mohave uprising of 1781 against the Spanish settlements of La Purísima Concepción and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuner, in Quechan territory on the Colorado River. Tribal members knowledgeable of their peoples' territory in the north San Francisco Bay area will be astounded to learn that between 1812 and 1842 "forced conversion to Catholicism" took place at the Russian Orthodox outpost of Fort Ross in Sonoma County. The author assigns without documentation the Fort Ross territory to Coast Miwok. That tribe has never in fact claimed territory that far to the north. The author may have confused the more southerly Russian colony, Port Rumiantsov, at Bodega with that of Fort Ross, universally acknowledged among Indians (and by an 1817 treaty) as Kashaya Pomo territory

Seathing attacks upon numerous anthologists by name, and historians as a class, abound in *Natives of the Golden State*. Some of these criticisms are valid, but the vast majority are vague, citing neither author nor specific problems with their works. Such actions do little to "set the record straight" as promised in the introduction. More disturbing still is the ignoring of many contemporary Cahuilla authorities such as the two incredibly determined Cahuilla females, the late Jane Pablo Penn, and linguist and ethno-botanical author and editor of *The Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology,* Katherine Siva-Saubel. These honored elders managed to develop the first Indian-controlled museum in the United States, on the poverty-stricken Morongo Indian Reservation. Additionally, they published several important historical and ethnographic studies about southern California Indians. Also unacknowledged are the accomplishments of Cahuilla spiritual leader and author Francisco Patencio and UCLA's Cahuilla ethno-musicologist Ernest Siva. Failing to acknowledge the numerous books published by other California Indians seems to contradict the introduction, which declares the authors' hopes to "stimulate" Indian historians to publish! Finally, simple mathematical errors like the assertion that the missions lasted 55 years (page 201) instead of their actual existence from 1769 to 1834 or 1836, does little to invest trust in the other issues under discussion.

The primary value of this work is its focus on the issues surrounding the systematic dispossession of the California Indians from 1850 to the end of the Land Claims struggle in 1972. Drawing upon personal participation, Costo describes the Bureau of Indian Affairs' manipulation, and the vicious in-fighting surrounding the land claims efforts. Important and invaluable insight can be gained by readers in this section of the study. Relying primarily on federal reports with some Indian testimony, Rupert Costo's authorship here is clear and takes us through the disquieting legal and ultimately immoral dispossession of the California Indians from their landed estate

The memory of Rupert Costo's important contribution to California Indian history is yet to be acknowledged. It should have occurred here, but it did not. Perhaps some future holder of the Costo Chair of American Indian history at the University of California at Riverside will provide the well-earned acknowledgment that Rupert deserves

Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family & Friends.

By Suzanne Abel-Vidor, Dot Brovarney, and Susan Billy. (Ukiah, Oakland, and Berkeley: Grace Hudson Museum/City of Ukiah, Oakland Museum of California, and Heyday Books, 1996, xii, 128 pp., $20.00 paper.)

The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry.

Introduction and Text by Brian Bibby. (Sacramento and Berkeley: The Crocker Art Museum in association with Heyday Books, 1996, xv, 128 pp., $20.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Clifford E. Trafzer, *professor of history and director of Native American Studies at the University of California, Riverside, and vice-chair of the Native American Heritage Commission.*

At that place called Mount Shasta, at the beginning of time, a huge basket filled with goodness was placed in the heart of the mountain. Native Americans of northern California say that it is still there, emitting goodness to the world. All California Indian baskets are far more than museum objects to be shown with details of size, composition, design, and function. Baskets are people, family, community, history, environment, art, literature, and life. Baskets are many things at once, and they are alive with spirit, beauty, and motion. Baskets are at once the past and present, woven into the fabric of California Indian being. These are among the significant ideas presented in two remarkable books, *The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry* and *Remember Your Relations.*

Both books are beautiful, unique, and valuable, offering readers a window into the rich culture of Native Americans of California. Through the narratives, discussions, illustrations, and photographs, the books provide a way of knowing about Native Californians. No attempt is made to convince readers that they should "believe" a certain way about the power of baskets, but readers are asked to consider that many California Indians think broadly about the importance of basketry. The books offer readers a marvelous opportunity to enter the Native American world, to experience traditional and transitional cultures from inside the communities through baskets and basket makers.

Remember Your Relations accomplishes this through a detailed discussion of famous Pomo basket maker, Elsie Allen, her friends, and relatives. The book is the catalog for an exhibit at the Grace Hudson Museum of Ukiah, California, and features details about the works by Annie Burke, Elsie Allen, Susan Billy, and many other basket makers, past and present. The book offers a view of the future for native basketry focusing on environmental and cultural concerns. The book is rich with black and white as well as colored photographs.

The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry accompanied a joint exhibition of the California Indian Basketweavers Association and the Crocker Art Museum of Sacramento. After introductions by Stephen McGough, Jennifer Bates, and Janice Driesbach, guest curator Brian Bibby offers a concise and authoritative discussion about California Indian basketry, including variations in the art, functions, and techniques. Bibby's presentation will be of great use to educators seeking an understanding of California Indian baskets and their significance to native people. The book proceeds with presentations of numerous baskets and basket makers from Maria Marta's (Chumash) art, representing the image found on silver coins struck by the Spanish crown and made about 1822 at Mission San Buenaventura, to a tray with a rattlesnake design made in 1990 by Leroy Fisher (Chemehuevi). The book offers works of over sixty California Indian basket makers, presenting biographical information on artists and discussions of their work. Each basket is featured in a handsome colored photograph that allows readers to experience the artwork and that encourages them to contemplate the meaning of the art form.

The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry is filled with moving photographs that jump off the pages, creating a lasting voice to those willing to listen. Each basket is interpreted by a team of native and non-native experts, and their comments add great depth and richness to the presentation. Both of these books are triumphs, significant contributions to the study of California's native peoples.

The American Aerospace Industry: From Workshop to Global Enterprise.

By Roger E. Bilstein. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996, xviii, 280 pp., $28.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gerald D. Nash, *distinguished professor of history, emeritus, at the University of New Mexico and author of the* American West Transformed *and many other works.*

As the Gold Rush provided an impetus to the rapid economic growth of California in the nineteenth century so the aerospace industry stimulated the extraordinary expansion of the state one hundred years later. This work is a volume in the Twayne Evolution of the History of American Business series. Professor Bilstein of the University of Houston-Clear Lake has written widely on diverse aspects of the subject and is well qualified to provide a work of synthesis such as this one.

The author follows a chronological approach. Several chapters cover the early history of flight and foundations of the industry to 1933. The expansion of civil and military aviation from 1933 to 1945 receives a chapter. Others cover aviation in the Cold War, development of rockets and space craft, and expansion of airline and light plane travel, 1945 to 1969. Changes in the 1970s and 1980s and global perspectives in the 1990s complete the discussion in the book.

With an emphasis on national and international trends, California does not receive much emphasis in this volume. Readers who are interested in airplanes and aerospace in California will have to provide their own context. Thus, the growth of naval aviation in southern California between the two world wars was largely related to the U.S. Navy's decision to shift one-half of the nation's battle fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific in 1919—with San Diego as the major base. African Americans and Lati-

"The Aerial Steam Navigator Co's Steamer Aviator," 1869.
Stereograph by Thomas Houseworth & Co.
California Historical Society/VIP03204.

nos were not hired by California aircraft plants in large numbers as the author asserts (p. 73). The crucial role of California in the Cold War-era is not emphasized, although the state received 40 percent of national defense expenditures for air power during the period. Pioneers of California's aircraft industry such as Donald Douglas, Howard Hughes, C. E. Lauritzen, or Ryan Aeronautics receive scant attention. Major players in the industry such as Northrop or Lockheed after 1940 are accorded periodic mention.

Bilstein provides a broad survey of the aerospace industry based on the best specialized secondary studies that have appeared in the last several decades. He is well versed in the field. Those who are interested in California's part in the saga will want to look at other books in the field, such as those by Roger Lotchin or Ann Markusen, rather than to this very competent and workmanlike volume.

Public Education in a Multicultural Society: Policy, Theory, Critique.

By Robert K. Fullinwinder, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, x, 289 pp.)

Reviewed by Nelly P. Stromquist, *professor of international development education at the University of Southern California.*

This book is a welcome addition to the large number of references dealing with the issue of multiculturalism in the schools. Its merit lies in its presentation of philosophical issues in addition to the more common practical concerns of education. The collection of chapters contains seven written by philosophers, one by a jurist, and two by educators.

Fullinwinder, the editor, opens the book with a rather negative definition of multicultural education: it is "what good schools do to assure that 'cultural' factors don't get in the way of equal educational opportunity and high student achievement" (p. 3). However, he and other authors do address important concepts and interesting dilemmas. The philosophical arguments are at times abstruse, but they examine in depth such key concepts as culture, identity, democracy, pluralism, adaptation, assimilation, tolerance, and power. Important pearls of wisdom can be gained through the writings. Some of them are: "the distribution of power affects tolerance," "self-esteem is a function of mutual respect," "cultural difference undergirds loyalties," and "identities do not need one single culture."

The introductory chapter by Fullinwinder notes that in many writings it is left unspecified who should shed cultural features and what these features would be, that we often do not identify the "respectable" and the "worthy" in matters of culture, and that it is not clear by what criteria we select educational measures and procedures to deal with multicultural issues.

The chapter by Lawrence Blum considers specific tools for multicultural education in the schools. In his view the current California History-Social Science Framework falls short of its intentions to provide anti-racist education. Blum raises the important point that the values promoted in the framework imply an already-defined group, but do not include broader forms of exclusion brought about by racial segregation. He introduces the intriguing notion of "personal intervention in the face of injustice," which he terms the "psychology of citizenship," and argues for presenting cultural pluralism not as something already accomplished but as something undergoing formation. The authors are generally critical of Afrocentrism. Amy Gutman calls it an "uncivic ideology" that cultivates a "reverse racial mythology and a sense of racial superiority." She leaves unexamined the sociopolitical context in which this perspective has emerged and the reasons for its appeal among certain Afro-American groups, although she acknowledges that what is often taught in the school is "repressive history," in which important facts are missing.

The chapters on teaching history and literature are crisply written and provide important consideration of topics and dilemmas. Sandra Stotksy brings attention not just to social studies curriculum but also to the literature curriculum in grades K through 12, raising useful questions about criteria for selection of multicultural literature. She recommends having label-free literature in which "works are judged on their merits rather than the religion, gender, or ethnicity of the author." But, if not labeled, what assurance is there that these works will be considered?

Gilbert Sewall's chapter raises the question of which core of culture is to be shared and warns against the "inverted myth" that denies the role of political ideals and institutions in creating what we know as American society. Anthony Appiah argues that ethnic identities should be created in family and communal life, not at school, but he also affirms that living in one nation requires a shared commitment to the organization of the state though not necessarily the same commitment to all of its institutions. Jeremy Waldom completes this argument by saying that identities do not need to be built on one single culture; under modernity, all cultures are more permeable, and thus our identities are becoming more multicultural.

While the book lives up to its own claim that it presents a "sustained philosophical examination of fundamental questions raised by multicultural education," it would have been useful to have a concluding chapter in which the various critiques, contradictions, and consensus of the preceding chapters are brought into clear balance. An attempt to produce a cultural mapping, identifying overlaps and distances in the various beliefs, values, and norms major ethnic groups hold in this country would have helped demystify the discourse on cultural "identities" and "differences." Such a chapter might also have tied together many of the philosophical and practical issues raised in the chapters. Nonetheless, this collection offers much food for thought and should be a basic reference among those interested in our increasingly complex multicultural society.

Building the Ultimate Dam: John S. Eastwood and the Control of Water in the West.

By Donald C. Jackson. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995, xii, 336 pp., $45.00 cloth.)

Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands.

By William D. Rowley. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996, xi, 199 pp., $27.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Kendrick A. Clements, *professor of history, University of South Carolina.*

The title of one of these books promises more than the book delivers; the other's title claims less than is in the book. William Rowley's *Reclaiming the Arid West* is a solid biography of Francis Newlands but not a major addition to the literature on the western irrigation movement. Donald Jackson's *Building the Ultimate Dam,* on the other hand, has broadly important things to say about innovation in American engineering, about capitalism and western development, and about the technical and nontechnical issues raised by dam building.

Building the Ultimate Dam focuses on the work of John S. Eastwood, a western engineer who in the early twentieth century designed (and sometimes built) radically innovative dams. During a thirty-year career, Eastwood insisted that multiple-arch dams could safely hold back water at far less cost than conventional dams, which depend on a huge mass of earth, rock, or concrete. Jackson describes the multiple-arch dam as "a type of buttress dam in which the upstream face is formed by a series of arches" (p. 319), which may not mean much to the reader unfamiliar with the concept, but the book's excellent pictures and diagrams make the idea perfectly clear. The crucial point about the multiple-arch dams is that, because they use far less concrete than a conventional gravity dam, private companies or water-users' associations could afford to build them without government financing. Although Eastwood did not specifically declare a social or economic purpose, the multiple-arch dam thus promoted the development of the West by private interests and small capitalists rather than governments or great corporations.

Jackson implies that it may have been the very inexpensiveness of Eastwood's dam designs that drew down on his head the opposition of establishment engineers and bureaucrats. Perhaps so, but it is equally plausible that conventional people were afraid of Eastwood's dams simply because they *looked* frail. John R. Freeman, one of the foremost engineers of that generation, admitted that he opposed the construction of an Eastwood dam not because he thought it unsafe, but because it wasn't "a big massive lump of a dam" which would give the "psychological" impression of safety (p. 123).

Despite the opposition of the "experts," Eastwood built seventeen multiple-arch dams throughout the West between 1908 and 1924, and most are still in service today. Jackson's splendid book shows us the beauty of these elegant structures, describes Eastwood's technical achievements in language easily accessible to any reader, and demonstrates how technology, capitalism, and government interacted in the development of the West.

Regrettably, William Rowley did not have as broad a canvas upon which to work. Francis Newlands, it appears, was neither the real author of the reclamation act that bears his name nor a pivotal figure in the development of irrigation in the West. He appears on Rowley's pages as an all-too-typical Gilded Age politician interested more in personal profit than principle. *Reclaiming the Arid West* is largely a history of Nevada politics at the turn of the century, which, while useful to specialists, will not have broad appeal to historians of the West.

"Equally in View": The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools.

By Geraldine Joncich Clifford. (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1995, xxii, 103 pp., $10.00 paper.)

"A Western Acropolis of Learning": The University of California in 1897.

By Roy Lowe. (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1996, xvi, 47 pp., $10.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Irving G. Hendrick, *professor of education and dean of the School of Education at the University of California, Riverside.*

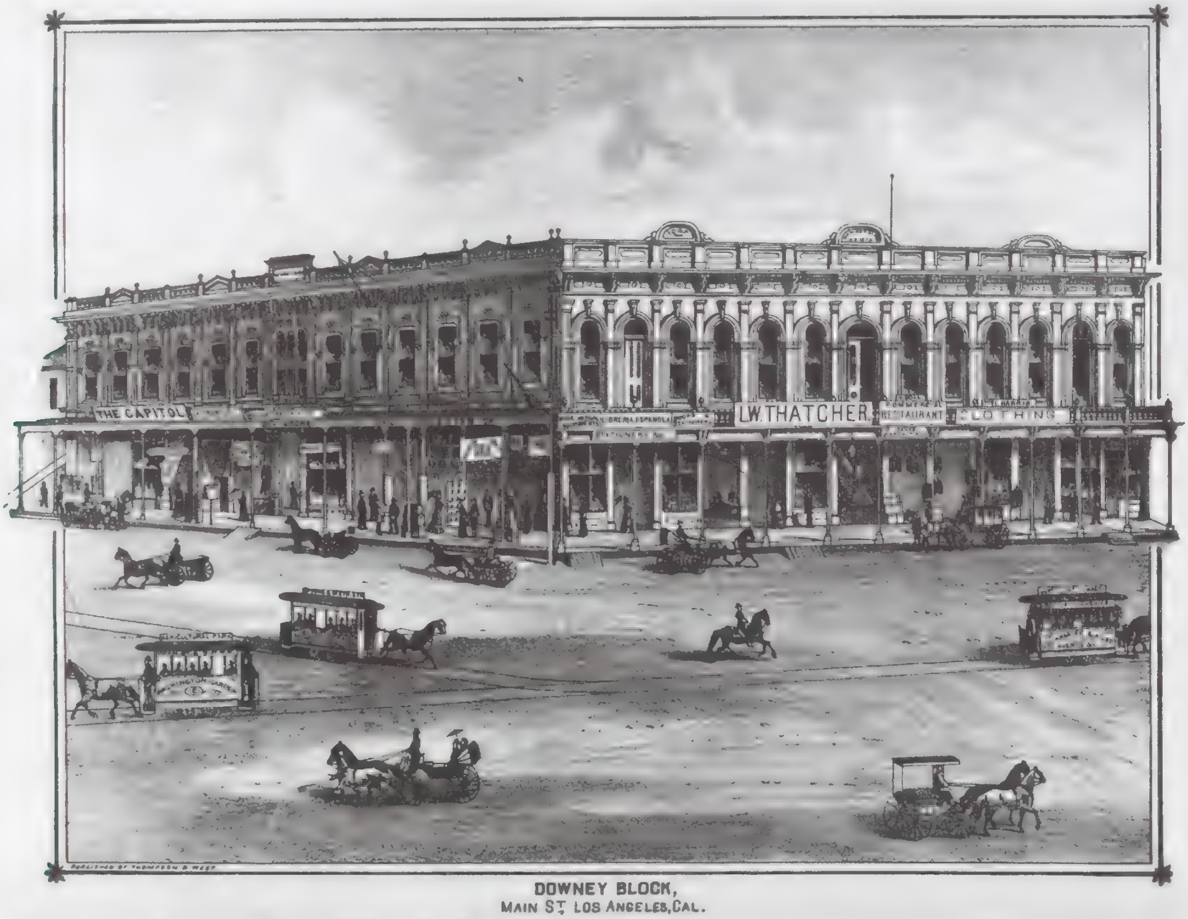
The small but interesting books cited above represent two of five "chapters" published so far to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the founding of the University of California. Like the other works in this series, the stories are either exclusively

"Young Ladies Club House, Berkeley,"ca. 1875.
Photograph by Strong.
California Historical Society/FN-04506.

or primarily about the University's oldest, original, and most distinguished campus at Berkeley. That said, the two books have little else in common with each other.

Geraldine Clifford's story is about women and the public schools, with a particular focus on the university's role in preparing teachers and accepting women into its student body and faculty. Inhospitable at first to women faculty and students, by the turn of the century, women constituted a formidable share of the Berkeley student body, and an overwhelming majority of them were preparing to become teachers. The social system of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century California pretty much defined an inextricable link between the dominance of women in teaching, the university's obligation to serve the needs of public education, and the enrollment of women in the university. Because the university was itself the capstone of the public education system in California, it is little wonder that it was obligated to serve that system. Though sometimes hesitatingly and reluctantly, until well into the twentieth century Berkeley became the primary preparer of secondary teachers, the definer of state teacher standards, and the definer of secondary-school curriculum standards. In 1899, for example, nearly one-half of Berkeley's graduating seniors applied for the teacher's certificate (p. 74). The campus's role in preparing teachers was substantial from late in the nineteenth century until beyond the first half of the twentieth century. And, as women were becoming the state's teachers, they also were taking their place in the university's student body, especially in the liberal arts, but also in the sciences. The College of Letters and Sciences, to say nothing of the School of Education, depended on enrollment generated by women.

If Geraldine Clifford's story may be thought of as a commentary on a piece of cultural history that helped to define part of the university's mission, Roy Lowe's book, the shortest in the series, may be thought of as illustrating the power of Anglo-American academic life on the 1897 architectural plan of the Berkeley campus. During the late 1880s and 1890s, contracts for major buildings around San Francisco were being assigned to architects with national and even international reputations. Leland Stanford's new university at Palo Alto ran counter to the Anglo-Saxon tradition in favor of a design distinctly Californian in character. Such a path would be unlikely for Berkeley. The Berkeley plan followed an international architectural competition that was translated into four languages. Yet the winner of the competition, the Frenchman Emile Benard, would not win the eventual design contract. For all of its splendor, the French Beaux Arts style that led his design to be acclaimed the winning entry in 1900 could not win the support of Regent Phoebe Hearst or President Benjamin Ide Wheeler. In the end, Benard's heavily decorated version of the French Beaux Arts style was modified substantially as a solid working relationship evolved between the regents and John Galen Howard The Benard model was reinterpreted in a manner pleasing to dominant Anglo-



"Downey Block, Main Street, Los Angeles, Cal." ca. 1880. A lithograph published by Thompson & West.
California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, FN-23610.

Saxon tastes and pragmatic building-use needs. In 1901 Howard was given the contract for the Mining Building and soon became the superintending architect for the campus. The core of the Berkeley campus, evident in its most prominent buildings and other structures, is still largely the work of Howard. Already by 1903, he had become the superintending architect and head of the newly created Department of Architecture, a post he held until his retirement in 1927. Most importantly, the legacy left by Howard was an interpretation of the ancient classical style that was to make Berkeley the "new Athens," and California's university, "the new Acropolis" (p. 46).

The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History.

By Dolores Hayden. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1995, xvii, 296 pp., notes, index.)

Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future, 2nd ed.

By Andrew Rolle. (Sacramento: MTL, Inc., 1995, 226 pp., notes, index.)

Reviewed by Gloria Ricci Lothrop, *W. P. Whitsett Professor of California History, California State University, Northridge, and co-author of* California Women: A History.

Believing that a city's biography is imbedded in its landscape, urban historian Dolores Hayden organized teams of scholars, students, and preservationists to seek out the place-memory encoded in the physical structure of Los Angeles. She thus expected to develop an evolving history of the workplaces, neighborhoods, and commercial centers of the city.

Hayden's project was inspired in part by the irony that, while minorities comprise 60 percent of the city's population, they are represented in only 2.3 percent of the officially designated memorials in Los Angeles. In the course of the study of public spaces, Hayden discovered in union halls, synagogues, and even herb shops the spatial vernacular of the common folk, which might be described as the undesignated memorial to minorities and women.

The second part of the book moves from theories about how to derive history from urban architecture to a description of the actual process project teams used to memorialize the efforts and accomplishments of women and minorities. The celebration of the city's diversity included the commemoration of Latina labor organizers at the Embassy Auditorium, where they had once conducted meetings and rallies, the evocation of the Japanese presence on the sidewalks of Little Tokyo, and the creation of an innovative monument to African American philanthropist Biddy Mason. Her progress from slavery to prosperity is now documented on an 81-foot-long wall in downtown Los Angeles.

While there is some duplication between the first part and the subsequent account of the field study, Hayden's description of the project teams' work persuasively illustrates how community efforts to examine the changing shape of the city may serve to reconstruct the history of the marginalized. Within the built environment, she explains, lies the essence of its occupants. In honoring them, by claiming urban territory in innovative ways, the author contends that the resonance of the neighborhood and the city is deepened and enriched.

The study of Los Angeles is further enhanced by the revised and considerably expanded second edition of historian Andrew Rolle's *Los Angeles From Pueblo to City of the Future.* In attempting to explain what he describes as an odd but workable post-suburbia of the American West, the author offers a concise account of the city's early history. He adroitly blends more recent history into chapters highlighting commerce, agriculture, transportation, the environment, and more.

While this compact survey is comprehensive, there are inclusions this reviewer would have favored. For example, Rolle provides a succinct account of the growth of the film industry, including the fact that 69 percent of today's American movies are shot in California. There is, however, no discussion of the several forces that provoked Hollywood's precipitous postwar decline. Furthermore, the focus on film overlooks the multiple facets of today's entertainment industry, including video and sound recording. Hollywood's film libraries and incomparable number of high technology recording studios represent two additional major profit centers that should be considered.

No doubt, editorial limits forced the inclusion of sports, society, and culture in the same chapter. As a result, while the account of the 1984 Olympics is vivid, there is no discussion of such innovations as the photo finish and the athletes' village pioneered by Los Angeles during the 1932 Olympics. Nor is there an opportunity to examine southern California's emergence as a contemporary art center in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the work of such modernists as Karl Benjamin, Sam Francis, Corita Kent, and June Wayne of the Tamarind Gallery.

The discussion of higher education is perhaps the most in need of enhancement. While Rolle cites the University of California and several private colleges, including Occidental College (six times), there is no acknowledgement of the seven campuses of the California State University system located within the greater Los Angeles area, which with an aggregated enrollment of nearly 100,000 train much of the personnel powering the region's mighty economic machine.

As in his textbooks, where he has made an effort to include the under-represented, Rolle provides readers with an overview of the city's ethnic groups, commenting on their folkways and their artists, as well as their conflicts. Text and illustrations also feature a number of women, highlighting their role in Los Angeles civic reform, philanthropy, and the arts. But there is no mention of the critical role Los Angeles voters played in assuring the enfranchisement of California women in 1911. While there is discussion of the use of migrant labor in the local defense industry during World War II, there is no recognition of the fact that women represented 65 percent of the southland's defense workforce during the war years.

In this edition Rolle has included a chapter on more recent local crime, earlier examples of corruption and crackdowns having been succinctly integrated into appropriate chapters. What is still needed, however, is a discussion of the move of organized crime westward in the late 1930s and the impact of Asian syndicates, which arrived with the immigrant waves of the 1970s and 1980s. District Attorney records, court dockets, and police blotters would be sources of much useful information. Such sources would considerably expand the narrow research base upon which this chapter rests.

These *desiderata* aside, Andrew Rolle has demonstrated that he is a knowledgeable commentator who has succeeded in creating a sharply etched cameo of that indefinable, ever-changing metropolis—Los Angeles.

Streets of San Francisco: The Origins of Street and Place Names.

By Louis K. Lowenstein. (Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1996, 128 pp., $9.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Philip J. Ethington, *associate professor of history at the University of Southern California and author of* The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850-1900 *(Cambridge, 1994).*

Street names rank among the most important elements of urban identity. Possibly the first feature we think of is the topographic and architectural look and feel: New York's skyline; Boston's Charles River vistas; Chicago's Lakeshore Drive; San Francisco's steep streets and wooden Victorians. Second only to this—and more meaningful to any inhabitant—are the associations we make with particular streets and thoroughfares. Whole neighborhoods usually take their names from the streets at their heart. The Castro, The Haight, Noe Valley, and The Mission. Street names carry the burden of history in two distinct ways. First, meanings are accumulated by association with the character of the neighborhood. Since the 1960s, "The Haight" means bohemia and counterculture. Since the rise of the world's most important gay community, "The Castro" means exactly that. Second, the original meaning of a street name preserves in some way the character of the urban place when the streets were first laid out. Thus Haight Street was named for Henry Huntley Haight, city supervisor, then governor of California (1867-1871). Probably fewer than one in ten thousand San Franciscans know this today, although Haight's name was for decades a household word in the West. Probably slightly more San Franciscans know that José Castro, also briefly *gobernador* (1835), was a leader of the "Norteño" faction of Spanish and Mexican elite families.

Lowenstein's book, which has been updated twice now since its first appearance in 1984, is about the *original* meaning of the streets' names. This is the best single reference we have for this important aspect of San Francisco's identity. Most street name origins are mysterious to a city's residents, and Lowenstein's short but fascinating reference work demystifies "1,300 of the 1,735 non-numbered and non-lettered streets" (p. 1), that the author was able to identify. As this figure shows, even a seasoned historian who mined for years the very best archives in the Bay Area, could not discover the original meanings of 25 percent of the city's street names. Part of this difficulty results from the great loss of records in the earthquake and fire of 1906. However, one suspects that the same missing proportion would recur for any other city.

"Henry Huntley Haight," ca. 1875.
Photograph by Bradley & Rulofson.
California Historical Society Collection.

Given the extraordinary difficulty of identifying so many obscure original references, the author appropriately disclaims guarantees, and admirably invites readers to send emendations. My own assessment is that Lowenstein has done an admirable job, although I found enough minor mistakes among those street names within my expertise to make me wary of those names falling outside my expertise. The origin of Haight Street is strangely mistaken. The author correctly identifies "Henry Haight," the city supervisor, and incorrectly rules out "the least likely prospect . . . H. H. Haight, an early California governor" (p. 44), who was in fact the same person! The book also lacks the documentation necessary for a scholarly work. But on the whole, I think this is a good enough reference for the curious non-professional historian and a very good starting place for those bent on serious investigation.

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

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Arnold, Anthony. *Suisun Marsh History: Hunting and Saving a Wetland.* Marina, Calif.: Monterey Pacific Publishing Company, 1996. $39.95 (cloth), plus $5.05 sales tax, ISBN: 1-880710-4-8. $21.95 (paper), plus $3.60 sales tax, ISBN: ?. $1.95 extra charge for paperback orders with optional gazetteer and list of duck club names (standard in cloth). Order from: Anthony Arnold; Post Office Box 1252; Novato, CA 94948.

Bickham, William D. *A Buckeye in the Land of Gold: The Letters and Journal of William Dennison Bickham.* Randall E. Ham, ed. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996. $37.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062 263-3. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Campodonica, Carol A. *How to Build a California Mission: San Carlos de Borromeo del Rio Carmelo.* Francis J. Weber, et al., eds. San Jose: Buzzard Press, 1996. $14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9648488-2-1. Order from: Buzzard Press; 409 Reynolds Circle; San Jose, CA 95112-1115.

Chan, Sucheng, and Spencer C. Olin. *Major Problems in California History.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996. $20.76 (paper) ISBN: 0 669-27588-3. Order from: Houghton Mifflin Company (College Division); 181 Ballardville St.; Wilmington, MA 01887.

Clappe, Lousie Amelia Knapp Smith ["Dame Shirley"]. *The Shirley Letters: From the California Mines, 1851-1852.* Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998. Edited and Introduction by Marlene Smith-Baranzini. "Reintroducing a beloved classic of California historical literature." $10.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-890771-00-7 Order from Heyday Books, Post Office Box 9145; Berkeley, CA 94709

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Curtis, Edward S. *Heart of the Circle: Photographs of Native American Women.* San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1997. Edited by Sara Day, introduction by Pat Durkin. $29.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-7649-0006-4. Order from: Pomegranate; Post Office Box 6099; Rohnert Park, CA 94927.

Dunitz, Robin J., and James Progoff. *Painting the Towns: Murals of California.* Los Angeles: RJD Enterprizes, 1997. $50.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9632862-5-2; $29.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9632862-4-2. Order from: RJD Enterprizes; Post Office Box 64668; Los Angeles, CA 90064.

Elgi, Ida Rae, ed. *No Rooms of Their Own: Women Writers of Early California 1849–1869.* Berkeley: Heyday Books in association with Rick Heide, 1997. Second edition. Foreword by J. J. Wilson. "Celebrates the women who contributed to California's cultural heritage, and provides us with a truer and more inclusive vision of the history of the West." $14.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-890771-01-5. Order from: Heyday Books; Post Office Box 9145; berkeley, CA 94709.

Gherini, John. *Santa Cruz Island: A History of Conflict and Diversity.* Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997. Foreword by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., introduction by Marla Daily. $39.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0 87062-264-1. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214-0707.

Hartley, Fred B. *Old Pasadena Then and Now: A Pictorial Chronicle and Guide of Its Significant Commercial Buildings.* Pasadena: Baughman Printing Co., 1997. $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9656187-0-6. Order from: F. Hartley; 164 Orange Grove Blvd., No. 203; Pasadena, CA 91105.

Hillinger, Charles. *Hillinger's California: Stories form All 58 Counties.* Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1997. Foreword by Bob Hope. $16.95 paper) ISBN: 0-88496-425-6. Order from: Capra Press; Post Office Box 2068; Santa Barbara, CA 93120.

Houston, James D. *In the Ring of Fire: A Pacific Basin Journey.* San Francisco: Mercury House, 1997. $14.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-56279-100-1. Order from: Mercury House; 785 Market St., Suite 1500; San Francisco, CA 94103.

Jones, Jack. *Vasquez: California's Forgotten Bandit.* Carlsbad, Calif.: Akira Press 1996. $9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9653770-0-8. Order from: Akira Press; 2604B El Camino Real, Box 143; Carlsbad, CA 92008

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Kowalewski, Michael, ed. *Panning Out: 150 Years of Gold Rush Writing*. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1997. $18.48 (paper), plus $3.00 postage per book. ISBN: 0-930588-99-1. Order from: Heyday Books; Post Office Box 9145; Berkeley, CA 94709.

Lightfoot, Kent G., Ann M. Schiff, and Thomas A. Wake, eds. *The Native Alaskan Neighborhood: A Multiethnic Community at Colony Ross.* Berkeley: contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1997. "This comprehensive study examines the material remains from two sites making up the Native Alaskan Neighborhood at the Russian fur-trading outpost Fort Ross during the first half of this century. $35.00 (paper, 272 pages of appendices on microfiche), $3.50 for the first book, $1.00 for each additional book. Calif. residents add 8.25% sales tax. All orders must be prepaid. Order from: ARF Books; 2251 College Building, MC 1076; University of California Berkeley; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Low, Jeanie W. Chooey. *China Connection: Finding Ancestral Roots for Chinese in America.* San Francisco: JWC Low Company, 1994. Second edition, revised. $11.95 (paper), Calif. residents add $1.01 sales tax. ISBN: 0-9638835-1-8. "Eighty percent of all Chinese immigrants entered through San Francisco." Order from: JWC Low Company; Post Office Box 472012; San Francisco, CA 94147.

Marinacci, Barbara. *California's Spanish Place-names: What They Mean and How They Got There.* Second ed. Houston: Gulf Pub. Co., 1997. $16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-88415-842-X. Order from: Gulf Pub. Co.; Post Office Box 2608; Houston, TX 77252-2608.

Mathes, Valerie Sherer. *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. "A detailed account of the last six years of Jackson's life." $13.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8061-2963—8. Order from: The University of Oklahoma Press; 1005 Asp Avenue; Norman, OK 73019.

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Ohles, Wallace V. *The Lands of Mission San Miguel: The Towns, the Mission & the People.* Fresno: Word Dancer Press, 1997. ISBN: 1 884995-13-6. Inquiries to: Word Dancer Press; 950 N. Van Ness; Fresno, CA 93728.

Osio, Antonio Maria. *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California.* Translated, edited, and annotated by Rose Marie Beebe, and Robert M. Senkewicz. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-299-14970-6; $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0 299-14974-9. Order from: University of Wisconsin Press; 114 Murray St.; Madison WI 53715-1199.

Phillips, George Harwood. *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. $27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-861-2904-2. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; Post Office Box 787; Norman, OK 73070-0787.

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Seymour, Richard B. *Compost College: Life on a Counter-culture Commune.* Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1997. $16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0 915685-10-8. Order from: Devil Mountain Books; Post Office Box 4115; Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

Starr, Kevin. *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. $16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-19-511802-2. Order from: Oxford University Press; 2001 Evans Rd.; Cary, NC 27513.

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California History

Volume LXXVI 1997

CONTENTS

AND

INDEX

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California Historical Society

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CONTENTS

Number 1 Spring 1997

2 Alaska Gold: Life on the New Frontier, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers
Introduced and edited by Jeff Kunkel

24 Women, Real Estate, and Urban Growth: A Case Study of Two Generations of Women Property Owners in Redlands, California, 1880–1940
by Lee M. A. Simpson

44 A New Perspective on the Dream: Midwestern Images of Southern California in the Post-World War II Decades
by Denise S. Spooner

58 Reviews

69 California Checklist

72 Notes

76 Donors

Numbers 2 and 3 Summer and Fall 1997

Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush

This special issue is self-contained, with its own index.

1 Contested Eden: An Introduction
by Ramón Gutiérrez

12 A World of Balance and Plenty: Land, Plants, Animals and Humans in a Pre-European California
by M. Kat Anderson, Michael G. Barbour, and Valerie Whitworth

48 Indian Peoples of California
by William S. Simmons

78 Seekers of the "Northern Mystery": European Exploration of California and the Pacific
by Iris H.W. Engstrand

111 Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California
by Steven W. Hackel

147 "The Child of the Wilderness Weeps for the Father of Our Country": The Indian and the Politics of Church and State in Provincial California
by Michael J. González

173 The Creation and Re-Creation of California Society
by Douglas Monroy

196 Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769-1848
by James A. Sandos

230 Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family
by Antonia I. Castañeda

260 Serpent in the Garden: Environmental Change in Colonial California
by William Preston

299 Alta California's Trojan Horse: Foreign Immigration
by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

331 War in California, 1846-1848
by Lisbeth Haas

357 Picturing California
by Anthony Kirk

379 Index
by Robert Clark

CONTENTS

1997 Supplement

2 Annual Reports:
Fiscal Years 1996 & 1997

10 A Portfolio of Exhibitions
Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood
Bearing Witness to Manifest Destiny
The San Francisco Art Association
James Madison Alden
Personal Edens: The Gardens and Film Sets of Florence Yoch
Direct From Nature: The Oil Sketches of Thomas Hill

30 Financial Highlights:
Fiscal Years 1996 and 1997

32 Reviews

45 California Checklist

47 Donors
General Fund Donors
Annual Fund Donors
Capital Campaign Donors

53 New Members

Number 4 Winter 1997/98

82 Bridging the Pacific
California and the China Flour Trade
by Daniel Meissner

94 An Immigrant Path to Social Mobility:
Portuguese Atlantic Islanders in the California Sheep Industry
by Donald Warrin

108 Albert Einstein at Caltech
by Abraham Hoffman

122 Mayor Roger D. Lapham, the Recall Election of 1946, and Neighborhood Voting in San Francisco, 1938–1952
by Dennis P. Kelly

136 Reviews

146 California Checklist

148 Notes

156 Donors

159 Yearly Contents and Index
by Robert Clark

INDEX

The 1997 index below includes all material from the Spring, Supplement, and Winter issues. The material contained in the special issue, *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush,* was included in an index at the back of that issue. Material from the Supplement issue is identified by the prefix "Supp" before page numbers shown below.

Abel-Vidor, Suzanne, Dot Brovarney, and Susan Billy, *Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family & Friends,* rev., Supp. 38
Abrahamson, Eric John, rev. of *Big Dams and Other Dreams: The Six Companies Story,* by Donald E. Wolf, 140
Achak, Lynn, 51
Activities Council of CHS, Supp. 2
Acuña, Roldolfo F., rev. of *Land Grants in Alta California: A Compilation of Spanish and Mexican Private Land Claims in the State of California,* 61-62
Addams, Jane, 31
Africa, 94
Ahtaseeuk, Alaska, 21
Alameda, Joe, 106
Alameda (Almeida), Leland "Buck," 106
Alameda County, 96
"Alaska Gold: Life on the New Frontier, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers," intro. and ed. by Jeff Kunkel, 2-23
Alaska-Yukon Sourdough News, 23
Alaskan natives, 5, 6, 13, 21
"Albert Einstein at Caltech," by Abraham Hoffman, 108-121
Albronda, Mildred, *Douglas Tilden: The Man and His Legacy,* rev., 64-65
Aleutian Islands, 4
Allison, Robert, 51
The American Aerospace Industry: From Workshop to Global Enterprise, by Roger E. Bilstein, rev., Supp. 38-39
American Association of University Women, 40
American Gothic (painting), 51
American Palestine Campaign, 113
American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, 123-124
Anderson, Sherwood, 51
Annual Report for CHS, Supp. 2-9
Ansel Adams: A Biography, by Mary Street, rev., 142-143
Antonio (Spanish/Indian Californian), 3
Argentina, 91, 120
Arlington area, Riverside, 25, 26
Arlington Heights Fruit Co., 26
Art of the Gold Rush (Exhibition), inside front cover, Winter
Asia, 94
"At the Extremity of Civilization": An Illinois Physician's Journey to California in 1849, by Israel Shipman Pelton Lord, edited by Necia Dixon Liles, rev., Supp. 34-35
Audubon, John Woodhouse, inside front cover, Winter
Austin, Mary, 99, 105
Australia, 91
Awards and Honors of CHS, Supp. 3
Azevedo, Manuel, 103
Azores, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 102, 103

Bacon, Henry, *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (painting), *front cover, Winter*
Baer, John and Lora, 111, 112
Baker, Paula, 30
Bakersfield, 104
Bakken, Gordon Morris, rev. of *Policing the Elephant: Crime, Punishment and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail,* by John Phillip Reid, 140
Bamberger, Lewis, 119
Barnett, Dr., 109
Barrett, John, 92
BART railway system, 124
Barth, Gunther, *California's Practical Period: A Cultural Context of the Emerging University, 1850s-1870s,* rev., 141-142
Barton, Ben, 34
Basques, 96, 99, 100, 101
Bastian, Beverly, inside front cover, Spring
Bauermeister, Kenneth, 52
Bayview (San Francisco), 132
Beach Boys, 48
Beard, Mary Ritter, 31
"Bearing Witness to Manifest Destiny," exhibition at CHS, Supp. 16
Behrens, Earl, 129
Belgenland (ocean liner), 110
Belgium, 120
Belvedere-Tiburon Landmarks Society, inside front cover, Spring
Berbereia, Manuel Coelho, 105
Bering Sea, 3, 4, 5, 14
Berlin, Germany, 109, 110
Bernal Heights (San Francisco), 132
Beverly Hills, 47
Bibby, Brian, *The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry,* rev., Supp. 38
Big Dams and Other Dreams: The Six Companies Story, by Donald E. Wolf, rev., 140
Billy, Susan, Suzanne Abel-Vidor, and Dot Brovarney, *Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family & Friends,* rev., Supp. 38
Bilstein, Roger E., *The American Aerospace Industry: From Workshop to Global Enterprise,* rev., Supp. 38-39
Birt, Rodger C., rev. of *Ansel Adams: A Biography,* by Mary Street, 142-143
Bisho (Bicho), Manuel, 106
Bisho, Robert, 106
Black Butte, 106
Board of Trustees of CHS, Supp. 3
Boise State University, 102
Booker, William, 88, 91
Boston, 89
Bottled Poety: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era, by James T. Lapsley, 144
Boyer, Mrs. Della, 40
Boyle Heights, 117
Bragg, Edward, 92
Brazil, 94, 120
Brazil, José de Sousa, 96, 98
Brechin, Gray, rev. of *Douglas Tilden: The Man and His Legacy,* 64-65
Bridgeport, 100
Bridges, Harry, 124, 125, 127, 134, 135
"Bridging the Pacific: California and the China Flour Trade," by Daniel Meissner, 82-93
Brindeiro, F.A., 103, 106
Brovarney, Dot, Suzanne Abel-Vidor, and Susan Billy, *Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family & Friends,* rev., Supp. 38
Browere, A.D.O., inside front cover, Winter
Brown, Edmund "Pat", 131, 132
Brown, Frank, 34
Bruning, Jean, 57
Buckeye Mill, 86
Budde, Henry F., 129
Buffalo, Wyoming, 101, 106
Building the Ultimate Dam: John S. Eastwood and the Control of Water in the West, by Donald C. Jackson, rev., Supp. 40
Burdette, Mr. and Mrs. Robert, 39
Bureau of Labor Statistics, 40
Burlington, Iowa, 52
Businessmen's Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce, 124
Butler, Nicholas Murray, 110

Caldwell, Idaho, 102
California Checklist, 69-71; Supp. 45-46; 146-147
California community property law, 27
California Dream, 53, 54, 56-57
California Federation of Women's Clubs, 39
California Fruit Growers, 46
California Historical Foundation, Supp. 4
California immigration, 45-57
California Impressionists, by Susan Landauer, rev., Supp. 33-34
California Institute of Technology (Caltech), 109-121
California Pacific Railroad Company, 86, 87
California State Democratic Central Committee, 130
California's Practical Period: A Cultural Context of the Emerging University, 1850s-1870s, by Gunther Barth, rev., 141-142
California, American conquest of, 82
Callendar, Iowa, 52
Caltech, *see* California Institute of Technology
Cameron, Don, 48
Canada Pacific Railway, 92
Canada, 3, 91
Cannon, Mrs. B. E., 31
Canton, China, 90
Cape Horn, 86, 89
Cape Nome, 4
Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, 5
Cape Verde, 94
Cardoso, Manuel Pereira, 98-99, 101
Carnegie Institution, 109
Carpeneti, Walter I., 129
Carquinez Strait, 87
Castillo, Edward D., rev. of *Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians, by Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo;* and *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810, by Randall Milliken,* Supp. 36-37
Catholicism, anti, 52
cattle industry, 83
Caxton Press, 102
Celmer, Martha, 48-50, 56-57

Central Council of Civic Clubs, 129
Chancellor at Berkeley, by Glenn T. Seaborg, rev., 141-142
Chaplin, Charlie, 112, 113
Chicago, 113, 120
Children's Bureau, 40
"Chile" mills, 87
China Clippers, 85
China, 82, 86-90, 93
Chinatown, 132
Chinese exclusion, 90
Christmas, 18
Christopher, George, 132
citrus growing, 25, 29, 34, 36-38, 40
City Lights (movie), 112
Civil War, 3, 50
Claremont, 55
Clark, Ronald, 120
Classen, Alexander, 114-115
Clements, Kendrick A., rev. of *Building the Ultimate Dam: John S. Eastwood and the Control of Water in the West*, by Donald C. Jackson; and *Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands*, by William D. Rowley, 40
Clifford, Geraldine Joncich, *"Equally in View": The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools*, rev., Supp. 40-42
Coalinga, 104
Coloma, inside front cover, Winter
Colorado (steamship), 89
Colorado Blvd. (Pasadena), 111
Columbia (steamship), 89
Columbia River, 82
Columbia University, 110
Colusa, 106
Colusa County, 83
communism, 119
Contra Costa County, 89
Cortes (steamship), 89
Costo, Rupert, and Jeannette Henry Costo, *Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians*, rev., Supp. 36-37
Crafton subdivision, Redlands, 26
Crafton, Calif., 38
Craig, Scipio, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40
Cripple River, 18, 19, 23
Crisotomo N. Perez, *Land Grants in Alta California: A Compilation of Spanish and Mexican Private Land Claims in the State of California*, rev., 61-62
Crocker Amazon (San Francisco), 132
Crocker Art Museum, inside front cover, Winter
Crocker Bank, 124
Crosby, Bing, 48
Crum, Bartley, 130

dairy industry, 94
Danes, 52
Davenport, Iowa, 51
Davies, Marion, 112
Davis, Horace, 85, 86, 87, 90, 93
Davis, Mrs. Jennie, 31
debt financing, 29-30
Depression, 45, 58-59
Des Moines, Iowa, 51, 52
deSitter, Willem, 112
Dewey, Thomas, 131, 132
Diomedes Island, 6
"Direct From Nature: The Oil Sketches of Thomas Hill," exhibition at CHS, Supp. 27-29
Docents and Educational Programs of CHS, Supp. 4
Donahue, Peter, inside front cover, Spring
Donahue Building, inside front cover, Spring
Donors list, 76-77, Supp. 47-52, 156-157
Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 132
Douglas Tilden: The Man and His Legacy, by Mildred Albronda, rev., 64-65
Driesbach, Janice, author of "California Exhibitions—Art of the Gold Rush," inside front cover, Winter
Dukas, Helen, 112
Dutch Harbor, Alaska, 4, 12 (photo)

East Cape, Siberia, 5
East Oregonian (newspaper), 102
Eckert, Priscilla, 48, 52
Eddy, Elizabeth, see Fisk, Elizabeth Eddy
Eddy, Ruth, see Sargent, Ruth Eddy
Eddy, Will, 25-26, 27, 33, 36, 37
Ehrenfest, Paul, 109
Einstein, Albert, 108-121, 136
Einstein, Elsa, 110, 111, 112, 116-117, 118, 120, 136
Eisenhower, Dwight, 131
Eley, Boze, 105
Ellis, George M., ed., *Gold Rush Desert Trails to San Diego and Los Angeles in 1849*, rev., Supp. 34-36
Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California, by Kevin Starr, rev., 59
England, 84, 85
Enos, José, 101
Epstein, Paul, 109
"Equally in View": The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools, by Geraldine Joncich Clifford, rev., Supp. 40-42
Eskimos, 5, 6
Estancia Valley, New Mexico, 101
Ethington, Philip J., rev. of *Streets of San Francisco: The Origins of Street and Place Names*, by Louis K. Lowenstein, Supp. 43-44
Eureka flour mill, 86
Europe, inside front cover, Winter; 84, 91, 94
Events and Public Programs at CHS, Supp. 6
Exhibitions at CHS: "Alaska Gold," 8, Supp. 5-6, Supp. 10-29
export trade, 82-93

Faja dos Vimes, São Joge Island, Azores, 98
Falk, Adrian, J., 124, 127
Farm Bureau, 50
farm machinery, 83
feminism, 40
Fern Avenue, Redlands, 26, 27
Fernandes, Albino and Conceicao Deniz, 101
Fernandes, Domingo, 101
Fernandes, Joseph F., 101
Fernandes, Joseph, 101
Fernandes, Sirino, 101
Financial reports of CHS, Supp. 30-31
The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry, by Brian Bibby, rev., Supp. 38
Fine Arts Collections at CHS, Supp. 6
Fire in San Francisco Bay (painting), inside front cover and back cover, Winter
Firemen's Fund, 124
fishing, 94
Fisk, Elizabeth Eddy, 24, 25-26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42
Fisk, Helen Graves, 28, 29, 31, 32, 39, 40-41, 42
Fisk, John P., 27-28, 29, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42
Fleming, Arthur, 110, 111, 112, 114
Fleming Trust Fund, 119
Flexner, Abraham, 119-120
The Flock, by Mary Austin, 99
Flores Island, Azores, 96, 103
flour production and exporting, 82-93
Fogelson, Robert, 45
Fontes, Frank, 104
Fontes, Manuel, 103
Ford, Isaac, 25
Forest Hills (San Francisco), 131
Fortnightly Club (Redlands), 41
France, 120
French, L.H., 5, 6, 7, 8
Fresno County, 102
Fresno Morning Republican, 105
Friedlander, Isaac, 84, 86, 87, 91, 93
Fries, Amos A., 118
Freitas, Thomé Luiz de, 102
Fromknecht, Don, 48, 52
Front Street (Nome, Alaska), 20
Fuld, Mrs. Felix, 119
Fullinwinder, Robert K., ed., *Public Education in a Multicultural Society: Policy, Theory, Critique*, rev. Supp. 39-40

Gage, Mathew, 34
Garland, Hamlin, 51
Gem State Printers (Caxton Press), 102
General Grant National Park, 104-105
General Mills, 87
German-American relations, 119-120
Germany, 110, 115, 119, 120, 121
Glen Park Community Club, 129
Glenn, Hugh, 83
Goddard, Paulette, 112
Gold Rush Desert Trails to San Diego and Los Angeles in 1849, edited by George M. Ellis, rev., Supp. 34-36
gold discovery (Alaska), 3; (California, 1848, inside front cover, Winter
gold mining, 3, 6-8, 13, 16
gold rush: in Alaska, 3-16; in California, 82-94
Golden Gate, 9, 93
Golden Gate milling company, 85, 86, 92
Golden Gate Park, 131
Gomas (Gomes), Frank, 100
Gomes, Frank P., 106

INDEX

Gomes, John and Enos, 98
Goodnow, John, 90
Goodstein, Judith, 111
Great Britain, 86, 91, 120
Great Depression, *see* Depression
Great Northern Steamship Company, 92
Greater Mission Improvement Association, 129
Greenfield, Ohio, 86
Greenleaf, Mrs. Emma, 39
Grinnell, George Bird, 6
Gutenberg, Beno, 120

Haight Ashbury, 131
Hale, George Ellery, 109, 114
Hale, Mrs., 25
Hammett, Dashiell, 131
Harriman Expedition of 1899 (Alaska), 6
Harrison, Maurice E., 130
Harvard College, 123
Hawaii, 94
Hawkeyes, 44
Hayden, Delores, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History*, rev., Supp. 42-43
Healy, Patrick, 101
Hearst, William Randolph, 112
Hebrew Sheltering Home for the Aged, 117
Hendrick, Irving G., rev. of *Chancellor at Berkeley*, by Glenn T. Seaborg; *Three Faces of Berkeley: Competing Ideologies in the Wheeler Era*, by Henry F. May; *California's Practical Period: A Cultural Context of the Emerging University, 1850s-1870s*, by Gunther Barth; and *The Origins of the Chancellorship, The Buried Report of 1948*, by Eugene C. Lee, 141-142
Hendrick, Irving G., rev. of *"Equally in View": The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools*, by Geraldine Joncich Clifford; and *"A Western Acropolis of Learning": The University of California in 1897*, by Roy Lowe, Supp. 40-42
Herrold, Rev., 19
Highway 99: The Literature of Califrnia's Great Central Valley, ed. by Stan Yogi, rev., 139
Hirsch, Mr., 91
Hispanic California Revisited: Essays by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., ed. by Doyce B. Nunis, rev., 59-60
Hitler, Adolf, 120
Hoboken, N.J., inside front cover, Spring
Hock Farm (painting), inside front cover, Winter
Hoffman, Abraham, "Albert Einstein at Caltech," 108-121
Hollywood, 45, 48
Hong Kong, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92
Hooker telescope, 112
Hoovervilles, 58
Hotel Astor, 113
Howser, Frederick, 131
Hubble, Edwin, 109-117, 137
Hudson Bay Company, 82
Hudson River, inside front cover, Spring
Hunters Point (San Francisco), 132
Huron, 104

Idaho, 95
Illinois, 46, 57
An Immigrant Path to Social Mobility: Portuguese Atlantic Islanders in the California Sheep Industry," by Donald Warrin, 94-107
Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945, by Patricia Trenton, rev., Supp. 33-34
India, 91
Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852, by George Harwood Phillips, rev., 143-144
Industrial Relations Association of California, 40
Inner Sunset (San Francisco), 131
Innuits, 5
Institute for Advanced Study, 119
International Longshore and Warehouse Union, 135
International Longshoremen's Association, 124
Inupiaq, 6
Inyo County, 99
Iowa State Association, 53
Iowa, 46-57
ivory trade, 6

Jacinto, José, 101
Jackson, Donald C., *Building the Ultimate Dam: John S. Eastwood and the Control of Water in the West*, rev., Supp. 40
Jackson, Kenneth, 50
Jackson, Robert H., rev. of *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852*, by George Harwood Phillips, 143-144
"James Madison Alden," exhibition at CHS, Supp. 21-23
Japan, 89, 93, 120
Jessie Lee Home, 13
Jewett, William Smith, inside front cover, Winter
Joseph Rosenberg's Sons (business), 97
Judson, E. G., 34

Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics (Berlin), 109, 110
Kanrin Maru (steamship), 89
Kansas, 57
Karlstrom, Paul J., *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950*, rev., Supp. 33-34
Kelly, Dennis P., "Mayor Roger D. Lapham, the Recall Election of 1946, and Neighborhood Voting in San Francisco, 1938-1952," 122-135
Kenny, Robert W., 131
Kentucky, 3
Kettleman City, 104
Kimberly, Mrs. Helen, 31
Kimberly, Mrs. J. A., 39
Klondike gold rush, 4
Klondike River, 3
Kunkel, Jeff, intro. and ed. of "Alaska Gold: Life on the New Frontier, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers," 2-23

Lamm, Edith, Supp. 3
Land Grants in Alta California: A Compilation of Spanish and Mexican Private Land Claims in the State of California, by Crisostomo N. Perez, rev., 61-62
Landauer, Susan, *California Impressionists*, rev., Supp. 33-34
Landmarks Society, inside front cover, Spring
Lapham, Roger D., 122-135
Laplanders, 5
Lapp, Rudolph M., rev. of *"At the Extremity of Civilization": An Illinois Physician's Journey to California in 1849*, by Israel Shipman Pelton Lord, edited by Necia Dixon Liles; *Gold Rush Desert Trails to San Diego and Los Angeles in 1849*, edited by George M. Ellis; *Overland: The California Emigrant Trail of 1841-1870*, by Greg MacGregor; and *Seven Trails West*, by Arthur King Peters; Supp. 34-36
Lapsley, James T., *Bottled Poety: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era*, rev., 144
Lee, Eugene C., *The Origins of the Chancellorship, The Buried Report of 1948*, rev., 141-142
Lewis (Luiz), Manuel; and Mary, 102; 104
Lewis, Sinclair, 51
Liles, Necia Dixon, ed., *"At the Extremity of Civilization": An Illinois Physician's Journey to California in 1849*, by Israel Shipman Pelton Lord, rev., Supp. 34-35
Lisbon House (hotel), 99, 101
Liverpool, England, 84, 85
Lola Montez: The California Adventures of Europe's Notorious Courtesan, by James F. Varley, rev., 62
Lomba, Flores Island, Azores, 101
London, Jack, 96
Long Beach, 44, 53
Lord, Israel Shipman Pelton, *"At the Extremity of Civilization": An Illinois Physician's Journey to California in 1849*, edited by Necia Dixon Liles, rev., Supp. 34-35
Los Angeles, 37, 39, 46, 57
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 49
Los Angeles County, 45
Los Angeles Theater, 112
Los Angeles Times, 112, 115
Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future, by Andrew Rolle, rev., Supp. 42-43
Los Banos Creek, 100
Lotchin, Roger W., rev. of *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s*, by Kevin Starr, 137
Lothrop, Gloria Ricci, rev. of *Polish Americans in California, Vol. II*, 63-64; rev. of *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History*, by Delores Hayden; *Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future*, by Andrew Rolle, Supp. 42-43
Lowe, Roy, *"A Western Acropolis of Learning": The University of California in 1897*, rev., Supp. 40-42
Lowenstein, Louis K., *Streets of San Francisco:*

The Origins of Street and Place Names, rev., Supp. 43-44
he Luck of Roaring Camp, front cover, Winter
umbering, 94
une, Louis R., 133
utherans, 52
ynch, James, 97

MacGregor, Greg, *Overland: The California Emigrant Trail of 1841-1870*, rev., Supp. 34-36
MacPhee, Chester, 123
Madeira, 94
Maine, 85
Malloy, Irene, 52
Marengo Ave (Pasadena), 111
Marin County, inside front cover, Spring
Marina District (San Francisco), 131
Marina Merchants Association, 129
Market Street, 128
Market Street Railway, 122, 125, 126, 133, 134
Marryat, Francis, inside front cover, Winter
Marshall, James, inside front cover, Winter
Martan, M.F. and Katie, 106
Martin, E. Hall, inside front cover, Winter
Marysville, 86
Masons, 50
Massachusetts, 85
Mattos, Manuel, 100
May, Henry F., *Three Faces of Berkeley: Competing Ideologies in the Wheeler Era*, rev., 141-142
Mayer, Walther, 115, 119, 120
"Mayor Roger D. Lapham, the Recall Election of 1946, and Neighborhood Voting in San Francisco, 1938-1952," by Dennis P. Kelly, 122-135
McDaniel, Amanda, 3
McDaniel, Edmund, 3-23
McDaniel, Jessie A. (Drake), 6, 7, 8, 19
McDaniel, Josiah, 3
McDaniel, Lulu, 3
McDaniel, Wilfred, front and back covers, Spring, 3-23
McGinty, Brian, rev. of *Bottled Poety: Napa Winemaking from Prohibition to the Modern Era* by James T. Lapsley, 144
McIlvaine, William, inside front cover, Winter
Meissner, Daniel, author of "Bridging the Pacific: California and the China Flour Trade," 82-93
Mello, Joe C., 106
Membership and Public Support of CHS, Supp. 7
Mendonça, Mariano, 101
Mendonsa, Fred, 105, 106
Mendoza (Mendonça), John R., 101
Merced County, 106
Merriam, Frank F., 129
Methodist mission school, Alaska, 22
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 110
Metropolitan Opera, 110
Mexican Secularization Act of 1833, 82
Mexicans, 96
Michelson, Albert and Edna, 112
Middle Richmond (San Francisco), 131
Midwest, 45-46
Midwesterners, 45-57
Miller, Antone F., 105
Milliken, Randall, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810*, rev., Supp. 36-37
Millikan, Dr. Robert A., 109-10, 112-115, 117, 119-121
Minarets Wilderness, 106
Miner's Return (painting), inside front cover, Winter
mining, see gold
Minneapolis, Minn., 82, 83
Mission District (San Francisco), 132
"Mission San Miguel," stereograph by Carleton Watkins, Cover, Supplement
Mississippi (steamship), 89
Missouri, 57
Mitchell, John, 83
Mojave Desert, 113
Mokelumne Hill, inside front cover, Winter
Mongar, Richard, 55
Monkkonen, Eric, 29, 31
Mono County, 100
Monroy, Douglas, rev. of *Hispanic California Revisited: Essays by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M.*, 59-60
Montana, 95, 101
Monterey County, 103
Morey, Sarah J., 34, 38
Morey mansion, 35
Mt. Davidson (San Francisco), 132
Mt. Holyoke College, 29, 40
Mount Lassen, 106
Mount Wilson Observatory, 109, 110, 112, 113, 115
Muir, John, 100, 105
Municipal Railway (San Francisco), 126, 128
My First Summer in the Sierra, by John Muir, 100

Nahl, Charles Christian, inside front cover, Winter; back cover, Winter
Nash, Gerald D., rev. of *The American Aerospace Industry: From Workshop to Global Enterprise*, by Roger E. Bilstein, Supp. 38-39
National Defense Mediation Board, 124
National Museum of American Art, inside front cover, Winter
Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians, by Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, rev., Supp. 36-37
Nevada, 95, 101, 103
New England, 94-96
New Jersey, inside front cover, Spring
"A New Perspective on the Dream: Midwestern Images of Southern California in the Post-World War II Decades," by Denise S. Spooner, 44-57
New Mexico, 94
New Woman emergence, 40
New York (state), 46, 86, 120
New York City, 37, 40, 89, 110, 111, 113
Newton, Sir Isaac, 109
Neylan, John Francis, 130
Nixon, Richard, [illegible]
Nob Hill, 131
Nobel Prize in Physics, 109, 111
Nome, Alaska, 3, 5 (map), 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 20, 22
Nome Hydraulic Mining Company, 3
North Baker Research Library, Supp. 7
North Beach (San Francisco), 86, 131-132
North Beach Property Owners Association, 129
North Dakota, 57
North of Market (San Francisco), 131
Northern Pacific Railroad, 92
Northwestern Pacific Railroad, Company, inside front cover, Spring
Norwegians, 52
Noyes, A.A., 114-115
Nunis, Doyce B., ed, *Hispanic California Revisited: Essays by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M.*, rev., 59-60

Oakland, inside front cover, Winter, 87, 103
Oakland Museum of California, inside front cover, Winter
Oberlaender Trust of Philadelphia, 119, 120
Oddfellows, 50
Office of Price Administration, 126
Ohio, 57
Oklahoma, 57
Olson, Governor, 132
On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950, by Paul J. Karlstrom, rev., Supp. 33-34
Orange County, 45
Oregon, 91, 95, 100, 102, 105
The Origins of the Chancellorship, The Buried Report of 1948, by Eugene C. Lee, rev., 141-142
Outer Mission (San Francisco), 132
Outer Sunset (San Francisco), 132
Overland: The California Emigrant Trail of 1841-1870, by Greg MacGregor, rev., Supp. 34-36
Oxford, 119

Pacheco flour mill, 89
Pacific Heights (San Francisco), 131
Pacific Mail steamship company, 89
Pacific Northwest, 92, 93
Pacific Union Club, 124
Page, Charles R., 124
Palm Springs, 116, 118
Palouse farming region (Washington State), 91, 92
Pan-Pacific Exposition, 106
Panama Canal, 110
Parkside (San Francisco), 131
Pasadena, 37, 109, 113, 114, 119-20
Pelham, E. Hardy, author of "Historic Landmarks–Tiburon's Historic Raliroad Ferry Depot," inside front cover, Spring
Pendleton, Oreg., 95
Pennsylvania, 46, 57
Penny River, 29
Perry, Commodore Matthew, 89
"Personal Edens: The Gardens and Film Sets of Florence Yoch," exhibition at CHS, Supp. 24-26

INDEX

Peru, inside front cover, Spring
Peters, Arthur King, *Seven Trails West,* rev., Supp. 34-36
Phillips, George Harwood, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852,* rev., 143-144
Phillips, Sandra S., rev. of *Photographing the Second Gold Rush: Dorothea Lange and the Bay Area at War, 1941-1945,* 65-66
Photographing the Second Gold Rush: Dorothea Lange and the Bay Area at War, 1941-1945, intro. by Charles Wollenberg, rev., 65-66
Photography Collections of CHS, Supp. 8
Pickford, Mary, 112
Pico Island, Azores, 98
Pimental (Pimentel), San Francisco, 106
Placer County, 103
placer mining, 94
Policing the Elephant: Crime, Punishment and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail, by John Phillip Reid, 140
Polish Americans in California, Vol. II, by Henrietta Simons, rev., 63-64
Polk Gulch (San Francisco), 131
Port Costa, 93
Portland, Oreg., 92
Portrait of a Miner (watercolor), inside front cover, Winter
Portuguese-Americans, 94-107
Potrero Hill (San Francisco), 132
Powell, Russell A., 129
Powell, William, 48
The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History, by Dolores Hayden, rev., Supp. 42-43
Princeton University, 119-120
Prospect House, 34, 35
The Prospector (painting), inside front cover, Winter
Prosper (ship), Spring cover, 17
Protestant churches, 38, 52
Public Education in a Multicultural Society: Policy, Theory, Critique, by Robert K. Fullinwinder, ed., rev. Supp. 39-40
Public Utilities Commission, 126
Publications and Electronic Communications of CHS, Supp. 8
Publicity Problems of a Small California Community (As Exemplified by Redlands), by Ruth Eddy Sargent, 41

Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands, by William D. Rowley, rev., Supp. 40
Redlands, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31-36, 38, 40, 41, 42
Redlands Bowl, 34, 36
Redlands Chamber of Commerce, 31, 39, 40, 41
Redlands Citrograph (newspaper), 32, 34, 38
Redlands Contemporary Club, 30, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43
Redlands Fruit Growers Association, 33
Redlands Orange Growers Association, 41
Redlands Water Company, 41
Reid, John Phillip, *Policing the Elephant: Crime, Punishment and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail,* rev., 140
Reilly, George R., 123, 133
Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family & Friends, by Suzanne Abel-Vidor, Dot Brovarney, and Susan Billy, rev., Supp. 38
Renny, Charlotte, 22, 23
Reviews, 58-66, Supp. 32-43, 136-145
Richmond district (San Francisco), 132
Riley, Glenda, rev. of *Lola Montez: The California Adventures of Europe's Notorious Courtesan,* 62
Riverside, 25, 26, 34, 37
Riverside Enterprise (newspaper), 29
Rockefeller, John D., 110
Rocky Mountains, 82
Rodman, Mrs. Willoughby, 39
Roe, Collins, 50
Rogers, Will, 113
Rogers, Will, Jr., 132
Rolle, Andrew, *Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future,* rev., Supp. 42-43; rev. of *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California,* 59
Rolph, James "Sunny Jim", 125
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 124, 127, 132
Roosevelt, James, 132
Rose Parade, (1931) 111; (1932) 116
Rossi, Angelo J., 123, 125, 129
Rowley, William D., *Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands,* rev., Supp. 40
Runnymede Sculpture Farm Sunday Picnic, Supp. 3
Russia, 134
Russian Hill (San Francisco), 131
Russian Hill Improvement Association, 129
Russian-American Company, 82
Russians, 5
Rutherford, Nancy, 47
Ryerson Laboratory, 112
S.S. St. Paul (ves.), 9
S.S. Senator (ves.), 10,11
S.S. Zealandia (ves.), *11, 12, 14*
Sacramento, 58, inside front cover, Winter; 86, 87
Sacramento County, 103
Sacramento Valley, 82, 83, 95
St. Francis Wood (San Francisco), 131
St. John, Charles E., 115
St. John, Dr. Charles P., 112
St. Lawrence Island, 6
Salinas, 103-104
San Bernardino County, 34
San Diego, 82, 94, 111
San Francisco, inside front cover, Spring; 3, 4, 40, inside front cover, Winter; 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 99, 122-135
San Francisco Airport, 126
San Francisco and Northern Pacific Railroad Depot, inside front cover, Spring
"The San Francisco Art Association, 1871-1906," exhibition at CHS, Supp. 17-20
San Francisco Bay Area, 82, 83
San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 127, 128, 129
San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 124, 127
San Francisco Chronicle, 129
San Francisco CIO Council, 125, 126, 129, 134
San Francisco Employers' Council, 124
San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association, 124
San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing, 114
San Francisco Progress, 129
San Gabriel Valley, 45
San Joaquin Valley, 83, 95, 98, 101, 102, 103
San Jose, 3
San Jose Mercury (newspaper), 7
San Leandro, 96
San Luis Obispo County, 97
Sanborn, C. A., 37
Santa Barbara, 108
Santa Cruz Mountains, 3
Sargent, Arthur M., 41
Sargent, Ruth Eddy, 25, 31, 32, 40, 41-42
Scharnhorst, Gary, rev. of *Highway 99: The Literature of Califrnia's Great Central Valley,* ed. by Stan Yogi, 139
Schnur, Paul, 129
Schwartz, Harvey, rev. of *Terrible Anger: The 1934 Waterfront and General Strikes in San Francisco,* by David F. Selvin, 137
Seaborg, Glenn T., *Chancellor at Berkeley,* rev., 141-142
Seacliff (San Francisco), 131
Seattle, 4, 92
Sellon, Rev. M. A., 22
Selvin, David F., *A Terrible Anger: The 1934 Waterfront and General Strikes in San Francisco,* rev., 137
Senator (steamship), 10, 11
Sequoia National Park, 104-105
Seven Trails West, by Arthur King Peters, rev., Supp. 34-36
Seward Peninsula, 4, 5, 6
Seward Purchase, 8
Seymour, Dr. Ellen B., 34, 35
Shanghai, China, 90, 92
Shaw, Dee Ann, 48, 52
Shelley, John F., 132
Shepherd, Major William, 96, 100
Shoshone, Idaho, 100, 101
Siberian Yup'ik, 6
Sierra Forest Reserve, 105
Sierra Nevada, 94, 95, 98, 100, 105
Silva, Antone, 101, 106
Simons, Henrietta, *Polish Americans in California, Vol. II,* rev., 63-64
Simpson, Lee M. A., author of "Women, Real Estate, and Urban Growth: A Case Study of Two Generations of Women Property Owners in Redlands, California, 1880-1940," 24-43
Singapore, 90
Sinrock Roadhouse mission school, 22
Sioux City, Iowa, 48, 52
Siskiyou Range, 94
Sitka, Alaska, 82

Smith, Lois, 54
Smithsonian Institution, inside front cover, Winter
Soares, Francisco, 97, 98
social reform work, 30
Sonoma, 82
Sourdoughs, 4, 5, 6, 8
South Carolina, 84
South of Market (San Francisco), 132
South Vallejo, 86, 87
South, Will, rev. of Karlstrom, *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950*; Trenton, *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945;* and Landauer, Keyes and Stern, *California Impressionists,* Supp. 33-34
Southern Pacific Company, inside front cover, Spring
Souza, Joseph M., 95
Special Theory of Relativity, 109
Sperry, Austin, 85, 87, 90, 93
Sperry flour mills, 85, 87, 90, 92
Spooner, Denise S., author of "A New Perspective on the Dream: Midwestern Images of Southern California in the Post-World War II Decades," 44-57
Staff Changes at CHS, Supp. 9
Stanford, Leland, 86
Starr, Abraham Dubois, 86, 87, 93
Starr, Kevin, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California,* rev., 59; *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s,* rev., 137
Starr flour milling company, 85
steamships, 89
Stockes, Mrs. Olivia E. P., 31
Stockton, William, 100
Stockton, inside front cover, Winter, 82, 85
Street, Mary, *Ansel Adams: A Biography,* rev., 142-143
Streets of San Francisco: The Origins of Street and Place Names, by Louis K. Lowenstein, rev., Supp. 43-44
Stromquist, Nelly P., rev. of *Public Education in a Multicultural Society: Policy, Theory, Critique* by Robert K. Fullinwinder, ed., Supp. 39-40
suffrage, women's, 31
Sui Dynasty, 87
Sullivan, Jerd, 124
Sunday Morning in the Mines (painting), inside front cover, Winter
Sunset District (San Francisco), 129
Sutter's Mill, inside front cover, Winter
Swedes, 5, 52
Switzerland, 120

Taber, Stephen L., Supp. 3
Tacoma, Wash., 92
Tehachapi, 104
A Terrible Anger: The 1934 Waterfront and General Strikes in San Francisco, by David F. Selvin, rev., 137
Texas, 57
Three Faces of Berkeley: Competing Ideologies in the Wheeler Era by Henry F. May, rev., 141-142
Tiburon, inside front cover, Spring
Tierra Redonda Ranch, 97
A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810 by Randall Milliken, rev., Supp. 36-37
Tobey, Ronald, 38
Tolman, Richard, 109, 110, 117
Trafzer, Clifford E., rev. of *Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family & Friends,* by Suzanne Abel-Vidor, Dot Brovarney, and Susan Billy; and *The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry,* by Brian Bibby, Supp. 38
trains, 46
"Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood," exhibition at CHS, Supp. 10-15
Trenton, Patricia, *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945,* rev., Supp. 33-34
Triguiro (Trigueiro), John P., 100
Trinity County, 3
Truckee River, 86
Truman, Harry, 132
Tsui Hang On, 89, 90
tuberculosis, 25
Tulare County, 103, 104
Turlock, 83
"Typical Real Estate Deal," by Scipio Craig, 40

UCLA, 117
Unalaska Island, 4, 12, 13
Union Iron Works, inside front cover, Spring
Union Pacific Railroad, 92
Union Square (San Francisco), 122
United States Golf Association, 124
United States vs. *M. Eley, Antone F. Miller, and Manuel Coelho Berbereia,* 106
University of California Press, inside front cover, Winter
Upper Market (San Francisco), 132
Upper Noe Valley Improvement Association, 129
urban growth, 38
Uruguay, 120

Valadon, Joseph F., 101
Vancouver, Canada, 92
Varley, James F., *Lola Montez: The California Adventures of Europe's Notorious Courtesan,* rev., 62
Vey, Mary, 102
Visitacion Valley (San Francisco), 132
Vladivostok, 90
Volunteers and Interns at CHS, Supp. 9
von Karman, Theodore, 109

Wald, Lillian, 31
Walker, Jimmy (mayor of New York), 110
Wall Street Panic (1908), 8
War Department, 40
War Labor Board, 124, 128
Warren, Earl, 129, 131
Warrin, Donald, author of "An Immigrant Path to Social Mobility: Portuguese Atlantic Islanders in the California Sheep Industry," 94-107
Washburn, Cadwallader C., [illegible]
Washington, [illegible], 40
Washington State, 91, 105
Waterfront Employers' Association, 124
Watkins, Carleton, stereograph by, Cover, Supplement
Weekly Northwestern Miller, 82, 92
Weizmann, Chaim, 113
Wentworth, Edward, 97, 98
"A Western Acropolis of Learning": The University of California in 1897, by Roy Lowe, rev., Supp. 40-42
Westwood, John, 101
Wetherell, Charles, 38
wheat farming, 82, 83, 84
Whiley, W.W., 89, 90
whiskey, 6
Whittier High School, 118
Willamette Valley, 91, 92
Williams, Mrs. John C. (Patty), Supp. 3
Williams, Robin (sociologist), 52
Willkie, Wendell, 131
Winnemucca, Nev., 104
Wolf, Donald E., *Big Dams and Other Dreams: The Six Companies Story,* rev., 140
Wollenberg, Charles, intro. to *Photographing the Second Gold Rush: Dorothea Lange and the Bay Area at War, 1941-1945,* rev., 65-66
Women's Employment Bureau, 40
Women's Parliament of Southern California, 39
Women's Work in Municipalities, by Mary Ritter Beard, 31
"Women, Real Estate, and Urban Growth: A Case Study of Two Generations of Women Property Owners in Redlands, California, 1880-1940," by Lee M. A. Simpson, 24-43
women: and real estate, 24-43; and public involvement, 30
Wood, Grant, 51
World War I, 50
World War II, 45, 127
Wyoming, 100, 101

Yale Puppeteers, 113, 114
Yerba Buena Gardens, Supp. 2
YMCA (Redlands), 38, 39
Yogi, Stan , ed., *Highway 99: The Literature of California's Great Central Valley,* rev., 139
Yokohama, 89
Yosemite National Park, 104-105, 106
Young, Clement C., 114
Yuba River, 84
Yup'ik, 6

Zionism, 113

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Published quarterly © 1998 by CHS

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LC 75–640289/ISSN 0162–2897
Periodicals Postage Paid at San Francisco and at additional mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

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San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

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